



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

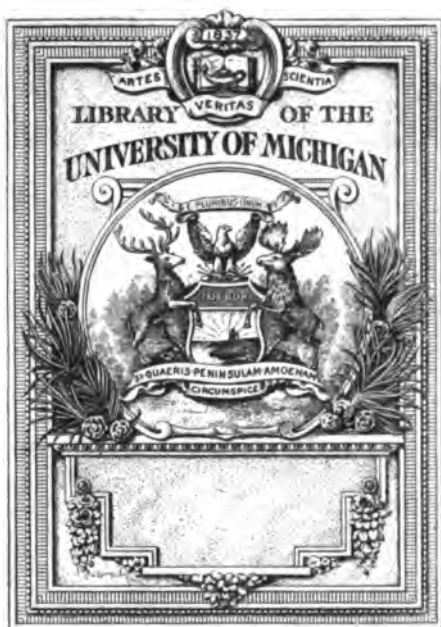
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



THIS BOOK
FORMS PART OF THE
ORIGINAL LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
BOUGHT IN EUROPE
1838 TO 1839

18.1.6

D

20

U59

v. 25



2-311
THE

MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. IV.



L O N D O N :

Printed for S. RICHARDSON, T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH,
A. MILLAR, JOHN RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER,
P. DAVEY and B. LAW, T. LONGMAN, and C. WARE.

M.DCC.LIX.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

R E A D E R,

Relating to this FOURTH VOLUME.

WE have seen, in the course of the preceding volume, a series of eleven *Abasfine* khalifs from *Al Kayem*, the 26th of that dynasty †, to the total extinction of the khalifat, gradually stripped of all their secular authority and power, and reduced to a mere religious and ecclesiastical sway, by a succession of *Seljukian* monarchs, the descendants of the famed *Togrol Begh* *, who, under the bare title of *Emîr Al Omrà*, which that unfortunate khalif bestowed upon him, governed all civil and military affairs with an absolute and despotic power, assuming the royal title of soltan only over their *Seljuk* subjects, and their other conquests : so that, in order to set forth the surprising decline, as well as the once amazing extent and power, of the khalifat, we have been under the necessity of anticipating, in a great measure, the *Seljukian* history, which was designed for this volume ; without which that of the khalifs must have appeared maimed and imperfect to any curious reader.

† Vol. iii. p. 207, & seq.
fin.

* Ibid. p. 241, ad

BEING now therefore come to give a particular account of that celebrated dynasty, the same reasons will of course oblige us to recapitulate, tho' in the most succinct manner the subject will admit of, the same monarchs reigns, conquests, and transactions, in order to render their history, which makes no less a figure in the *Oriental* one, as full, clear, and compleat, as the former, which we have given of the khalifat, especially as both of them have been so strangely mutilated and disguised by the *Greek* writers: but of this we shall say the less here, having prefixed at the threshold of the *Seljukian* history an account of them, as well as of those others, whether *Turkish* or *Arab*, of whom we have made use in the course of it *. And that, joined to what we have said above, will, we hope, sufficiently account to our readers, not only for every such unavoidable repetition, but likewise for every contrast and inconsistency they may have occasion to remark between those writers. It being, indeed, next to impossible it should happen otherwise, considering the vast difference of their religions and interests: one set of them zealous *Mohammedans*, the other Heathen; the former full of gall and resentment against those monarchs who had deprived their khalifs of all their secular power, and raised their own to that envied height upon the ruins of theirs. The other no less jealous of the glory of their own natural princes, representing their every action, motive, and successful step to aggrandisement, in the most advantageous light, and glossing over every thing that cast the least tarnish upon it.

* See hereafter, p. 76, & seq.

To give one instance for all of the different representations of those writers; When the haughty khalif *Al Kayem* [after having been restored to his dignity, and reconducted to his capital, and to his very palace, with the greatest marks of honour and respect by the generous *Togrul Beg*] † was observed to hesitate so long whether he should condescend to grant him his daughter in marriage; it was natural for the *Moslem* historians to represent his behaviour as a mark of his strenuous and laudable zeal for the *Mohammedan* religion, whilst the *Seljuks* looked upon it as a piece of ill-timed pride and black ingratitude to so noble a prince and benefactor. We have endeavoured to account for these and other material variations as often as the nature of the subject would permit it; the rest we have chosen to refer to our reader's judgment; only desiring him to insert with his pen the few following emendations.

E R R A T A.

- Page 97. Line 31. *Instead of taking, read having exacted (an oath). And ibid. 32. Instead of to, read from.*
 — 109. — 31. *Instead of his own, read his vazir's (piety).*
 — 119. — 30. *After altho', read that dignity had been enjoyed by the (Khalifs).*
 — 120. — 11. *For depart from, read retire to.*
 — 159. — 17. *For Gypsies, read plaisterers, or workers in lime and mortar.*

† See vol. iii. p. 246, & seq.

Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK I.

General History of the Turks, and the empires founded by them in Tartary and the Lower Asia.

CHAP. I.

The origin, country, and different tribes or branches, of the Turkish nation; with an account of their affairs till the destruction of their empire in Tartary.

SECT. I.

The origin of the Turks.

ALTHOUGH the origin of the *Turks* hath been *Origin of* already treated of elsewhere ^a, yet several matters *the Turks.* relating thereto were left unhandled, because they seemed more proper for this place, where we are to speak particularly of that warlike nation; whose empire, shifting gradually from east to west; under different dynasties, hath continued for above 2,000 years, and still subsists under the *Othmân* family, with no small lustre.

TURK is a name known in all languages; and the *Arabs* have out of it formed the plural *Atrâk*, that is, *Turks* ^b.

^a Vol. v. p. 344. note E. xx. p. i. & seq.
^b D'HERBE-
NOT. Bibl. orientale, p. 897. Art. Turk.

According
to the
Turks.

There are three traditions or accounts concerning the origin of these people ; one given by themselves, the other by the *Persians* and *Arabs*, and the third by the *Chineses*. The reader has already, in the places before referred to, been made acquainted with that related by the *Turkish* historians ; which is, that they derive themselves from one *Turk*, whom they affirm to be the son of *Yafis*; or *Jafet* : we shall, in this place, lay before him the tradition of the *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Chineses*, as delivered by their historians, accompanied with remarks ; wherein we shall examine their respective authority, and shew which tradition deserves most credit, pursuant to a rule which we have always observed throughout this work : for it is the duty of an historian to examine the memoirs he makes use of, and give his opinion of their fidelity ; not out of ostentation, to shew his skill in critical learning, but purely for the sake of truth, and to distinguish the spurious from the genuine. There are authors, who, by their silence on this important head, mislead their readers for fear of disgusting them ; and sacrifice their own credit, to save that of fables.

According
to the *Persians*.

ACCORDING to the *Persian* historians, the *Turks* are descended from *Túr*, third son of *Frayhdún* (A), the seventh king of *Persia* ; or, according to others, sixth king of the first race of kings called *Pisbdád*, contemporary with *Abraham* *. *Frayhdún* having divided his dominions among his three sons, *Masharek*, or the *Eastern Countries* (B), fell to the share of *Túr*, who went and built the city *Túrán*, in *Turkeftán*, not far east from the *Caspian* sea. *Túr* having joined his second brother *Salm* (who had *Mogareb*, or the *West Countries*), against his eldest brother *Ireje* (C), and slain him by treachery, *Manucher* (D), *Ireje*'s son, slew him ; whereby, upon *Frayhdún*'s death,

* Anc. hist. vol. v. p. 328. 341, & seq.

(A) By some written *Apbridun* or *Afridun*, *Pbridun* and *Fridun*, *Pberidun* and *Peridun* ; but we never use *ph* for *f* in oriental words.

(B) These are to be understood more properly of the countries to the North of the river *Jisbún* or *Amú*, containing all that part of *Asia* which goes at present by the name of *Tartary*.

(C) Some write *Irege*, but improperly ; for, in oriental names, the same character ought not to be used for two different sounds, when one of them has a charac-

ter peculiar to it. To prevent confusion therefore, we never use *g* before *e* or *i* instead of *j*, which is the proper letter.

(D) It may be written also *Manuj-er* or *Manjeher*, not *Manuger*, for the reason assigned in note C ; much less *Manugjer*, by joining *g* and *j*, to make a double character ; which is not only unnecessary, but highly improper, as it may mislead one to read *Manug-er*.

Observe also that we always use *ch* as in *charm*, never as *kh* in *chronicle*.

which happened soon after, *Turán* or *Turkeftán* fell under his dominion ^c.

IN the fiftieth year of *Manucher* or *Manujer's* reign, *Afra-Exploits of siab*, son of *Pasbangh*, king of *Turkeftán*, rebels in that country, under pretence of revenging *Túr's* death, from whom he was descended; beats *Manucher*, and obliges him to appoint the river *Jibún* or *Amú* the boundary betwixt *Persia* and *Turkeftán*. *Nauder* (E) succeeding his father *Manucher*, *Afrasiab* invades him with 400,000 men, and never gave over, till he had taken and put him to death; subduing all *Persia*, which, with *Turkeftán*, became subject to his father *Pasbangh* ^d.

BUT the cruelties of *Afrasiab* soon obliged the *Persians* to *He con-* throw off the *Turkish* yoke; and he quitted *Persia*, after he *quers Per-* had been possessed of it twelve years (F). Yet, in the reign of *siab*. *Kaykobád*, the eleventh king of *Persia*, *Afrasiab* invades that kingdom again, but is beaten by *Rostám*, the famous *Persian* champion; who, in the reign of *Kaykaws*, the twelfth king, contemporary with *Solomon*, routed him a second time, pursued him as far as *Turán*, the capital of *Turkeftán*, and plundered it of vast treasures. *Kaykhosraw*, the thirteenth king of *Persia*, sent an army of 30,000 men to invade *Turkeftán*, but they were defeated; and their general, *Gudarz*, being besieged by the *Turks* in the mountain of *Damawand*, in the province of *Ma-zanderán*, had been lost, if *Rostám* had not come to his relief.

THE fame of that siege brought two kings, neighbours of the *Turks*, to their assistance; the one called *Hakhon* or *Khakhán*, the same as *Khaan*, a title of the *Mogol* kings; and the other *Shangol*; the former of whom was slain. *Gudarz* afterwards beat four armies of the *Turks*, took an hundred thousand of them prisoners, and, some time after, *Afrasiab* himself was taken and slain ^e.

THIS is the account of the original of the *Turks*, given by *Mirkond* (G), a famous *Persian* historian, which differs greatly

^c Mirkond. ap. Texeira, hist. Persia, p. 33. D' HERBELOT. Bibl. orientale, p. 895. Art. Tour. See anc. hist. vol. v. p. 328, & seq.

^d Mirkond. ubi sup. p. 40. Ant. hist. ubi sup. p. 349.

^e Mirkond. ubi sup. p. 45 & seq. 52, 56 & seqq.

(E) Written by some *Nuder*. This is a consequence of not inserting the vowel points; and of taking the *Arabic Waw* or double *w*, sometimes for a vowel.

(F) He is reckoned the 9th king of *Persia*, of the *Pisbdád* race, and third from *Fraván* or *Feridúnt*.

(G) *Mirkbond*, or *Mirkbavend*, as the *Persians* pronounce it, is an abbreviation of the true name of this author; which is *Mohammed Ebn Amír Khovând Shâb*, or *Khavând Shâb*. He wrote a general history of the world, in *Persian*, from the creation to the year 875 of the *Hej-*

greatly from that penned by *Fadlallah* (H), another *Persian*, who wrote the history of the *Mogols* and *Tartars*, at the command of *Ghazán Khán*, one of *Jenghiz Khán*'s successors in *Persia*.

IT is easier to account how the *Persian* historians came to differ so much, than to reconcile them : for those who wrote before the *Turks* obtained the dominion in their country, framed their history to aggrandize their own nation, and depreciate the *Turks*, whom they hated, for the injuries received from them ; whereas those who wrote under the *Turkish* monarchies, through fear or flattery, conformed themselves to the traditions of their masters ; or, not thinking it for their honour to adopt the old *Persian* account, framed another, more agreeable to their humour ; from whence naturally arose the contradictions we meet with.

NOR is the *Persian* story perhaps more true than that of the *Turks* ; at least it is, on many accounts, liable to exception ; particularly as to the chronology of those first kings, and the length of their reigns.

IT is observable, that the account above given of *Afrasiab*, makes his life of an incredible length. The historian, being aware of this, remarks, on the occasion, that he waged war with so many princes, that he must have lived three or four hundred years. Hence some authors make *Afrasiab* or *Farfiab* (I) (which signifies *conqueror of Persia*), a title common to those kings of *Turkestan*, who obtained so many victories over the *Persians*.

rab, and of Christ 1471, consisting of seven thick volumes in folio, collected from a great number of histories, general and particular (1).

There is a *Persian* abridgement of the whole work of *Mirkond*, by his son *Gayyath Addin*, surnamed *Kbond Amir* ; whom *D'Herbelot* confounds with his father (2). He also wrote a history of the *Mogols* and *Tartars*, *Jenghiz Khán* and his children, which was published about the year 1508 (3).

Texeira, a Portuguese traveller and geographer, published an abstract of *Mirkond*'s history ; but it is too concise, and, in many places, confused, as well as defective. Nor are the larger

extracts of the reigns of kings, furnished by *D'Herbelot*, in his oriental dictionary, sufficiently particular and accurate. However, for want of better, we have made use of them, and the translation of *Texeira* by *Stephens*, which is also very incorrectly printed.

(H) Called also *Kbojab Rasbid* ; from whom chiefly *Abu'lghāzi Khán*, cited lower down, extracted his history. An account is given of *Fadlallah*, and his collection, in sect. iii.

(I) Called also *Arjab* : he kept his court at a city in *Turkestan*, called *Hest Khán*, or *Hest Khoven*. See *D'Herbelot*. Art. *Hest Khán*.

(1) *D'Herbel.* p. 582. Art. *Mirkond*. & p. 709. Art. *Rasudbat al Sefa*. De la Croix Hist. of Genghis, Can. p. 430. 446. (2) See *Herb.* p. 994. Art. *Kbondemir*. (3) De la Croix, ubi sup. p. 422.

in antient times : and, for the same reason, others compare his reign to a very dark night which covered *Persia*.

HOWEVER that be, all the *Turkish* families, which have made a noise in the world, claim to be descended from this great conqueror. *Seljuk*, founder of the *Seljuk* monarchy, would have it believed, that he was the thirty-fourth of his descendants, in a right male line ; and the *Othman* monarchs, who pretend to be related to the *Seljuks* by the family of *Oguz Khân*, assume in their titles that of *Afrasiab*, as well to denote their nobility as valour ; especially as they have, in latter times, obtained great victories over the *Persians* ^f.

AFRASIAB must have been eight or nine generations ^{Remarks} later than *Oguz Khân*, who, according to the *Turkish* historians, ^{on Afrasiab.} was cotemporary with *Kay-umarras*, first *Persian* king of the *Pisbadd* race ; and conquered *Persia* during the minority of his successor *Husbeng*, at what time the great lords were at variance among themselves ^g. But as none of the early *Persian* historians make mention of these great conquests, some of the latter are apt to think that they might have been effected in the interval between the death of *Kay-umarras*, and the reign of *Husbeng*, a space of two hundred years ; during which time, we are told, the historians have not taken notice of any transactions ^h.

HOWEVER this may be, according to the extract we have from *Mirkond*, a modern author, he mentions no such interregnum : he only says, that when *Kay-umarras* died, his grandson *Husbeng* was a minor ; and that, as soon as he came of age, he ascended the throne ⁱ. Now, though we should consider the throne to be vacant during his minority, yet we cannot rationally suppose that it lasted two hundred years.

ONE would imagine that *Abulghâz Khân*, who undertook *Khân of* professedly to write a *genealogical history of the Turks*, could ^{Turkes-} not have avoided speaking of the *Khâns of Turkestan*, and particularly of *Afrasiab* : so far from that, he treats of no descents from *Oguz*, but those relating to the *Mogols* and *Tartars* ; and never so much as mentions *Afrasiab*, except once, on occasion of *Ilek*, *Khân of Balâsâgûn*, who, he tells us, was descended from *Afrasiab Khân* ^k, without saying any thing more of this hero, or his race.

BUT to return to the origin of the *Turks*. If the authors, ^{Turkish} who have come to our hands, had given us the *genealogy* ^{genealo-} of *Seljuk*, it might have been of use in settling this point. ^{gives}

^f D'HERB. p. 895. Art. Touran. p. 66. Art. Afrasiab. & p. 800. Art. Selgiouk. ^g ABULGHAZI KHAN hist. Turks, &c.

p. 19. D'HERB. p. 683. Art. Ogouz Khân.

ubi supr.

ⁱ MIRKOND. ap. Texeir. p. 13.

^k See ABULGHAZI KHAN. hist. Turks, &c. p. 44.

However, if we may judge by that of *Ozmân* or *Othmân*, founder of the *Othmân* empire, their pretences to antiquity seem very suspicious: for, in three lists of that prince's ancestors, two given by *Leonclavius*, one in his *history of the Soltans*¹, the other in his *Mussulman history*^m, and the third by Prince *Cantemir*, in his *history of the growth and decay of the Othman empire*ⁿ, all taken from the *Turkish* historians themselves (K); though, in all of them, I say, we meet with the name of *Ogûz*, yet none of them makes mention of either *Afrasiab* or *Turk* (L); *Bulkhas* (M) being put instead of the latter in one of them, which alone runs so high as *Japhet*. The list found in the *history of the Soltâns*, which was translated from the *Turkish*, ends at *Lekrek*, who is but the fifth in the other given in the *history of the Mussulmans*. And though both genealogies are said to ascend from son to father, yet *Othmân's* ancestors by one are fifty-seven, and by the other only seventeen, to *Lekrek*.

very suspicious,

PRINCE *Cantemir's* list wants three ancestors, found in the former, with which it best agrees, and ends at *Takva*, called in the other *Diptakoy* (N); only adding, that he was of the house of *Jafet*. But although this author represents his list as the best and most correct of any which are to be found in the *Turkish* historians, yet he observes, that his author, *Saadi Effendi*, does not venture to warrant it as certain. In short, the whole history of the origin and descent of the *Turks* carries the marks of fiction: for, although we should admit that there might have been such persons as *Afrasiab*, *Ogûz*, and *Turk*, among the ancestors of the *Turks*, yet it is manifest, that both the times and actions ascribed to those heroes must be false (O), as well as the tradition of *Turk* being the son (P) of *Jafet*; since he is not to be found in the genealogy

¹ P. 1.

^m P. 90.

ⁿ Pref. p. 14.

(K) We shall insert them hereafter, in the *Othmân* history.

(L) This omission may possibly be owing to the aversion which the *Othmâns* have to be called *Turks*, as will be observed when we come to give their history.

(M) Unless *Bulkhas*, or *Abu'l Khâs*, may stand for the father of the *Kâbs* or *Gaâ*, who are the wandering *Turks* or *Turk-mâns*.

(N) Son of *Bulkhas*, and father of *Lekrek*, who, in *Cante-*

mir's list, is named *Ulije Khân*; from whom *Oguz Khân* was the third in descent.

(O) See what is remarked with regard to the *Turkish* chronology, in the preface to *Abulg-bâzi Khân's* history, p. 7. Also the new collection of voyages and travels, 4to. vol. iv. p. 412. and Univ. Hist. vol. xx. p. 44.

(P) His right of primogeniture is also disputed; for some historians give it to *Cbin*, whom others make the second son. However, the oriental *Turks* maintain,

genealogy of that patriarch, given by *Moses*, which both the *Christians* and *Mohammedans* follow.

THE truth may possibly be, that the Soltâns of either the *Gaznab* or *Seljuk* families, first *Turkish* sovereigns in *Persia*, who were *Mohammedans*, having had, by tradition, one *Turk* for their common ancestor, or feigning him to be such, their historians, to honour them, by carrying his origin as high as they ^{How} framed, could, made him the son of *Jafet*; whose posterity, according to *Mohammedans*, as well as *Jews* and *Christians*, peopled the north parts of *Asia*. The *Othmân Turks*, who succeeded the *Seljuks*, thought they could not do better than claim or acknowledge the same original; and the successors of *Jenghiz Khân* in *Persia*, the two *Bukharias* and *Karazm*, being *Mohammedans*, consented to be branches of *Turks*, that they might have the son of so great a patriarch as *Jafet* at the head of their ancestors. It must farther be considered, that they who were the first historiographers to this last race, being *Persians*, took care to make their history tally with that of former writers of their nation, who made all the inhabitants of *Tartary*, from one end to the other, to be sprung from the same common stock. But it is hardly to be presumed that the *Mogols*, and other tribes of the east, who continued in their old religion, acknowledged themselves to be descended from *Turk*, though they were possibly a branch of the *Turkish* nation; whom yet they always hated for their inroads, and had lately conquered.

ACCORDING to the *Chinese* historians, the *Huns* and *Turks* *Origin of* are the same people; who, at different times, went under the *Turks* those different names. They give them the appellations of *from the* *Hyong-nû* and *Tû-ki-ûk*, that is, *Huns* and *Turks*; the first *Chinese* is that which they had before the *Christian* æra; the second, ^{historians.} that which a remnant of those *Huns*, re-established in *Tartary*, assumed afterwards; and say, that they dwelt in the neighbourhood of the great desert, extending from the country of *Korea*, in the east, to that of the *Getes*, in the west; which part of *Tartary* was their habitation from all antiquity: That *Mau-ton*, son of the last *Chinese* monarch, of the first family, or the *Hya* race, was the first *Tanjû*, or emperor of

* Ven-hyen-tum-kaw, Kam-mo, Ye-tum chî van san tum pow swi su, as cited by *Guignes sur l'origine des Huns & des Turks*.

* Ven-hyen-tum ihau, Kam-mo.

maintain, that *Turk* was the count the founder of their nation (4).
Oglan, the son of *Jafet*, and ac-

(4) See *D'Herbelot. Art. Turk.* p. 898.

these *Huns*; and the same with the famous *Ogúz Khán*, so renowned among the present *Turks* and *Tartars*, and acknowledged for the founder of their empire: that, in the reign of one of his successors, they came to be divided under two distinct *Tanjús*; one branch was called the northern, the other the southern *Huns*; but the *Persian* historians distinguished them by the names of *Tartars* and *Mogols*: that the northern *Huns*, being destroyed by the *Chineses*, removed westward; and passed, at least part of them, into *Europe*. That the southern *Huns*, after this, became best known by the name of *Turks*; about which time they were subdued by the *Juijen*, eastern *Tartars*; and at length, being greatly reduced, they retired into the mountain of *Erganakon*, where they forged iron for their conquerors: that they afterwards overthrew them in their turn, and established a new empire under the name of *Turks*, as will be more fully related lower down.

IN this account we discover two very material facts, hitherto unknown to the historians of *Europe*, and perhaps to those of the west of *Asia*; namely, first, the original of the *Huns*, about which *Jornandes*, and other writers, have related such ridiculous fables: secondly, that the *Huns* and *Turks* are the same people, under different names; which latter seems not to have been given them till about the year 500, as noted before; at what time they became known by it in *Europe*.

¹ See sect. iv.

² See anc. hist. vol. xix. p. 204, & seq.

S E C T. II.

A general description of Great Tartary, with an account of the Turkish tribes or nations inhabiting it, according to the Arab authors.

Great
Tartary.

BEFORE we treat of the several branches of the *Turkish* nation inhabiting *Great Tartary*, it will be necessary previously to insert some general account of that vast region; that the reader may be better able to form a notion in what part of it the several tribes formerly were, or at present are, situated.

Bounds
and ex-
tent.

TARTARY, or rather *Tatary*, in its greatest extent, is situate between fifty-seven and one hundred and sixty degrees of longitude (A); and between the thirty-seventh and fifty-fifth de-

(A) Reckoning from the west end of the isle of *Ferro*, supposed to be twenty degrees west of *Paris*, and seventeen degrees thirty-five minutes west of *London*.

degrees of latitude : being bounded on the north by *Siberia*, or that part of *North Asia* which belongs to *Russia* ; on the west, by the rivers *Don* (B), the *Volga*, and *Kama*, which separate it from *Russia* ; on the south, by the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, *Karazm*, the two *Bukharias*, *China*, and *Korea* ; and on the east, by the oriental or *Tartarian* ocean. From this account it appears, that *Tartary*, or *Great Tartary*, as we call it, is a vast region, situate almost in the middle of *Asia*, and extending the whole length of it, in that part from west to east, the space of one hundred and four degrees in longitude, or four thousand one hundred and forty-five geographical miles : but its breadth is not proportionable ; being not above nine hundred and sixty miles where broadest, and, where narrowest, three hundred and thirty.

THIS vast region is divided into two great parts ; the one *Division*. called the *Western*, the other the *Eastern Tartary* : which last is scarce one-fourth part so large as the former ; beginning at about the one hundred and thirty-ninth degree of longitude, and ending at the one hundred and sixty-first. Hence it contains only twenty-two degrees of longitude, or is but nine hundred geographical miles from west to east, though eight hundred and eighty broad, from south to north. But with this part of *Tartary* we have nothing to do at present : for although some oriental authors would derive all the inhabitants of *Tartary* in general from the same stock, making the people of *Katay*, under which denomination they seem to comprise all the inhabitants of *Eastern Tartary* (of whom they had scarce any knowledge at all), to be descended from *Turk*, the son of *Jafet* ; yet, in the genealogy of those tribes given by *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, and doubtless in that of *Fadlallah* (C), from whom chiefly he extracted his history, we meet with none but what are to be found in *Western Tartary* : for which reason we shall confine our description, in this place, to that part only.

IN this vast region of *Western Tartary*, (containing in Western extent one hundred and thirty-nine degrees of longitude Tartary. out of one hundred and sixty-one), although the lands belonging to every nation or tribe are marked out, and well known to the inhabitants ; yet as there are few or no

(B) The limits might be carried westward, beyond the *Dniester* or *Boristhenes* ; but these parts were rather conquered of later ages, than originally inhabited by *Turkish* or *Tartar* tribes.

(C) We cannot be positive as to this point, because *De la Croix*, in his history of *Genghis Khân*, taken chiefly from *Fadlallah*, has mentioned only the *Mongol* tribes.

cities, towns, or villages, to direct strangers, their several situations or possessions are best distinguished and ascertained by the natural marks or boundaries, such as mountains, rivers, lakes, and the like, with which *Western Tartary* abounds. But it will be sufficient for our present purpose to mention only the most remarkable of them.

Chief mountains, THE principal mountains, or rather chains of mountains, found in this part of *Great Tartary*, may be divided into three classes: first, those which run along the northern borders of it; and though perhaps not always contiguous, or of the same denomination, go under the general name of *Vlug Tág* or *Dág*, that is, the great mountain: secondly, those which make the southern bounds, and are called *Kichuk Tág*, or the lesser mountain: the third great chain is called mount *Altay*, lying nearly in the middle, between the *Caspian* sea and *Eastern Tartary*, and extending between the other two, in about the one hundred and tenth degree of longitude.

and deserts. THE chief deserts or plains are, first, those of *Kipjákh* or *Kapchák* in the west, extending many days journey on the north and north-east of the *Caspian* sea. These are generally fertile lands. Secondly, those stretching eastward from *Kipjákh* to mount *Altay*. Thirdly, that called the *great Kobi*, or *sandy desert*, by the *Mogols*, and *Sha-mo* by the *Chinese*. It is divided by ridges of hills into three or four parts, and extends eastward from mount *Altay* to *Eastern Tartary*.

Rivers. THE principal rivers of *Western Tartary*, besides the *Dnieper*,
The Jaík. *Don*, and *Volga*, are the *Jaík* or *Taík* and *Yem*, both descending from the *Ulug Tág*, and falling into the *Caspian* sea, on the north side. The river *Ili* or *Khonghis*, which rises out of the *Kichuk Tág*, on the borders of *Little Bukharia*, about the one hundred and fourth degree of longitude, and runs north-west into the lake *Palkasi* (D): on this river the *Kbán* of
The Ili. the *Eluths* or *Kahnúks* usually resides. The river *Irtish*, *Itis*, or *Erchis*, which rises in mount *Altay*, and runs westward, inclining to the north, between two branches of it, into the lake *Saysan* (E); from whence issuing again, it passes north-west, through part of *Siberia*, and falls into the *Obi*, which has its source out of the same mountains, about one degree to the north of that of the *Irtish*: and seven or eight degrees

(D) It is about forty miles long, and thirty broad, in latitude forty-eight degrees, longitude ninety-seven, reckoning from the isle of *Ferro*.

(E) *Sassan* or *Isan*, called also

Honbotu Nor, ninety miles long from west to east, and forty broad; in latitude forty-seven degrees thirty minutes, longitude one hundred and four degrees.

to the north-east rises the *Kem*, or *Jenisea*, which runs westward for the space of seven or eight degrees, and then, turning northward, enters *Siberia*.

THE next river of note is the river *Selinga*, which rises out of the lake *Kofogol* or *Hutúktú* (F), not far from the source of the *Jenisea* takes a sweep southward round by the east, and falls northward into the lake *Baykál*, in *Siberia*, about thirty leagues north-west of the city *Selinghinskoy*, which stands upon it. Into the *Selinga* runs the *Orkon*, *Orkon* coming from the south-west; and into the *Orkon* the *Tula*, and *Tula* rising eastward in Mount *Kentey*; two rivers very famous in the history of *Jenghiz Khán*. Out of the same mountain (G), and not far from the source of the *Tula*, rise two other rivers, still more famous than the former; first, the *Onon*, *Onon* or called also by the *Mogols*, *Saghalian Ula*, or the dragon river, *Saghalian* and by the *Russians* *Amúr*; which running north-eastward, and then taking a large sweep by the south, rolls along the bounds of *Eastern Tartary*, and falls into the *Eastern* ocean, in about the 53d degree of latitude, and 159th of longitude. On its bank stand two cities; *Nerchinskoy*, or *Nipchew*, a frontier of the *Russians*, almost due north of *Pé-kin*, in *China*; and *Saghalian Ula*, possessed by the *Chineses*.

THE second river is the *Kerlon*, or *Kerulon*; which running north-eastward, falls into the lake *Kulon*, or *Dalay* (H), *Argun*. and, passing out again, under the name of *Ergona*, or *Argun*, joins the *Saghalian Ula*, about one hundred and seventy miles beyond *Nerchinskoy*. To these let us add the river *Kálka*, *Kalka* from whence, tho' small, the *Kálka-Moguls*, or *Mongols*, take their name. It rises in the mountains, separating the *Eastern* from the *Western Tartary*; and, running westward, falls into the lake *Puir*, and then into that of *Kulon*, before spoken of.

HAVING mentioned the principal lakes of *Western Tartary*, in our account of the rivers, we shall take notice only of two more; first, the *Kámish*, about four hundred and eighty-four miles long, and near as many broad (I). The second, *If-fikol*; a lake of small extent (K), but renowned among the inhabitants in the west of *Tartary*, for being the place where *Turk*, their great ancestor, fixed his residence, or royal seat.

As to the political State of *Western Tartary*, we shall only say in general, that it is intirely possessed by the *Mogol* tribes, *nations*.

(F) Or *Khutuktu*, 70 miles south-west to north-east, and long from south to north, and 27 broad. In lat. 48° 30' long. 30 broad. In lat. 52°. long. 118. 135.

(G) It lies in about 126 degrees of long. and 48 of lat. 30 (I) In lat. 50°. long. 83°

(H) Sixty miles long from (K) Lat. 46°. long. 94° 30'.

under several *Kháns*, whose dominions are named after the people, or their prince who rules over them *. The first and chief of these *Mogol* nations are the *Elúths*, nicknamed *Kalkalmúks*. *múks* by the *Mohammedan Tartars*. These are divided under two *Kháns*. The first are called *Ayuki Elúths*, from their *Khán Ayuki*, who has the western part of *Tartary*, bounded by the river *Jaik*, containing most of that country which was formerly called *Kipjákh*, or *Kapchák*, and extending about 10 degrees eastward from the river *Jaik*, in the 72d degree of longitude. The second are called *Dsongari* or *Kontaisbi Elúths*, from the title of their prince, stiled *Kontaisbi*, whose dominion extends from 72 degrees of longitude as far as the end of mount *Altay*, in about the 102d degree.

The Kal- THE second nation or branch of the *Mogols* are the *Kálka*,
kas. *Khákhba*, or *Hálha Mogols*: their country extends from mount *Altay* eastward to the source of the river *Kálka*, whence they derive their name, in the borders of *Eastern Tartary*, and 139th degree of longitude. The third branch are the *Mogols* or *Mongols*, properly so called; whose territories lie to the south of that of the *Kálkas*, between them and the great wall of *China*; to which empire both nations are subject.

Proper
Mogols,
or Mon-
gols.

BESIDES these *Kháns* (who with their subjects are idolaters, of the religion of *Tibet*, or the *Dalay Lama*) there are two others in *Great Tartary*, who possess that part of it called *Turkeistán*, situate to the north of *Great Bukbaria* and *Karazm*, between those countries and the dominions of the *Elúths*; of which we shall speak more particularly in a subsequent section, and now return to our subject, for explaining which, this short discription of *Tartary*, with the help of maps, may suffice.

Turkish
nations,

IT is generally agreed by the oriental historians, that the inhabitants of *Great Tartary* are originally *Turks*, or so many branches of the same nation: but those who wrote of *Turkish* affairs, and even the *Turks* themselves who inhabited *Persia* before the time of *Jenghiz Khán*, seem to have had but a slender knowlege of the several tribes of people into which their nation was said to be divided. The *Arab* author of the book miscalled *The geography of the Nubian*, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, says, the *Turks* were branched into many different kinds of people; as the *Tobbat* (L), *Taghazghaz* (M), *Kharkirs*, *Kaymaks*, *Kha-*

according
to the
Arabs.

* See anc. hist. vol. xx. p. 1, & seq.

(L) These were probably a colony from *Tibet* or *Tobbat*, as the *Igúrs* or *Vigúrs* seem to have been.

(M) Miscalled *Baghargbars* in the *Latin* translation.

zajes (N), *Hofarens*, *Mohametans*, *Torkbojs*, *Odhkofs*, *Khofsbaks* (O), *Khalaj* (P), *Olghars*, and *Bolghars* (Q).

THIS geographer affords us little more concerning those different people than their names^a; but describes the countries inhabited by some of them: from whence we shall extract so much as may be proper to lay before our readers.

THE country of *Tobbat* (*Tibet*), with part of *India*, borders on the west on *Mâwâra'nâhr* (or *Great Bukharia*), and on the east on *Sin* (or *China*). The chief cities are *Tobbat* and *Shih*, *Wakhan*, *Sakita*, *Berwan*, *Ug*, *Majag*, *Ramajag*, and *Danekhu*. The country of *Wakhan* and *Sakita* border on those of *Wakhaf* and *Jil*, in *Mâwâra'nâhr*. *Wakhan* abounds with rich mines of the finest gold and silver. In it is a lake called *Berwân*, forty leagues in length, and twenty-four in breadth.

THE land of the *Taghazghaz*, who are governed^b by a *Taghaz-Khakân*, is bounded on the east by *Kharkir*, on the south by *ghaz*. *Sin*, and on the north by the people of *Kaymak*. It contains four cities; *Kakhân* or *Tantabee*, *Masa*, *Jormok*, and *Bakhwân*. *Kakhân*, the capital, has twelve iron gates, and is seated on a great river, that runs eastward: 'tis two months journey from *Berfajan* the higher, in the country of *Farghâna* (R), and twelve south-east from *Bakhwân*. In the mountains near this last city are found the musk goats. There is among the *Taghazghaz Turks* a nation who adore the fire^c.

THE inhabitants of *Kharkir* border on the sea of *Sin*, and *Kharkia*, possess four populous cities, all lying within the compass of four days journey. The country is large and fertile, abounding with water. Some of its rivers descend from the country of *Sin*; the greatest of them, called *Menhar*, is very rapid; running between rocks, and driving mills for grinding rice and wheat. On its banks grow aloes trees and *costum dulce*. In its stream is found a fish called *batrun*; which, being eaten, affects the seminal vessels. It is said, that it has not many bones; that the flesh is divided into joints, and does not smell like other fish. The city where the king resides is most strongly fortified, with walls, ditches, and counterscraps, and is three stages from the sea; where

^a Geogr. Nubienfis, p. 145. ^b P. 144. 'Tis said to extend to the dark Oriental ocean. ^c Geogr. Nub. p. 141—145.

(N) Or rather perhaps *Kbax-aj*, hereafter mentioned.

(P) The *Kalatz*.

(Q) The *Bolgharians*, or *Welgarians*.

(O) These must be the *Kap-jâks*, written also *Kofjâks*, and *Kipjâk*; also *Kapcbâk*, and *Kipcbâk*.

(R) Which belongs to *Mâwâra'nâhr*.

there is a large peninsula, called that of the *Hyacinth*, from the precious stones of the same name, which are found there in abundance^d.

Kaymak. THE land of the people of *Kaymak* has, on the south, *Taghazghaz*, on the south-west *Khazalja*, where it joins with *Tobbot*, on the west *Khalakh*, and on the east the sea of darkness; wherein are islands, to which the merchants pass on horseback, and lie every night on trees. The king of *Kaymak* is equal to the greatest monarchs for power and grandure; the inhabitants are very numerous, and worship the fire. It contains sixteen cities; the principal whereof are *Astur*, *Buragh*, *Sifian*, *Mannon*, *Mostānah*, *Khakān* (S); the regal seat, *Benjar*, *Dholan*, and *Hanawes*; to these may be added *Karan Hiya*.

River Ghammas. THE great river *Ghammas*, rising in the mountains of *Benjar*, runs eastward to the city *Astur*, on its south bank, six stages distant, through the desert; thence to *Sifian*, on the north side, twelve stages; it proceeds forwards to the regal city *Khakān*, which stands on the south side: then it turns northwards to *Mostānah*, on its west bank, four stages distant. From this city it advances eastward till it falls into the sea, one stage distant. Along all the coast of *Kaymak* is found gold, when the sea rages; and the country produces plenty of musk; but not so good as that of *Tobbot*, which is the best of all^e.

FROM *Karan Hiya*, the first city of *Kaymak*, to *Khakān*, or the royal city, are twenty-four stages, from west to east. From *Khakān* to *Buragh* four stages, south-westward; and eighteen stages, through the desert of the *Turks* of *Khalakh*, to *Tarān* (T). From *Tarān* to *Benjar* are thirty-six stages: thus, to *Kasra* forty-five miles; to *Damorrta*, crossing a mountain in the way, four stages; to *Khaykham* castle twenty stages, eastward; and to *Benjar* four stages.

Khazalja. THE country of *Khazalja* has several cities in it; among which are *Bersajan* the higher, *Nawaketh*, *Rudhan*, *Talan*, and *Bersajan* the lower. From *Atas* (in *Farghana*) to *Bersajan* the higher are six stages, through the country of the *Turks*: to *Nawaketh*, in the entrance of *Khazalja*, almost ten stages. From *Atrakana* to *Karanttia*, the first city of *Kaymak*, ten stages, through the deserts. From *Tarān* to *Bersajan* the lower, consisting of towns and fields, thirty-nine miles. From *Bersajan* the lower to the higher thus;

^d Ibid. p. 145 & seq.

^e Geogr. Nub. p. 213 & seq.

(S) *Khakān*, with this author, every country of the *Turks*.
is the name of the chief city of (T) Perhaps rather *Tarax*.

first,

first, to *Ayas* castle six miles; to *Kukfawb* twelve miles; to *Kulan Ghaya* town fifteen miles; to *Borak* town fifteen miles: it stands on a mountain, from whence the river *Borak* descends, and, running westward, through the territories of *Aylan*, falls into the river *Alsbâh* (the *Sibân* or *Sir*): to *Asira* fifteen miles; to *Ghane Burekt* town twenty-four miles; to *Jerk* town twelve miles; to the city of *Khakân* twelve miles; to *Kobab* thirty-six miles; to *Bersajan* the higher near ten stages, with the *Karawân*¹.

THE *Arabian* geographer says little or nothing of the other *The Odb-Turkish* nations, and their countries, except the *Odhkos* and *kos*. *Olgharians*; of whom almost every thing he relates may be suspected of fable. We shall, however, give the reader a taste of what he has collected on the occasion. The country of the *Odhkos* has on the west the land of *Al Aazaz*; on the east nations, and their generations. In the south part is the lake *Tahama*, 250 miles in compass, whose water is exceeding green, but sweet. Four stages east of the lake is the mountain *Jorda*, or *Bald*; which is so slippery that to get to the city at top they were forced to dig into the bowels of the hill, and to ascend by the help of ladders. The north side of the country is covered by the great mountain *Taraan*, extending for eighteen stages from west or east.

THIS tribe of *Turks* are reported to have broad faces, great heads, thick of hair, and flaming eyes. They have a peculiar language, and worship the fire. However, some of them are pretended to be *Moslems* or believers².

EIGHT days journey from the castle of *Jordah* aforesaid is *Mountain* the mountain of *Kokaiya*, which is inaccessible steep, and al-*Kokaiya*. ways covered with snow and thick clouds. It extends thence to the north of *Bolgar*, and surrounds the country of *Yajûj* and *Majûj*, which is full of cities, cultivated lands, and exceeding populous³.

As these are the famous nations of *Gog* and *Magog*, after *Gog and* whom so much enquiry has been made in *Europe*, to little purpose *Magog*. hitherto, it may not be amiss to give the reader some account of them, and their country, from the *Arabian* authors, who pretend to be acquainted with both⁴. As a convincing proof of this, they inform us, that the people of *Yajûj* are of a proper size; but those of *Majûj* not above three spans high: that they are covered with a sort of thick down, and have large round hanging ears⁵.

BUT let us hear the report of an eye-witness, reputable by his office, *Salam* the interpreter; who was sent by no

¹ Geogr. Nub. p. 211. ² Ibid. p. 247 & seq.

p. 248. 276.

† See anc. hist. vol. xx. p. 23.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

p. 249.

less a personage than *Mohammed Amin Billah*, sixth *Khalifah* of the *Abbās* family (U), in order to discover the mountain of *Kokaiya*, with the bank of *Tajūj* and *Majūj*, of which such strange things had come to his ears.

Salam's
journey
thither.

SALAM, who had with him fifty men, and provisions for a whole year, leaving *Sarra Manray* (X), where the *Khalifahs* then resided, took his way by *Tafis* (Y), having had letters from his master to the king of *Armenia*, who gave him others to the king of *Al Sarir* (Z). This king sent them to him of *Lân* (A), and he passed them on to the lord *Fila Shâh*, who gave them five guides. Having, in twenty-seven days, reached the bounds of the regions of *Besejert* (B), they came to a black long stinking land, in which they travelled ten days, using perfumes, to keep off the noxious smells. They travelled a month farther, through a desert country, where they saw the ruins of many cities, destroyed by the people of *Tajūj* and *Majūj*. In six days more they arrived at the castles near the mountain *Kokaiya*; in the opening of which appears the bank. Those in the castles spoke *Persian* and *Arabick*. There is also a city there, whose king is called *Khakân Odhkos*; and the inhabitants, who are *Moslems*, have temples and academies.

Surprising
bank.

FROM that city they went to see the bank, two stages distant. Here they found a mountain, with a ditch cut in it one hundred and fifty cubits wide, and within the chanel an iron gate, fifty cubits high, supported by great buttresses, with an iron bulwark, crowned with iron turrets, reaching to the top of the mountain, which is as high as one can well see. The reader, by the height of the gate, may judge of the

(U) He began his reign in the year 193 of the *Hijrah*, of *Cbrist* 808; and enjoyed the *Khalifat* five years.

(X) A city on the east side of the *Tigris*, 64 miles or stages to the north of *Baghdâd*; now in ruins.

(Y) *Tafis*, or *Tefis*, is at present the capital of *Georgia*.

(Z) Or of *Shirwân*, a province of *Persia*, on the *Caspian* sea.

(A) Or *Allan*.

(B) Rather perhaps *Beskbert*, or *Baskir*, a people of *Kipjâk*, bordering on the *Russian* dominions. However that be, as

the course of this journey is so manifestly northward, 'tis unaccountable how *Bayer* should suppose *Lân* to be *Labjân* in *Ghilân*; and *Besejerd*, *Besa* or *Phasa* (the old *Pasagarda*), to the south-east of *Persepolis*: as if the country of *Tajūj* and *Majūj*, in *Tartary*, lay to the south-east of *Sarra Manray*, instead of the north-east; or that to get to *Besa*, instead of going directly south-eastward, the way was first to travel twice as far north to *Tafis*, and then turn back again south-eastward, to reach that city.

size

size of the valves, knavels, and threshold of the gate, with that of the bolts, lock, and key, which are described. What is most curious of all, the governor of the castles before-mentioned takes horse every *Friday*, with ten others, and, coming to the gate, strikes the bolt three times with a hammer, weighing five pounds, and then listening, hears a murmuring noise within; from whence they conclude, that the *Tajik* and *Majik* are confined within bounds. *Salam* was told, that they often appeared on the turrets of the bulwark; and that a high wind had once blown three of them over; who, being measured, were found to be each but three spans high (C). *Salam* returned by the cities *Lokman*, *Aaraban*, *Berfajan*, and *Taraz*, to *Samarkand*, after having spent twenty-eight months in the journey.

THE *Olghars* possess inaccessible mountains, on which are The Ol-
garisoned castles; where the kings fortify themselves, and ghara-
lay up their provisions. The chief of these, and capital of
Olgharia, is named *Hiyâm*. At the south foot of the hill, on
which it stands, runs the large river *Rudha* (D), eastward;
and seven days journey down the stream is another city, called
Fajân. There are in this country several other cities.

NORTHWARD of the city *Hiyâm* is the great mountain *Mountain*
Moregar, which is covered with snow, and divides *Olgharia* *Moregar*,
from *Bejert* (E). In a river, descending from it southward,
is found much gold, and *Lapis Lazuli*; and in the woods,
along its banks, are caught the *Alnebr*, monstrous beasts,
which are carried into all parts of *Armenia* and *Greece*;
whose skin is very beautiful, and furs surpass all others in
goodness: but the yellow fox-skins, being scarce, are reserved
for the use of the kings of those regions.

ON the side of the above-mentioned river stands a high
mountain, out of which gush a thousand springs, that flow
into the river *Margha*. On the top of it stand *Naja* and
Badegha, one day's journey asunder; and on its skirts *Daran-*
da and *Darku*, three stages distant from each other; and the
last, which lies most eastward, ten from *Fajân*. The lake
of *Korazm* is six stages distant to the south*.

* Geogr. Nub. p. 245.

(C) There are found among
the orientals many such tradi-
tions as these, of a long stand-
ing, grounded on the like testi-
mony; which are as firmly be-
lieved by the unthinking multi-
tude as so many articles of faith.

(D) This seems to be derived
from *Rudh*, the *Persian* word
for a river.

(E) Perhaps rather *Bejbert*
or *Eajbert*; that is, the coun-
try of the *Baskirs*.

Gaz and
Walak
Turks.

BEYOND the mountain *Möregar*, southward, dwells a nation of wandering *Gâz Turks*, called *Khanaket*, who destroyed the land of *Samarik*, or *Walak Turks*, which is divided from that of *Khanaket* by the same mountain. To *Samarik* belongs the city *Lokhmân*, seated on the mountain *Sunia*, out of which rises the river *Lokhmân*, on whose west side stands *Danbaba*, a beautiful city; from whence boats go up the stream, as far as a great lake, and thence to the city *Jermân*¹.

Bolgar
country.

WITH regard to the country of *Bolgâr*, it is only observed, that there is in it a city called *Babûn*, built on the top of a hill, and strongly fortified: that, to the north, lies the mountain *Kokaiya*; beyond which are found no dwellings, nor any living creature, by reason of the intense cold: and, lastly, that the land is washed ^m by the *Atel* (F). This river consists of two branches, the eastern flowing out of *Kharkir*, between *Kaymâk* and *Olgâr*, runs westward, till it comes to *Bolgâr*: there it divides into two arms (G), one of which turns to the east, and passing through the countries of *Rûs* (H), *Bolgar*, and *Bertas*, at length falls into the sea of *Khozâr* (I): the other flows westward, to the sea of *Nites* (K).

River
Atel or
Wolga.

Khozar
kingdom.

THE city of *Atel* (L), twenty stages from the borders of *Bertas*, is the capital of *Khozâr*, and divided into two parts by the river, very populous, and three miles long. The king of *Khozâr* resides in the east part; the merchants and commonalty in the other. The *Khozars* are *Christians*, *Mohammedans*, and *Pagans*: but there is no contention among them about religion ⁿ.

To this account of the *Arab* geographer we may add, from others, that the *Khozârs* were descended from *Khozâr*, the youngest brother of *Turk*; that their king was stiled *Khakân*; that they made a great figure in the seventh century; and that the capital of the country was called *Balanjar*: besides which, two other cities are mentioned, viz. *Siyakoweth* and *Saray*^o.

Remarks
on the
foregoing
account.

FROM this account of the *Turkish* nations, and the countries they inhabit, the reader may perceive how little *Tartary* was known to the *Arabs*; as well as what a knack they have at invention. They have mentioned rivers, lakes, and mountains, which, in all probability, never were in being; nor

¹ Geogr. Nub. p. 266.
p. 243, & seq.

^m Ibid. p. 276.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o D'HERB. p. 1003. Art. Khozar.

(F) *Atel* or *Edel*, the *Wolga*.

(I) That is, the *Caspian* sea.

(G) The author here must make the *Don* or *Tanais*, a branch of the *Wolga*.

(K) Or the *Euxine*.

(L) This seems to be the present *Astrakhan*.

(H) Or *Russia*.

are their names to be found in later writers : they have placed large and rich cities, where never any-thing but deserts existed ; and, in many particulars, had recourse to fiction. In short, if we except the names of nations, which might have been formerly in use, and of a few places which are still known, the whole seems to be romance. Neither are we sure, from what our author has written, that all the nations whom he mentions were branches of the *Turks* : in all probability they were only so in the opinion of the *Arabs* ; it being customary to call the different people, under one power or dominion, by the same name ; or to give the name of the people who are nearest, to all the rest who are beyond them, either for want of knowing better, or to avoid prolixity in speaking of them.

S E C T. III.

An account of the Turkish tribes or nations, as delivered by the Turkish and Tartarian historians.

THE oriental authors, who wrote in and after the time of Turkish the *Seljuk Sultans* reigning in the west of *Asia*, seem to *historians*, have been a great deal better acquainted with the *Turkish* nations than the *Arabs*, although some of them extend their branches much too far ; including, under that denomination, not only the *Mogols*, *Tartars*, and *Igurs* or *Vigurs*, but also the inhabitants of *Kitay* or *Katay*^a, which contained the northern provinces of *China*, and great part of *Tartary*, to the north and north-west of it. Others, as *Mirkhond* and *according Arabshah* (A), more distinctly inform us, that the posterity to *Mirk-of Turk* was divided into four great tribes, named *Erlat*, *hond*. *Jalayr*, *Kawjin*, and *Berlas* or *Perlas*^b, which were again subdivided by *Oguz Khan* into twenty-four others, of which the principal are the *Mogols*, the *Turks* properly so called, the *Igurs*, the *Kanghelis* (B), the *Kipchaks*, the *Kazelaks* (C),

^a D'HERBELOT. Bibl. orient. p. 897. Art. Turk.

^b ARABSHAH. hist. Trim. l. i. § 4. D'HERB. p. 898. Art. Turk. p. 685. Art. Ogour Khan.

(A) *Arab Shab*, a *Turkish* historian, who wrote the life of *Timur-bek*, or *Tamerlan*, in elegant *Arabic* : but gives that prince a very bad character ; probably on account of the victories obtained by him over the *Turks*, and the ravages he made in their country. This history

has been published in *French*, translated by *Vatier*.

(B) Or *Kanklis*.

(C) Or *Kazlaks* ; but *Karlaks*, in *Abu'lghani Khan*. The reader, in perusing this account of the *Turkish* tribes, may consult vol. xx. p. 23, & seq.

and the *Tamgaj* (D). These twenty-four tribes were likewise divided into the right and left wing, called by the *Mogols* *Jivangar* and *Berangar*, which, by their fundamental laws, were never to mix or marry one with the other ^c.

Abû'lghâ. This scrap which *D'Herbelot* has given us from the oriental historians, was all to be met with on the subject, till the history of *Abû'lghâzi Khân* of *Karazm* (E) appeared of late, one of whose chief designs was to treat particularly of the tribes of the *Turkish* nation, and mark the descent of each. As this book is one of the chief funds which afford materials for the history of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, it will be proper to inform the reader on what authority it is grounded. *Ghazân* or *Kazân Khân*, sixth successor of *Halakû*, grandson of *Jenghîz Khân*, who subdued *Persia*, being desirous to preserve the memory of the *Mogol* tribes, as well as the great exploits of his ancestors, sent one *Pulâd*, or *Fulâd*, a nobleman skilled in the *Mogol* language, into *Tartary*, in order to collect materials for that purpose. At his return the *Khân* put his memoirs into the hands of his grand Wazir or Visier *Fadlallah*, that he might compose a regular history from them; and ordered *Pulâd* to assist him in the work,

whence
collected.

^c D'HERR. ubi sup.

(D) *Tamgaj*, or *Thamgaj*, or *Tamgax*, is by all the oriental authors reckoned a tribe of *Turks*, which he takes to be the *Gâz*, descended from *Gâz*, tenth son of *Jafet*; and from them came the *Turkmâns*. But *Abulfeda* says, the country of *Tamgaj* is that of *Katay*. See *D'Herbelot*, *Bibl. orient.* Art. *Gaz*, *Tamgaj*, and *Thamgaj*.

(E) It is written in the *Mogol* or *Turkish* language, and under the title of *Shajari Turki*, that is, a genealogical history of the *Turks*. It is divided into nine parts: the two first treat of the *Khâns* and tribes descended from *Turk*, the son of *Jafet*, to the time of *Jenghîz Khân*: the third relates the life and actions of that conqueror: the five next those of his sons and suc-

cessors in the several parts of *Tartary*: and the ninth treats of the *Khâns* of *Kbarazm*, to the death of the author, who was sovereign of that country, which lies on the east side of the *Caspian* sea. The *Khân* dying in 1663, before the history was quite finished, his son and successor, *Anusba Mehemet Khân*, completed it two years after. Besides the history of *Khojah Rasîd*, as he calls *Fadlallah*, and eighteen others which he does not name, he made use of particular memoirs relating to several *Mogol* tribes (1).

Abû'lghâzi Khân's history, which was procured by *Strahlenberg*, while prisoner in *Siberia*, has been translated into *Russian*, *German*, *French*, and *English*.

(1) See *Abû'lghâzi Khân's history*, p. 30, and 68. Also *collect. voy. & trav.* 4to. vol. iv. p. 427.

which

which consists of three folio volumes (F), and was finished in the year of the *Hejrah* 702, and of Christ 1302. It was from this history chiefly that *Abūlgāzi Khān* extracted his, excepting as to that part which relates to the *Uzbeks* of *Great Bukharia* and *Karazm*.

ACCORDING to this author, the several different nations or Turkish tribes of people, called *Aymaks*, may be distinguished into two sorts; those descended from the *Mogols* or *Mengols*, and those not descended from them. Whence many of these latter are derived, does not appear from *Abūlgāzi Khān's* history^d; but they must be either *Mogols* or *Tartars*, who had lost the memory of their origin; or else tribes sprung from the *Khāns* preceding *Alanza*; for all the *Aymaks*, it seems, are derived from the *Khāns*.

WITH respect to the tribes not descended from the *Mogols*, the original of some has been already mentioned^e; as the *Kankli*, *Kipjaks*, *Karliks*, *Kalach*, and *Vigurs*: of these five, which derive their name from *Ogūz Khān*, the last only, we are told, sprung from *Mogul Khān*.

1. THE *Kankli* dwelt, for some time, jointly with the *Kah-Turkmāns*, in the sandy deserts: but when these last began *kli*, to live in towns, the former went to inhabit about the rivers *Issikul* and *Talasb* (G), where they have remained for a long time. *Jenghīz Khān* put to the sword ten thousand of them, whom he found there; the rest, to the number of fifty or sixty thousand, had before become subjects to *Soltān Mubammed Karazm Shāh*, whose mother was of this tribe.

2. THE *Kipjaks* (H) have always inhabited the banks of the *Don*, *Volga*, and *Jaik*. *jaks*.

3. THE *Karliks* have constantly dwelt in the mountains of the *Kar-Mogols* country, living on the produce of their lands. *liks*. This tribe elected their *Khān*, and might have amounted to twenty thousand families in the time of *Jenghīz Khān*. This conqueror having sent an envoy to persuade them to submit, *Arslān*, their *Khān*, carried him a pretty daughter, besides

^d See p. 31.

^e See vol. xx. p. 23, & seq.

(F) The first volume is in the French king's library, and was translated by *De la Croix* the son, but not published.

(G) The French translator says they are now called *Tekin* and *Li*: but he seems to have been mistaken, at least with regard to the last.

(H) Called also *Kapjaks* and *Kapchaks*. These are supposed to be the same with the *Kasaks*, who inhabit the same parts: and both may be the remains of the *Kboxārs* or *Kboxari*, who had an empire to the north of the *Caspian* sea, in the time of the Greek emperor *Justinian*.

very magnificent presents. The receiver, in return, gave him a relation in marriage: but, when he was gone, said, the name *Arslân Sirak* (I) suited him better than that of *Arslân Khân*. The *Moguls* use the term *Sirak*, signifying a poor-spirited man, when they speak of the *Tajiks* (K), who are a very simple people^f.

The Kal-Ach.

4. *KAL-ACH* signifies *hungry*, for the reason already mentioned §. There are, at present, several numerous branches of this tribe, not only in the country of *Mawara'n-nahr*, or *Great Bukharia*, but also the *Persian* provinces of *Khorasân* and *Irâk* h.

The Takrins.

5. THE *Takrins*. *Bugay Zinanz*, Khân of this tribe, being invited by *Jenghîz Khân* to submit, he sent, among other presents, a daughter, who appeared so beautiful in the eyes of *Ugaday*, or *Ostay Khân*, that, after his father's death, he married her, and loved her above all his other wives.

The Kerghis.

6. THE tribe of the *Kerghis*, which was but thin at first, increased considerably in time, by the accession of *Moguls*, and other families who joined them, for sake of the agreeable country which they inhabited. *Urus Inal*, their prince, unable to resist *Jenghîz Khân*, who summoned him, by two ambassadors, to submit, sent that great monarch magnificent presents, and, among the rest, a bird called *Shungar* (L). The *Ikar*, or *Ikrân Murân*, now called *Jenisea*, glides along the borders of the *Kerghis* (M), and falls into the *Azokh Jenghîz*, or *bitter sea*. Near its mouth, our author tells us, there is a great town, called *Alakhzin*, which signifies *pied* (N); which name it took, because the inhabitants thereof, and the

^f ABU'L-GHAZI KHAN's history of the Turks, &c. p. 14. 31, & seq. § See before, vol. xx. p. 31. h ABU'L-GHAZI KHAN, &c. p. 18.

(I) This must signify, *the sneaking lion*.

(K) *Tajiks* are the trading people or inhabitants of conquered countries: the *Tartars* of *Karaxm* give the *Persians* that nick-name in contempt or aversion, being their enemies, and of a different sect in religion.

(L) Or *Shonkar*; a bird of prey, found in the plains of *Tartary*.

(M) At present, by *Kyrillow's* map, they are placed near the borders of *Russia*, and the *Ural Tâg*.

(N) *Strahlenberg* mentions the ruins of a town called *Alak Sin* or *Cbin*, which signifies the *chequered tribe*; but places it without the great wall of *Cchina* (2).

(2) See his *hist. geogr. desc. of the north and east parts of Europe and Asia*, introd. p. 75.

dependent towns, have none but pied horses (O) : these horses are very tall ; a colt of a year old being as large as a horse of three any-where else. There are likewise rich silver mines in its neighbourhood. The story goes farther ; that the favourite widow of *Tauli Khân*, son of *Jenghiz Khân*, to whose share the *Kerghis* fell, sent three officers, with a thousand men, up the river, by water, to discover this country. After a long stay, they returned, with only three hundred of their company ; the rest being lost, as they pretended, by the badness of the air. These gentlemen confirmed, as truth, all which had been reported of the place ; and even declared, that they had loaded their vessels with silver, but were obliged to throw it all over-board, for want of hands to get it up against the stream.

7. THE tribe of *Ur-mankats*, so called, from their living *The Ur-* in places most remote, and full of forests, are neighbours to *mankats*. the *Kerghis*, on the *Ikâr Murân*, and submitted, at the same time, to *Jenghiz Khân*. There is another tribe who bear the same name, and follow the same course of life, but they are *Mogols* i.

8. THE tribe of *Tatars*, or *Tattars*, (by the western nations *The Ta-* of Europe called *Tartars*), one of the most ancient and famous tars. of the *Turkish* nation, being descended from *Tatar Khân* (P), consisted formerly of above seventy thousand families, and had only one *Khân*, who was very potent : but coming afterwards to be divided into several branches, its power, by degrees, declined. The principal branch settled in the country of *Biurnaver*, near the borders of *Kitay*, to which it was brought in subjection : but, in some time revolting, the emperor of *Kitay* forced them, by arms, to return to their duty : and this happened often to be the case with them. Another branch went and inhabited the river *Ikâr*, or *Ikrân Murân* * above-mentioned. *Gaubil* informs us, from the Chinese annals, that, in the time of *Jenghiz Khân*, they were settled along the rivers *Kerulon*, and *Onon* or *Amur* ; and were

i ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 36, 39.
Turks, &c. p. 36, & seq. and 39.

* Ibid. History of the

(O) The *Russians* have a tradition like this, of a pied people, somewhere in *Siberia*, called by them *Pestraya Orda*, or the pied tribe. See history of the *Turks*, &c. p. 648.

(P) See anc. hist. book xx. p. 26. *De la Croix*, in his hi-

story of *Jenghiz Khân*, says, the *Tartars* are the same called *Su Moguls*, or the *Moguls of the waters* ; and that they took the name *Tatar* from a river of that name, in the country of *Su Mogul*. Yet, in another place, he derives it from *Tatar Khân*.

tributary to the emperor of the *Kim*, who reigned in *Kitay*¹. From this tribe all the rest, and the country they inhabited, took their name, among the nations of the southern *Asia* and of *Europe*^m.

The Virats, and their branches. 9. **THE Virats (Q).** This tribe inhabit the banks of the *Sekir Murán*, or eight rivers, which fall into the *Ithar*, or *Ikrán Murán*, that is, the *Jenisea*, on the east side (R). After maintaining the war a considerable while against *Jenghiz Khán*, their *Khán Tokta-begbi*, with his two sons, *Inalzi* and *Tauranzi*, were obliged to submit. Several tribes have sprung from them. 1. The *Torga-uts*, so called, because they dwelt beyond the country of *Salika*, which lies beyond that of the *Moguls*: but, at present, they are under *Ayuti Khán*, and make the whole or part of the second branch of the *Eluths* or *Aluths*, called *Eluths-Ayuti*, or *Torga-uti*ⁿ. 2. The *Kuris*. 3. The *Utilas*. 4. The *Tumats*, who dwell in the country of *Barku-chin-tugum* (S): their *Khán, Tatula Sukar Khán*, was obliged to submit to *Jenghiz Khán*. 5. The *Beygazins*. 6. The *Hirmuzins*. These two last tribes dwell near the *Kerghis*, and are very peaceable. 7. The *Telanguts*. 8. The *Oras-uts*. 9. The *Kussutmaits*. These three last have been always famous for their skill in physic and magic, as well as hunting and fishing; which carried them to dwell near forests and rivers^o.

STRAHLENBERG relates, that the *Kabruk* nation, properly called *Eluths*, call themselves *Avirat*, and *Virat*, or *Dorbon Virat*, that is, the four *Avirat* tribes, which are *Torga-oth*, *Kesbi-oth*, *Kayoth*, *Djongar* and *Dorb-oth*, which two last make but one tribe. He likewise observes, that the terminations *oth*, *ath*, and *auth* (or *üt* and *üt p*, as others write them), in those and the like words, are the same: that the *Mongols* call the above-mentioned four tribes not only *Avir-ät*, but

¹ **SOUCIET**. obs. math. &c. p. 186. **GAURIL**. hist. de Jenghiz Khán, p. 3. ^m **ABU'LGHAZI KHAN**, p. 38. ⁿ See new collect. trav. p. 401. a; and **SOUCIET**'s obs. math. p. 148, 160, & seq. ^o **ABU'LGHAZI KHAN**, p. 40. ^p **ABU'LGHAZI KHAN** writes *iit*, as *Torga-iits*.

(Q) Perhaps the *Burats* or *Brats*, still inhabiting thereabouts. *ran, Zagan Muran*, and *Kbaja Muran*. *Muran* signifies a river.

(R) *Abu'lgbani Khán* says (3), the *Moguls* call them *Kök Muran*, *On Muran*, *Kara Uffun*, *Sabikan*, *Ikran Muran*, *Ahar Mu-* (S) Perhaps the plain of *Bargu*, mentioned by *Marco Polo*, was in this country.

(3) *General. bist.* p. 41.

also *Vil-öth*, and *Avil-öth* (T): and that these are descendants of the same people, whom the later Greek writers call *Avari* 9, and *Abari*; but *Jornandes*, more nearly, *Aviri* 10: of both which words *D'Herbelot's* *Avairat* 11 is a kind of compound 12. But as our author makes the *Avari* or *Var*, and *Humi* or *Khumi*, the same with the *Igurs* or *Un-igurs*, how Huns. can they be *Kalmuks* or *Eluths*, who are a very different people from the *Vigurs*? We have already shewn how very uncertain it is to trace the origin of people by the names found in historians of foreign countries: and, to speak the truth, Mr. *Strahlenberg*, though very happy in many of his conjectures, yet was so bigotted to this method, that he takes the smallest resemblance in the name as a certain proof of his point; and often strains matters beyond measure, to make things answer his purpose.

10. THE *Naymans* is a very ancient tribe, and very *The Nay-*
sith (U): they dwelt in the country of the *Moguls*, called *mans*.
Karakum, or *black sand* (W); but did not use agriculture. Their *Khân*, in the time of *Jenghiz Khân*, was called *Tay-*
yan, who, with his son *Kuchluk*, was slain by that conqueror. *Gaubil* informs us, that the *Naymans* were contiguous to the
Moguls, near the city of *Holin*, or *Kara-kuran*, to the north
of the great sandy desert. At present they are settled near
the *Sira Muran*, to the north-east of *Pekin* 13.

11. THE *Kara-its* (X), that is, *swarthy*, so called from *The Kara-*
the swarthy complexion of seven brothers, from whom they *its*.
sprung. *Karzakur Khân*, surnamed *Bufruk*, son of *Margus-*
li-Khân, was the father of *Tayrel Khân*, to whom the *car-*

9 MENANDER C. 7.

10 De reb. Get. p. 597.

11 Bibl. orient. p. 148.

12 STRAHL. hist. geogr. descr. pref.

p. 6, & seq.

13 See SOUCIET, as before, p. 185; also the map of Tartary subject to China.

(T) Hence perhaps the name
of *Eluths* or *Aluths*.

(U) For this reason, along
with the name, *Strahlenberg* sup-
poses the *Naymans* or *Noymans*,
are the *Nomasi*, afterwards called
Aramai, of *Pliny*: but it is sur-
prising that *De la Croix*, without
any apparent grounds, should
assert, that these *Naymans* are
the *Iffiden Soythians*, and that

their capital *Iffeden* is called by
the moderns *Sukkir* (4). Be-
sides, *Sukkir* is now known to
be *Su-chew* in China, at a great
distance from the country of the
Naymans.

(W) A name given to barren
sandy deserts.

(X) Written *Kerit*, and *Kait*,
by *Europeans*.

(4) See hist. *Jenghis Khân*, p. 5, 6, 7.

peror of *Kitay* gave the title of *Wang* (Y) : hence some writers give him the name of *Wang Khân*. This is the famous *Ung Khân*, stiled *Prester John*, by *Marco Polo*, and other *European* writers, who represent him both as a Christian king and priest ; but without the least foundation that appears from any history but their own. The *Kara-its* were neighbours to the *Naymans*, and possessed a great part of the countries along the rivers *Tula* or *Tola* *, and *Orghun* †.

The Ungutti.

12. THE *Ungutti* (Z), that is, *men well to pass* ; for these people, being situate near the *Chinese* wall, had great wages of the emperors of *Kitay*, to guard it and its gates. In the time of *Jenghîz Khân* this tribe consisted of about four thousand families, whose *Khân* *Alakus*, making an alliance with that monarch, contributed much to render the conquest of *Kitay* easy, by going to meet him as he approached, and giving him a free entrance by the wall ‡.

The Turkâks.

13. THE *Turkâks*. This word signifies *a guard*, in the *Turkîsh* : for, among the *Turks*, while, one half of the night, the guard take their repose, the other beat on something, to shew they are on the watch ; and, when they want to be relieved, call to those at rest, *Turkak*, that is, *get up and beat*. *Tur* signifies *get up*, and *kak*, *beat*. This tribe is very numerous §.

Vigûrs or Oygûrs.

WE come now to the *Mogul* or *Mungl* tribes, which are in all forty-five. The first of these are the *Vigûrs* (A), who took their rise in the time of *Ogîz Khân* (B), as hath been before related. They dwelt originally between the mountains *Tugra Tubusluk*, *Ufkunkuk-tugra*, and *Kut*, on the west of the *Moguls* (from whom they seem to have been separated

* Then called *Kollanuar*, according to BENTINCK'S Notes on the history of the *Turks*, *Mogols*, &c. p. 76. † GAUBIL'S history of *Jenghîz*, p. 4. note 6. ‡ ABU'LOHAZI KHAN, p. 42, & seq. § Ibid. p. 45.

(Y) In the translations *Annak*, and, by *European* writers, no less faultily *Ung*.

(Z) Perhaps the same as *Onbiot* and *Ankût*.

(A) *Wigûrs*, *Igûrs*, or *Oygûrs*, as the word is variously written. It signifies *helpers* ; at least that sense has been given to it by the *Mohammedan* historians, to honour this tribe, which was very potent, for joining with *Jenghîz Khân*. This seems to have been

done in imitation of *Mohammed*, who gave the name of *Ansâr*, or *helpers*, to a family of *Arabs* on the like occasion. We judge the *Vigûrs* to have been a colony from *Tibet*, as has been already observed, if not the *Ikeri* or *Juijen*.

(B) If so, how could they be now existing ? since we are told, none of the *Moguls* escaped the slaughter made in the army of *Il Khân*, except *Kayan* and *Nagosi*.

by the mountain *Kut* or *Altay*. As there are, in this country, nineteen rivers, ten on one side, and nine on the other, those who settled about the former were called *Un Vigurs* (C), and such as dwelt along the latter *Tokos Vigurs* (D). These two tribes, which consist of more than an hundred and twenty branches, possessed a great number of towns and villages, yet had no Khâns; till at length falling out together, the first elected a prince, called *Mangatati*, to whom they gave the name of *Il-ittar*; and the second chose another, whom they called *Il-irghin*. Their descendants had the same titles: but, an hundred years after, the two tribes, coming to unite, had but one sovereign, stiled *Idikut*; which, in *Turkish*, signifies, *sent by the spirit* (E), but, in the *Uzbek* tongue, a free independant person.

THEY lived thus in union two thousand years, in the *Their* above-mentioned mountains: after which a new difference *branches*, arising between them, they separated, for good and all; one part remained where they were, and the other went to dwell on the banks of the river *Irtish*. These last, dividing again into three branches, one went and dwelt in *Bish-balik* (F), and cultivated the lands about it: the second dispersed themselves in the neighbourhood of that city, feeding on their cattle: and the third branch continued on the *Irtish*, where they lived by fishing, and hunting of fables, castors, martens, squirrels, and other beasts. On the flesh of these they fed, and clad themselves with their skins, which had always been their cloathing.

BANERZIK (G) *Idikut*, their Khân, submitted to *Jenghiz Khân*, in order to secure himself against *Kavar* (H) Khân of *Turkestan*; and every year sent him considerable presents.

(C) From these it is supposed came the *Unns* or *Huns*; but more especially the *Onagri*, *Unigari*, *Iguræi*, and *Inugri*, as they are called by authors; also *Utrigori* and *Kutrigori*, *Uthurgari* and *Kutb-urgari*. Whether this difference in the names had any real foundation, as belonging to different tribes of people, who appeared at different times, or in different parts of the *Roman* empire, or was owing to those who transmitted accounts of them, either mistaking or corrupting the names, seems pretty

hard to determine, considering how greatly words have been distorted by those means.

(D) *Un* signifies *ten*, and *Tokos* nine, in *Turkish*.

(E) *Idi*, being *sent*, and *Kut*, *spirit*. *Abu'l-faraj* stiles him *Idikûb*, and says, it signifies *lord of the empire*. Hist. dynast. p. 283.

(F) *Bishbalig* was in *Little Bukharia*, near the city of *Turfân*.

(G) He is called *Parchukorta Tikin* in the *Chinese* history.

(H) Rather, perhaps, *Gur*, or *Kur Khân*.

He joined the conqueror also, when he went to attack *Mohammed Karazm Shah*.

And learning. IN regard many of the *Vigurs* were skilled in the *Turkish* language, and expert in writing, *Jenghiz Khán* made use of them in all his expeditions, as secretaries to the chancery: in which quality also his descendants, who reigned in *Mawar'innhar* and *Persia*, employed them for a long time ^b. On this occasion it may be observed, that the *Vigurs* or *Oygurs* were the only people inhabiting *Great Tartary*, who had the use of characters, which were the same with those now found in *Tibet*, where they are called characters of *Tangut* ^c.

The Ur-mankats. THE *Ur-mankats*. They lead much the same course of life with their namesakes before-mentioned; and are descended from *Ogúz Khán*: which is all that is said of them ^d.

IT has been already remarked, that the descendants of *Kayan* took the surname of *Kayat*; and those of *Nagos* that of *Durlagan*, or *Nagoster*: whence, in a short time, they came to lose their true names. The tribes mentioned as sprung from them, are thirty-eight in number; thirty derive their pedigree from *Kayan*, and five from *Nagos*.

Nirkha or Niron tribe. THE tribes descended from *Kayan* are the following.
1. From the three sons of *Alanku* (I) sprung a numerous tribe, in the *Mogul* language surnamed *Nirkha*; that is, a pure family; in memory that the founders of it were begotten without any commerce with man, as hath been before related: elsewhere it is said they took the surname of *Niron* ^e.

The Kunkurats. 2. THE *Kunkurats*, or *Konkrats* (K). These are sprung from *Kunkurat*, a son of *Zurhuk Mergan*, who descended from *Kayan* (L). They dwelt along the river *Kalaf-sui*

^b AEP'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 13, & seq. 31, & seq. & 46.

^c GAUBIL in SOUCIET. obs. math. p. 146.

^d ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 38.

^e Ibid. p. 46, and 58.

(I) The history of *Alanku*, and her three sons, has been already related, anc. hist. vol. xx. p. 37. also an account given of their descendants to *Jenghiz Khán*: most of whom are mentioned hereafter, on occasion of the *Mogul* tribes being derived from them. Some write *Alanku*.

(K) *Konkerats* and *Kongorats*.

(L) It appears, from several

circumstances, that this *Zurhuk Mergan* lived many ages before *Alanku*, and possibly, during the time the *Moguls* remained shut up in the mountain of *Irganakom*, since the tribe of *Kurlas* derive themselves from him, and *Bertizena Khán*, of the *Moguls*, at the time of their famous fall from thence, was a descendant of *Kurlas*. Mention is made of *Zurhuk Mergan's* two brothers, *Eabay*

lui (M), in the time of *Jenghiz Khân*: to whom their *Khân Turk-ili*, who was his relation, went over^f.

3. THE *Burkuts*; and, 4. The *Karla-uts*. These two ^{The Bur-}tribes formerly inhabited along with the *Kunkurats*, who are ^{kuts.} related to them.

5. THE *Aukarah*; and, 6. The *Alakuts*; are descended ^{The An-}from the two sons of *Kabay Shira*, brother of *Zuruk Mar-karah*. *Uhn*, called also *Uhn Iga*, and *Uhn Kughu*, the mother of *Jenghiz Khân*, was of the latter tribe.

7- THE *Kara-nuts*. These are sprung from *Karanut*, ^{The Kara-}eldest son of *Buzyuday*, third brother of *Zuruk Margan* & nuts.

8. THE *Kurlas*, one of the most eminent tribes among ^{The Kur-}the *Moguls*, are sprung from *Kurlas*, son of *Moyser-ili*, son ^{las.} of *Konaklet*, son of *Buzyuday*, youngest brother of *Zuruk Margan*.

Bertizena, *Khân* of the *Moguls*, when they sallied out of the mountain *Irgana Kon*, was a descendant of *Kurlas*. This tribe is divided into many branches, who have the surname of *Niron*.

1. The *Kataguts*, descended from *Bekum Katagum*, the eldest of *Alanku*'s three sons.

2. The *Zalzuts*, from *Beskin Zalzi*, second son of *Alanku*.

3. The *Bayzuts*, from *Bassikar* and *Hurmalkanum*, sons of *Kaydu Khân*.

4. The *Zipzuts*, from *Zapzin*, *Baydu Khân*'s third son.

5. The *Irigents*, from *Zapzin* also^b.

6. The *Zenas*, surnamed *Nages*, but different from the *Nagoster*: they

sprung from *Kauduzena* and *Olekinzena*, sons of *Hurmalkanum*.

7. The *Butakins*, from *Butakin*, eldest son of *Tumana Khân*, grandson of *Kaydu Khân*.

8. The *Uruths*, from *Uruth*, second son of *Tumana Khân*ⁱ.

9. The *Mankats*, from *Mankat*, *Tumana*'s third son: these are nick-named

Kara Kalpaks by the *Russians*, and possess at present the west-

ern half of *Turkestan*, with the city of that name. But *Kyrillow*'s map makes the *Kara Kalpaks* and *Mangats* distinct

tribes. 10. *Badurghins*, from *Samkarum*, third son of *Tumana Khân*.

11. The *Budats*, from *Batkilti*, *Tumana*'s fourth son^k.

12. The *Burlas* or *Berlas* (N), from *Zedemzi-burlas*,

^f *ABU'LQHAZI KHAN*, p. 48. 52, & 75. ⁱ *Ibid.* p. 48, 52, & seq.

^b *Ibid.* p. 48, 55. ^k *Ibid.* p. 59.

Kabay Shira and *Buzyuday*, but not of his father: he was such an excellent archer, that, being to fight on horseback with *Kabay Shira*, and seeing him thro' fear bend down on one side for shelter, in pity, would not kill him, but struck the pendent out

of his ear, without touching the jewel at which it hung.

(M) Now *Orkhon*, according to *Bantink*'s notes on *Abu'lghazi Khân*.

(N) Written *Perlas* by the *Persians* and *Turks*.

son of *Kazuli*, *Tumana's* sixth son. Of this tribe was the great *Timur-beigh*, or *Tamerlan*. 13. The *Kayums*, from *Udur-bayan*, seventh son of *Tumana Khân*. 14. The *Vilots*, from *Balzar*, *Tumana's* eighth son, called *Oglan*, or *the lame*, because he halted. 15. The *Bassuts*, or *Yessuts*, from *Olzingan*, ninth son of *Tumana*¹. 16. The *Kayats* are descended from the six sons of *Kabul Khân*; in whom, being strong men, and great warriors, was revived the name of *Kayat*, which had been in a manner unknown for above three thousand years. 17. The *Borzugan Kayats* sprung from the five sons of *Yessughî Bahâdur Khân*, of whom *Temujin*, afterwards *Jenghîz Khân*, was the eldest. They were all of a fair complexion, inclining to yellow, with a red circle between the black and white of their eyes; which kind of eyes the *Moguls* call *Borzugan*, from whence their descendants had that name^m.

The Ilzigans.
The Durmans.

9. The *Ilzigans*. This tribe is descended from *Ilzigan*, brother of *Kurlas*, son of *Meysir-ili*, before-mentioned.

10. THE *Durmans*, that is, *four*, in the *Moguls* language (O), derive their origin from the four eldest sons of *Bizin Kayan Khân*; who, resenting the election of *Kipzi Mergan Khân*, though it was made pursuant to the will of their father, left the country: but their descendants, in process of time, came and dwelt in the dominions of *Kipzi Mergan*. From these are descended two tribes. 1. The *Barians*, from one of that name. 2. The *Sukut*, from the son of a *Durman*, by a she-slave: this slave coming before her time, through the abuse received from his wife, went and hid the infant among shrubs, called, in their language, *Yulgun*; but, by the *Moguls*, *Sukut* (P): the father finding it here next morning, from thence gave it the name of *Sukut*ⁿ.

The tribes of the *Nagosler*, or *Durlagans*, descended from *Nagos*, are five.

The Bayuts.

1. THE *Bayuts* are divided into several branches, the most considerable of which are the *Sadaghin Bayuts*, and the *Makrim Bayuts*, so named from the rivers *Sadaghin* and *Makrim*, on the banks whereof they inhabit; being neighbours to the *Virats*.

¹ ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 60.
p. 49, & seq.

^m Ibid. p. 61.

ⁿ Ibid.

(O) But, in the language of the *Eluths* or *Kalmûks*, *Dirb* is *four*, according to *Strahlenberg's* table of dialects.

(P) Hence it looks as if the *Durmans* had a language of their own, different from the *Mogul*.

2. THE *Jalayrs* (Q) are a very antient tribe : they were formerly scattered over a great extent of country, and had many princes ; till, the *Kitayans* having declared war against them, they were obliged to come cloſer together, in order to be in a capacity to aſſiſt one another. Their families were ſo numerous, that they ſpread over ſeventy different provinces (R), which they called in their language *Kurân* ; and the greater part of them dwelt in a quarter of the *Moguls* called *Umân*. But the emperor of *Kitay* having defeated, and carried away, a great number of them (S), the reſt fled, and were reduced to live on roots.

THIS happened in the reign of *Dutumin Khân* (T), father of *Kaydu Khân* ; who going to be married in another country, left his ſecond brother, *Mutuhun*, to take care of the houſe, and his ſeven other brothers. Theſe repairing one day to a very level ſpot of ground, near their habitation, where they uſed to perform their exerciſes and tournaments, they found the *Jalayrs* digging for roots, which rendered the place unfit for their diverſions. They immediately informed *Mutuhun* hereof, who haſtened thither with a ſtrong force, and put the *Jalayrs* to flight : but the latter returning to the charge, after great loſs, at length overcame *Mutuhun*, killed him, and his ſeven brethren : not content with this, they ruined their habitations, and put to the ſword as many of their ſubjects as fell into their hands.

KAYDU Khân, being informed of this miſfortune, returned home forthwith, and ſent to demand of the *Jalayrs* the reaſon why they had killed his brothers. The *Jalayrs*, terrified at the meſſage, ſent five of the chief perſons concerned, with their wives and children, to the *Khân*, to be diſpoſed of as he thought fit : but he was content to keep them as his ſlaves ; which proved of good account to him : for they took the ſurname of their maſter, ſerving him and his poſterity faithfully, to the fourth generation ; inſomuch that ſome of his descendants had ten, twelve, and even twenty, families of them, for their portion. In the reign of *Jenghiz Khân* the other *Jalayrs* took the name of their captive brethren °.

° ABU'LOHAZI KHAN, p. 53, & ſeq.

(Q) Or *Cbalayrs* ; in the tranſlations *Salagbirs*, doubtleſs by a wrong reading. at preſent, the *Cbalayrs* inhabit *Karchin* (or *Kara-chin*) ſignifies the black tribe.

(R) Or diſtricts.

(S) Perhaps into *Karchin*, to the north of *Pe-che-li* ; where,

(T) Grandfather of *Jenghiz Khân*, in the ſeventh generation.

BESIDES

BESIDES the *Mogul* tribes before-mentioned, there are nine others: but it is uncertain whether they are sprung from *Kayans* or *Nayans*.

The Markats.

1. THE *Markats*. *Toktu-beghi Khân*, of this tribe, was always at variance with *Jenghiz Khân*. One time, in the absence of that hero, he carried away his wives and subjects, with all that fell into his hands. Another time, lying in ambush for *Jenghiz Khân*, he made him prisoner while he was taking a walk; and it cost his subjects a large sum of money to ransom him.

The Umma-uts.

2. THE *Umma-uts*, formerly called *Urma-uts*. From them are derived four tribes. 1. THE *Kunakhmars*, sprung from a person of that name. *Menglik*, surnamed *Izka*, or the devout, for his piety and virtue, was of this tribe, and married the widow *Ulan-iga* (U), mother of *Temujin*, or *Jenghiz Khân*, who was then but thirteen years of age. Some years after *Wang Khân* (W), of the *Kara-uts*, sent a letter to him, proposing to kill *Temujin*, and divide his possessions between them. This was to be done at the time of a visit *Wang Khân* was to make to *Menglik*. Soon after he gave *Temujin* an invitation, under pretence of treating about a marriage between his daughter and the other's eldest son. *Temujin*, who frequently visited him, as having been an intimate of his father's, immediately set forward, with only two domesticks: but meeting on the road with his father-in-law, who informed him of *Wang Khân*'s treachery, he returned, and so escaped the snare.

Its branches.

2. The second branch of the *Umma-uts* is the *Arlats*, sprung from *Arlut*, second son of *Menglik Izka*, by his first wife. 3. The *Kalkits*, from *Kalkit*, third son of *Menglik*; so named because he could not speak plain. From the *Kalkits* are derived, 4. The *Kisbiks*, from one *Kisbik*. This man, who, with his brother *Baydu*, kept the horses of a great lord belonging to *Wang Khân*'s court, going to his master's with a several-days gathering of mares milk, overheard him bid his wife get ready his arms, for that the *Khân* intended to invade *Temujin* unawares; and being sprung from the *Moguls*, as soon as they had delivered in the milk, they went and discovered the plot; for which service *Jenghiz Khân* made them and their descendants, for nine generations, *Tarkân* (X); which frees them from all sorts of taxes.

(U) Otherwise called *Ulan-kuzin*.

writers. In the translation *Aunak Khân*.

(W) Or *Wang Khân*, the famous *Ung Khân* of the European

(X) Or *Terkan*, as written by *De la Croix*.

3. THE *Visbuns* : 4. The *Suktus* : and 5. The *Oklans*. The Vi- Of whom nothing more is mentioned, than that they are thant. branches of the *Moguls* P.

THIS is the account of the tribes or branches of the *Turk- isb* nation, given by *Abu'lghâzi Khân* ; which, though the most extensive of any which has yet come to our hands, is, after all, very superficial : nor indeed could it well be otherwise, since it does not appear, that any of the inhabitants of *Tartary* had written records, or even made use of letters, except the *Igûrs* or *Vigûrs*, before the time of *Jenghiz Khân* : and their oral traditions must needs, from the nature of the thing itself, have been very imperfect, as well as liable to much uncertainty, and even corruption.

HOWEVER that be, *Abu'lghâzi Khân*, and the authors *Disagree*. whom he made use of, differ much from those quoted by *ment of D'Herbelot*, and apparently go upon a different plan (Y). For *authors*. he speaks neither of *Turk's* posterity being divided into four tribes, nor of any subdivision into four others by *Ogûz*, conformable to *Mirkond*, and the earlier *Persian* historians. In all probability we should discover a still greater disagreement, had *D'Herbelot* but given us the names of all the *Turkish* tribes from that author, or his son *Kond Amîr*, who wrote a particular history of the *Mogol* tribes, *Jenghiz Khân* and his successors ?

WHAT in *Abu'lghâzi Khân* seems most singular is, that he *No tribe* mentions no particular tribe properly called *Turks*, as the *called* *Persian* historians have done. Whether he omitted them, *Turks*, in consequence of nothing being said about them in the authors he made his extracts from (Z) ; or as intending to treat chiefly of the *Moguls*, which seems indeed to have been his main design ; or lastly, because there is at present no tribe *now in* in all *Tartary* existing under the name of *Turks*, that people *Tartary*. having long since passed into other countries, or been destroyed by wars ; we cannot determine. But let whatever

* *ABU'LGHÂZI KHÂN*, p. 47, & seq. and p. 73.. before, p. 4, note G.

† See

(Y) Their history undoubtedly was calculated to do honour to the *Mogols* ; as that given by the authors before-mentioned was to do honour to the *Sel- jûks*.

(Z) We can form no judgment on this point from the hi-

story of *Jenghiz Khân*, published by *De la Croix*, which, though extracted chiefly from *Fadlallah*, the principal author made use of by *Abu'lghâzi Khân*, mentions scarce any tribes besides those which are *Mogols*.

will have been the reason, it is certain, that there was formerly a particular tribe or nation among the inhabitants of *Tartary* named *Turks*; for they are mentioned both by the *Roman* and *Chinese*, as well as the *Arab* and *Persian* historians already cited. This will appear more evident still from their history, delivered in the following section.

S E C T. IV.

The affairs of the Turks with the nations bordering on Tartary; and among themselves, from their first appearance, till the time of Jenghiz Khàn.

Particular tribe of IT may well be questioned, whether all the different tribes of people inhabiting *Tartary* are branches of *Turks*; but it seems probable that there was a particular nation among the antient *Scythians* who went by that name; since the *Turci*, perhaps better written *Turki*, are mentioned by *Pomponius Mela* the geographer ^a, and *Pliny* ^b; who place them among the nations dwelling in the neighbourhood of the river *Tanais*, and the *Palus Mæotis*.

*oriental
Turks,*

How the *Turks* should be known so early to the *Romans*, and not to the *Greeks*, who lay much nearer to them, may seem a little strange; for they are not mentioned by *Ptolemy* (A), nor any writer of that nation, who has come to our hands, before the middle of the sixth century. Then, indeed, they speak of them for the first time; but, far from placing them in the west of *Asia*, they give them a situation in the farthest east: yet it must be confessed, that the name of oriental *Turks*, by which they call them, should seem to be conferred on them, with a view to distinguish them from other *Turks*, known to them in the west. However this be, it is surprizing that *Khalkokondilas*, who, in his history of the fall of the *Greek* empire, treats of the name and origin of the *Turks*, should say nothing of these eastern *Turks*, mentioned by preceding historians: but indeed he seems to be quite a stranger to the *Seljuks*, or any kind of *Turks*, though living near the northern borders of the empire (B), before the time of the *Ogúzians* or *Othmâns*.

^a De situ orbis, l. . cap. ult.

^b Hist. nat. l. vi. c. 7.

(A) For the *Tusci* can't be said to be the *Turks*, without straining matters beyond reason.

(B) In *Hungary*, in and before the time of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*.

THE *Bizantine* historians tell us, that these oriental *Turks* *Their situation*, were the same formerly called *Saka* (C): that they dwelt beyond the *Sogdians* (D); and were divided into eight tribes (E): that they had greatly increased in power within a few years, so as to border on the *Roman* empire: that their king, named *Djabules*, sent ambassadors in the fourth year of *Justin* the younger (F); and that they brought with them iron, to sell, to make it believed, that there were mines in their country: that *Djabules* encamped near the mountain *Ek tak*: that this name signifies the *mountain of gold*; and was given to it on account of the abundance of fruits and cattle which were on it: that it stood in the most eastern part of his dominions: that to the south of it was a place called *Talas*, and four hundred stadia to the west a plain, called *Ikar* ^{according to the Greek}.

WHETHER this *Talas* was the same mentioned by later travellers¹, or the plain of *Ikar* had any relation to the river *Ikar* or *Ikran*², now called *Jenisea*, we shall not pretend to say: but 'tis certain this account agrees very well with what is related by a curious missionary, from the *Chinese* history, *and Chinese historians*, which begins to speak of the *Turks*, whom they call *Tu-que*, in the year 545; at which time they were an inconsiderable people, who dwelt to the north-west of *Turfân* (G), in *Little Bukharia*; and, not long before, their employment was to work iron, near a mountain called *Kin* (H) (that is, *gold*): but, in a few years, they grew very powerful; subduing the whole country between the *Caspian* sea and the river *Lyau*,

* MENANDER, cap. 6. to the 14th. SIMOCATTA, l. vii. c. 8. ap. new collect. of voy. and trav. vol. iv. p. 537. ¹ RUBR-
BRUQUIS, in new collect. voy. and trav. vol. iv. p. 556. * See
ABU'LGHAZI KHAN's hist. p. 39.

(C) According to this account, the name of *Turks* was but newly sprung up. What was their former name must be very uncertain. The antient historians were not always geographers; and guessed in this case as the moderns do, who are oftener in the wrong than in the right. Besides, how should the *Greeks* know much of people who lived at such a distance, and with whom all intercourse had been broken off for some ages?

(D) By the *Sogdians* are to be understood the inhabitants of the country about *Samarkand*, called *Sogd*; or, in a larger sense, all *Mawarâ'nahr*, or *Great Bukharia*.

(E) By the *Kagân's* or *Khân's* letter to the emperor *Mauritius*, their number was only seven.

(F) Which was in 565.

(G) Named perhaps from the *Turks*.

(H) Or *Tu-kin*. *Kin* in *Chinese* signifies gold: possibly that called *Irganakon* by the *Turks*.

in the province of *Lyau-tong*. They were divided into *Tu-que* of the north, and *Tu-que* of the west ; and had great wars either among themselves, or with the *Chinese*, to whom they were very formidable^f. Whether they made any conquests in *China* itself, does not as yet appear : but we are told, that the founders of the dynasties of the latter *Tang* and *Han* in that empire were of these *Tu-que*^g ; the former commencing in the year 923, the latter in 947, of the Christian æra.

BESIDES the great conformity between the *Roman* and *Chinese* history, relating to the rise of the *Turkish* power, it is worth observing, that they both confirm a very remarkable circumstance in the history of the *Mogols*, and almost prove them to be the same people with the *Turks* ; namely, their working in iron, near a mountain called *Kin*. This mountain is probably the same with that of *Irganakon*, *Erkana*, or *Arkenekom* (I), situated in the extreme north parts of the *Mogols* country ; where, we are told, a foundery was erected by the chiefs of the *Kayat* (K) tribes, thence called the *Arkenekom* smiths^h (L). And hence the fable related by *Abu'l-ghâzi*, Khân of the *Mogols*, making a way through that mountain, by melting the iron minesⁱ, doubtless had its rise.

Set up
iron-
works,
near the

mountain
Kin.

WHETHER the mountain *Kin*, which in *Chinese* signifies gold, be the same with that called *Ek tak*, or *Ak tak* (M), I will not pretend to say, the situation of this last not being sufficiently fixed by the *Byzantine* writers : neither does the name signify the same as *Kin* ; for although those historians explain it *gold*, yet in reality *Altûn tâk* or *tâg* signifies the *mountain of gold*, in the *Mogol* or *Turkish* language ; *Ek tak*

^f GAUBIL. hist. Jenghîz Khân, p. 2. New collection of travels, 4to. vol. iv. p. 433.

^g GAUBIL. p. 11. in the notes.

^h DE LA CROIX, hist. Jeng. p. 6.

ⁱ See ancient history, vol. xx p.

(I) D'Herbelot writes *Erkenekûn*.

(K) *Kayat* signifies, a smith.

(L) *De la Croix* (from whom, in his life of *Jenghîz Khan*, p. 6. we have this circumstance), tells us of an annual feast observed by the *Mogols*, in memory of this foundery ; or rather, perhaps, of their having found out the way of working iron, which, *Suidas* informs us, the *Turks*

were in his time unacquainted with. *Abu'lghâzi Khân*, in his history, p. 28. pretends the feast was appointed in memory of their famous sally out of *Irganakon*.

(M) Perhaps *Artag* ; to the east of which the *Mogols* dwell, between it and the mountain *Kartag*. See *Abu'lghâzi Khân's* history, p. 10 ; and *Golius* ap. Horn. arc. Noæ, p. 246.

or *Ak-tak*, the white mountain. Perhaps it went by both names, and the *Greeks* brought home only the latter.

IN effect, if we may be able to judge, from the imperfect account that is left us, of the roads which the ambassadors took to and from the *Turkish* camp or court, the mountain *Ek tak*, in case it be the same with that of *Kin*, must be rather to the west than east of it.

THAT our reader may the better judge of this, we shall lay before him what little we find concerning those roads.

WITH regard to the route taken by *Zemak*, the first Roads into ambassador from the *Romans* to the *Turks*, we are only told, that he was sent back with *Maniak*, prince of the *Sogdians*; and that, being arrived in his country, he travelled from thence to mount *Ek tak*, and returned to *Constantinople* thro' the country of the *Khiatorians*, and town of *Koalites*. The ambassadors sent to *Toxander*, son of *Disabules*, took a different course: they sailed from *Constantinople* to *Sinope*, on the north coast of *Asia Minor*, and thence crossed over the *Euxine* sea to *Kherfona*, in the *Kherfonesus*: they proceeded through the country of the *Opturians*, and other sandy territories, and the south frontiers of *Taurica*: then, passing over marshy places, full of reeds, they came to the country of *Ak the Turks* *Aga* (N); so named from a lady, who formerly commanded country. the *Scythians*, and received that power from *Anongeus*, prince of the *Utragurians*. Lastly, they arrived at the places where the trophies of *Toxander* were set up^k.

THIS is all we meet with relating to the roads into the country of the *Turks*, taken by the *Roman* ambassadors: nor is there any thing said of that road which the ambassadors of *Disabules* took in their way to *Constantinople*; farther than that, after travelling over a vast extent of country, and mountains covered with snow, they entered (O) into the *Caspian* straits.

OUR author is somewhat more particular in his account *Kliat am.* of the road taken by the ambassadors of the *Kliats*. After a *bastards*, long march they arrived at a marshy tract of land, of great extent: here one of the ambassadors taking the shortest but

^k MENAND. C. 13. 19.

(N) *Ak Aga* signifies, the white lady.

(O) One would have imagined, that they passed southward, between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas; but the *Caspian* straits are placed between *Me-*

dia and *Parthia* by *Ptolemy*, and a day's journey from *Rages* by *Arrian*; which *Rages* or *Ragau*, in all probability, is the same with *Ray* or *Rey*, once the capital of *Persian Irák*, about eighty miles south-east of *Kazvín*.

Travels
into
Greece.

most desert road, the other advanced along the morafs for twelve days together ; then, continuing his journey over hills, at length came to the river *Hik* (P) ; and next to the river *Daik* (Q). From thence, travelling along another lake, they arrived at *Attila* (R), and the country of the *Hungars*. Proceeding through a dry desert country, along several great lakes, they came to a morafs, into which the river *Kofon* discharges itself. Then they entered the country of the *Alâns* ; but were afraid of the *Horamosks* ; and, being advised not to go into the territories of the *Mindimians* (because the *Persians* lay in ambush, in *Sivanis*, to intercept them), they turned off to the right, and, striking through the *Darina* (S), or two gates, a pass, arrived in *Apfisia* (T) : thence they proceeded to *Retaurion* (U), and the *Euxine* sea ; afterward, crossing the *Phasis* (X), they came to *Trabizond*, and so to *Constantinople*¹.

We are beholden to *Menander* for these notices ; which, though short, deserve to be preserved, as being almost the only account we find of travels into *Tartary* for many centuries together.

Turks
embassy

BUT to return to the affairs of the oriental *Turks*. *Disabules* having, at the request of the *Sogdians* (Y), whom, with the *Nephtalites* (Z), he had newly conquered, sent two embassies to the *Persians*, to solicit a trade for silk ; the *Persians* were not content with rejecting the alliance of the *Turks*, on account of their inconstancy and breach of faith, as they alleged ; but, to give them an aversion to the country, poisoned their ambassadors : from whence began the enmity between those two nations. It was on this occasion that *Disabules* sent ambassadors to the emperor *Justin*, as before-mentioned ; who concluding a treaty of peace, the *Turks* became the friends and allies of the *Romans* ; with whom they never had any dealings before. Much about the same time the *Kliats* (A) also, who were subject to *Disabules*, and

To the
Romans.

¹ MENAND. c. 6.

(P) This may be the *Yem*.

(Q) Which seems to be the *Taïk*, or *Yaiik*.

(R) Doubtless the *Volga* ; called also *Aril*, or *Edel* ; or else some town upon it.

(S) *Darain* signifies, in *Arabic*, the two gates.

(T) *Apfisia*, somewhere in *Mingrelia*.

(U) *Retaurion*, a town, or castle, belonging to the *Romans*.

(X) Now *Fasb*, or *Rion*.

(Y) The *Sogdians* were the people about *Samarkand*, which stands in a valley called *Sogd*.

(Z) Called, by *Procopius*, *Ephthalites*, of whom hereafter.

(A) Perhaps the same with the *Kalatz*.

inhabited near the borders of the Roman empire, sent ambassadors to *Justin*. The country of the *Turks* was then divided into four governments, all under the command of *Disabules*: several nations, and, among the rest, the *Avares* (B) and *Hungors* (C), were subject to them: but 20,000 of the former had revolted, and passed into *Europe*^m.

THE ambassadors engaged *Justin* to make war upon the *Per-The Persians*, offering to ravage *Media* at the same time: and, at the fians in- end of his fourth year (D), the emperor sent *Zemark* on an *avaded*. embassy to *Disabules*: who, professing much friendship, feasted the ambassadors under a tent, spread with carpets, of several colours, but plain manufacture; where they eat and drank all day. At this entertainment there was no wine; for no grapes were found in their country; but they had other liquor, which was sweet and agreeable. Next day they were treated in another tent, whose furniture was rich and elegant.

Soon after, *Disabules*, setting forward on his march against the *Persians*, took *Zemark* with him, and some of his retinue; but left the rest in the country of the *Khiatorians* (E). He also gave the ambassador a concubine of his, who was one of those called *Cerkhises*ⁿ (F).

In the second year of the emperor *Tiberius* (G), *Valentine*, Roman was sent on an embassy to *Disabules*, in company with 600 *embassies*. *Turks*, who came to *Constantinople*, with several ambassadors: but *Disabules* dying soon after *Valentine's* arrival, he was the next day admitted to audience by his son *Toxander*; who charged the *Romans* with artifice, and breach of faith, for confederating with the *Varkonites*, or *Avares*, who were in rebellion against him. After this, he gave the ambassador to understand, that he had subdued the *Alains* and *Utrigorians*; and that *Ananceas* (H) was then actually encamped before *Bosphorus* (I), with an army of *Turks*. In short, the *Greek* historian complains, that he treated the ambassador very ill^o.

^m MENAND. c. 6, 7, 15.

ⁿ Ibid. c. x. 13.

^o Ibid. c. 19.

(B) *Evagrius* says, the *Abari* were driven out of their country by the *Turks*.

(C) Perhaps *Un-igurs*.

(D) The fourth of his reign, An. Chr. 569; and second of the fifty years truce with *Khofrus*, I presume.

(E) Or *Khiats*, before-mentioned.

(F) Doubtless either *Chirkasians*, or *Kerghis*.

(G) That is, in 580.

(H) Perhaps the same with *Anangæus*.

(I) A city of the *Romans*, in the *Taurica Cherfonefus* of the old *Panticopium*; and, if still existing in the *Krim*, is either *Yeni kâla*, or *Kerch*.

Conquests
of the
Turks.

THIS account we have from *Menander*. The next news we hear of the *Turks* is from *Simokatta*; who informs us, that the *Kagân* (K) of his time (whom he names not), so famous among the oriental *Turks*, sent an ambassador to the emperor *Mauritius*, in the beginning of the summer (L), with a letter, speaking in high terms of his victories: the superscription ran thus; *The Kagân, the great lord of seven nations, and master of seven climates of the world, to the king of the Romans*. In effect, continues *Simokatta*, this *Kagân* had conquered the *Abtelians*, or *Nephthalites*, and seized their dominions: after which, being elated with his success, he joined *Stembiskador*, and subdued the *Avars*. Next he marched against the *Ogorites* (M), and conquered them (N), killing 300,000, and put to death their king *Kolk*.

Their civil
war.

THIS victory was followed by a civil war among the *Turks*. One of his relations, named *Turon*, having revolted, he was obliged to implore the aid of *Sparzugun*, *Khunaxokus*, and *Tuldik*; with which he defeated the tyrant, in the plain of *Ikar*. After he had thus settled his affairs, he sent the above-mentioned embassy to the emperor *Mauritius*, to acquaint him with his good success. The *Kagân*, farther to keep things in a settled posture, made alliance with the inhabitants of *Taugasta* (O), whose prince was called *Tayfan* ^p.

THESE are all the transactions which the *Romans* had with the *Turks*, till the time of the *Seljuks*. Let us now turn our eyes towards the *Higher Asia*, and see what they were doing on that side.

The king
of Persia,

WE have already given an account of the origin of the *Turks*, from an extract lately made from the annals of *China*, and published by Mr. *Guigues*, under the title of *The origin*

^p SIMOKATTA, l. vii. c. 7, 8.

(K) *Khân*, *Kaan*, or *Kohân*, as the present *Mongols* and *Eluths* pronounce it.

(L) In the year 600.

(M) These *Ogorites*, or *Ogors*, seem to be the *Oygûrs*, or *Vigûrs*, oft mentioned before: they were become powerful by their numbers, and dexterity at their weapons: they inhabited the banks of the river *Tih*, called by the *Turks* the *black river* (*Kara-su*, or *Kara-muren*). The ancient princes who commanded them, were called *Var*, and *Khuni*, or

Hunni, whence those people have taken the same names. *Simokatta*, book vii. ch. 7.

(N) *Simokatta* seems to confound the conquests of *Disabules* with those of the *Khân* of his own time.

(O) A famous city of the *Turks*, near *Sogdiana*, according to *Calistus*, c. 30. *Sogdiana* is the same, at present, with the province of *Samarkand*, in *Great Bukharia*, or perhaps with *Great Bukharia* itself.

of the Huns and Turks; who, from thence, appear to have been the same people, under different names. We shall in this place give the substance of that memoir at large, as it may help to supply and explain many imperfect and obscure passages in the history which follows of those people, taken from the oriental historians.

THE Huns were a considerable nation of *Great Tartary*; named also and had the dominion there more than 200 years before the Turks. Christian era. They inhabited formerly ¹ in the neighbourhood of the great desert, extending from the country of *Korra*, on the east, to that of the *Getes* (P), on the west. The Chinese historians give them two different names, *Hyong-ni* and *Tu ki uk*; that is, *Huns* and *Turks*. The first is that which they had before the time of Christ: the second, that which a remnant of these *Huns*, re-established in *Tartary*, assumed afterwards.

THESE Huns or Turks dwelt in tents, placed in carts, *Way of* and removed from place to place, for the conveniency of *living*. pasture to feed their cattle; which supplied them with both food and cloathing. They despised old people, and only set a value on the young, as more proper for war, which was their sole occupation. Their riches consisted in sheep and cattle; but chiefly in the number of slaves, taken in war. The skulls of their enemies served for cups to drink out of in their principal ceremonies. Once every year they assembled at the imperial camp, and sacrificed to their ancestors, heaven, the earth, and spirits. Every morning the emperor adored the rising sun, and in the evening the moon. The left hand was the post of honour with these people, as it is at present with the *Turks*: and in all their encampments the emperor's tent was placed fronting the north. At his death, they put into the coffin with his body his richest habits; and conveyed him to his sepulchre, attended by all those of his family, and his officers. For the space of one month, they attended on him in the same manner as when he was alive: and the men of valour engaged in tilting, like our knights formerly, in their tournaments.

¹ Ven hyen tum kan; Kam-mo, or Kang-mu. Ye tum chi van fan tam pow swi shu. Ye tum chi. Ven hyen tum kau.

[(P) Or *Jetab*, as the orientals write it; the desert which Mr. *Guignes* calls the desert of *China*, is that vast desert to the north of the Chinese wall, called by the Chinese *Shamo*, and by the *Mongols*, who inhabit it, *Ko-bi*; a word which signifies a desert].

THUS

Barbarous custom. THUS lived the *Huns* in the earliest times, that is, under their *Tanjús*, or emperors^{*}: but their manners changed in time. When re-established in *Turkeistán*, they introduced a barbarous custom, with regard to their kings. As soon as their grand *Khán* was dead, his son, or nearest relation, was declared emperor; and, to know if his reign would be happy and long, they put a silk cord about his neck, and after drawing it so tight as to stop respiration, then slackened it, and the first words which he pronounced in coming to himself, were considered as predictions of what was to happen in his reign.

*Oguz Khán
their first
emperor.*

THESE *Huns* have inhabited *Turkeistán* from all antiquity[†]: and it appears from their history, that, in process of time, several *Chineses* also removed into that part of *Tartary*. After the destruction of the *Hya* dynasty, a prince of that family, son of the last emperor (Q), retired thither with all his people; and, according both to the *Chinese* and *Persian*[‡] historians, the *Tanjús* or emperors of the *Huns* are his descendants. *Dibbakawi*, mentioned by *Mirkond* (R), is no other than the emperor *Tú*, founder of the same *Chinese* dynasty: and one of his descendants, named *Mau-ton Tan-ju*, is the famous *Ogúz Khán* (S), who is considered throughout *Tartary* as the founder of the empire of the *Huns* (T): he maintained fierce wars against the *Chineses*. His posterity reigned a long time over the whole nation of the *Huns*, with the title of *Tanjú*; being the contraction of a word which,

^{*}Swi shu. Tam shu. Ven hyen tum kau. [†]Ven hyen tum shau. Kam-mo. [‡]ALBEIDAWI. MIRKOND.

(Q) [This emperor's name was *Kye*; he reigned fifty two years. The dynasty continued 441, and ended 1767 years before the birth of Christ. Mr. *Guignes* omits the dates of many remarkable transactions, which renders his extract imperfect and obscure].

(R) *Dibbakawi*, or, as others write, *Dibbakui Khán*, is mentioned by *Abu'lghazi Khán*, in his history of the *Turks*. If he is the same with *Tu*, he began his reign in the year 2207 before Christ.

(S) [*Mau-ton* must be considered as his *Chinese* name; *Ogúz* as

his *Tattarian* or *Turkish*. All the inhabitants of *Western Tartary*, as well as the *Osbmán Turks*, put him among their earliest ancestors, and greatest conquerors].

(T) Kam-mo. Ven-hyen tum kau. [The history, in this place, seems to be obscure, if not confused: from the circumstance of the *Hun* emperors being descended from the son of the last emperor of the *Hya*, he seems to be the same with *Ogúz Khán*. If the time of their reigns had been specified, it would have cleared up the point.]

in

in their language, signified *the son of heaven*; and often committed hostilities against the *Chineses*, notwithstanding the treaties of peace and alliances which were made with them.

UNDER one of these princes, named *Pú kú Tanjü* ², the *Their* empire of the *Huns* begun considerably to decline. A terrible ^{power} famine, which happened among them, proved the fore-runner ^{declines} of many other evils. The *Chineses*, taking advantage of their miserable circumstances, attacked them; but, at their humble suit, granted them peace. Yet scarce were the *Chineses* retired, when the *Eastern Tartars* entered their country, and obliged them to remove more to the north. But that which was the source of all their evils, and completed the ruin of this empire, was the dissention which crept into the royal family, on the following occasion. *Pú kú Tanjü* (U) put to death a brother of his, who was to have been his successor, in order to place his own son on the throne. Hereupon, a prince of the same family, the son of an emperor, concluded, that the succession belonged to him; which had like to have cost him his life: but, being warned in time of his danger, he found means to escape, and put himself at the head of certain *Hordas* or tribes, who proclaimed him emperor.

THUS the empire of the *Huns* came to be divided into two *Their* parts. Those of the south, over whom the new monarch ^{empire} reigned; and those of the north, subject to *Pú kú Tanjü*. It ^{divided} is this division of which the *Persian* historians *Mirkond* and *Beidawi* make mention; giving to one party the name of *Mogols*, and to the other that of *Tartars* (W).

AFTER this defection, the northern *Huns* found the *Chi-That of the* ^{neses} less disposed to assist them in their calamities than they ^{northern} were before. They were continually opposed by those of *Huns do* the south; who at length granted them peace. They then ^{sireyed} resolved to carry their arms into *Mawara'nahr*; where, elated with their success, they, without regard to the faith of treaties, bent their forces against *China*. But there they found the *Huns* of the south, who repulsed them vigorously. At length the *Chineses*, always aided by these latter, after several battles, determined utterly to destroy the *Huns* of the north; which they effected by their general *Tew-hyen*, who, in the reign of *Hiau Ho-ti* (X), emperor of the *Han* dynasty in *China*, defeated the northern *Huns* in *Tartary*: and, in or-

* Kam-mo. Ven-hyen tum kaw. Kam-shu.

(U) [In the copy before us, 'tis here spelt *Pououn*, which is before written *Poucou*].

(W) [The *Tartars* seem to be the subjects of *Pu kú Tanjü*].

(X) [He began his reign A. D. 89].

der

der to transmit to posterity the memory of this victory, he caused an inscription to be cut on a mountain in *Turkestan*, indicating the time when it happened (Y).

THE *Persian* historians¹ ascribe this defeat of the *Huns* to *Túr*, the son of *Feridún* : but it is easy to see, says our author, that they were led into this error by the similitude of the names *Tew* and *Túr* (Z) : withal, being fond of their antient heroes, they laid hold of this occasion to advance their fame.

They advance
westward.

OF the *Huns*, thus vanquished², some remained in *Tartary*, and mingled with the tribes who had been brought from the farthest parts of the east, to re-people this country. But the major part of them continued to advance towards the west, through the regions to the north of *Samarkand*, till they reached the *Caspian* sea, and parts about *Astrakán*. Here, where the *Chinese* historians lose sight of them, ours begin to have them in view ; and, conducting them into *Europe*, over the *Palus Mæotis*, after pointing out their various migrations, seat them in *Pannonia*, as hath been already mentioned.

Southern
Huns

THE southern *Huns*, who³ remained in their antient country, preserved their power, till such time as a tribe of the oriental *Tartars*, named *Juijen*, intirely subdued them, and brought almost the whole extent of *Tartary* under their dominion. The title borne by their kings was that of *Khán*, or *Khakán*, which was substituted in the place of *Tanjú*. The *Huns*, thus driven out, went and established several principalities in the northern *China* ; which were destroyed one after the other. One of them, whose princes descended from the emperor of the *Huns*, was defeated by *Tay-vú-ti*, emperor of the northern *China*. Upon this misfortune, the whole family, together with the *Huns*, retired into a mountain of *Tartary*, named *Erkena-Kom*. These people, at that time most known by the name of *Turks*, were employed, according to the *Chinese*, as well as *Mohammedan* historians⁴, in forging iron works, for the service of the *Kháns* of the *Juijen Tartars* ; and continued in this manner to support them-

subdued by
the Juijen,

¹ MIRKOND. D'HERBELOT. ² Ven hyen tum kau. Kam-mo. ³ Hú han shu. Kam-mo. Chín shu. U-tay shu. ⁴ Kam-mo. Swi shu. BEIDAWI. MIRKOND. Tam-shu.

(Y) [Mr. *Guigues* would have done well to mention when this was, or in what year of *Hyau Ho-ti*, emperor of the *Han*, this defeat happened].

(Z) [In the *French*, *Tew* and

Tour. This conjecture seems too forced. Besides, the *Persian* historians refer the reigns of *Túr* and *Feridún*, or *Fraydún*, to the ages long before the *Christian* æra].

selves

selves for a certain number of years ; that is, till the *Juijen* came to be attacked by the nations inhabiting to the west of them.

TU-MWEN (A) *Khân*, at that time chief of the *Irkena-Kam Turks*, marched out of the mountain, at the head of those people, and defeated the enemy. *Tu-mwen*, making a *The Jui-*merit of this service which he had done the *Khâkân* or em-jen by the peror of the *Juijen*, imagined he was intitled to demand his *Turks*-daughter in marriage. The *Khâkân*, far from being of the same opinion, rejected the proposal with disdain ; saying, that it did not become a slave to aspire to such an alliance with his sovereign^c. *Tu-mwen*, incensed at so contemptuous a repulse, immediately revolted against his prince ; and, having slain the *Juijen* envoy, entered into a confederacy with *Ven-ti*, emperor of the northern *China*. Next year he marched against the *Juijen*, defeated them, and slew their *Khân* ; after which he assumed that title, and caused himself to be called *Tu-mwen Ilkhân*.

In this manner was established a powerful dominion in *Tartary*, at that time called the empire of the *Turks*. To preserve the memory of the origin of this family, they used to assemble every year, and, with much ceremony, beat a piece of hot iron upon an anvil : a custom which continued to the *Turks*-time of *Jenghîz Khân*^d, who descended from this *Tu-mwen Khân* ; and 'tis from hence that some of our historians have represented this prince as the son of a blacksmith.

THE *Juijen*, thus driven out of their country by the *Turks*^e, in all probability passed into *Europe* ; where, being known by the name of the false *Abares*, or *Abares*, they mixed with the *Huns* of the north, who had been settled *Hungare* there a long time before : and these two people uniting together formed the nation of the *Hungarians* ; that is to say, whence. *Hun-Ikhorians* : which last name is that which the *Juijen* went by in *Great Tartary*.

THIS is the true original of the second *Huns*, or *Turks*, in *Turkestan*, according to the *Chinese* historians. But, not content with a beginning which had not something extraordinary in it, they affirm^f, that a nation of *Tartars*, being at war, *Fable of* was so intirely defeated by their enemies, that only one child the *Zena*, escaped the slaughter, whose arms and legs, however, they cut

^c Kam-mo. ^d LA CROIX hist. de Jenghîz Khân. ^e Kam-mo Nicephorus Cal. ^f Ven hyen tum shau.

(A) [By the *Mohammedan* historians written *Tumana Khân*. *Abu'lghâzi Khân* makes him the fifth ancestor of *Jenghîz Khân* ; and puts the sally of the *Mogols* out of *Irganakon*, under *Bertizera Khân*, nineteen generations before ; and, by his reckoning, above 2,00 years. See anc. hist. vol. ii. p. 35—49].

off, and then threw him into a lake : that a she-wolf, touched with the misfortunes of the boy, drew him out of the danger he was in, and provided for his support : that the child, out of gratitude, married this wolf ; and, returning with her into the mountains to the north-west of the *Igûrs* country, she there brought forth twelve children ; whose descendants took the name of *Affenas*.

how explained.

THE account which is given (by the western historians) of *Tu-mwen Ilkhân*^a, will explain the above fable. This prince, named *Timana* by the *Persian* historians, was the son of *Biffiker*, son of *Kaydu*, descended from *Bûzenjir*, son of queen *Alankawa*. This queen of the *Mogols* or *Turks*; then inhabiting the mountains of *Tartary*, and before the re-establishment of their empire, being left a widow, with two children, according to the account both of *Mohammedan* and *Chinese* writers, took the government of her small state, during the minority of her sons, and constantly refused to marry again. However, her firm attachment to widowhood did not hinder her from being the mother of three other children, one of whom was named *Bûzenjir*. The grandson of *Bûzenjir*, called *Dutumin*, had nine children, eight of whom perished on a certain occasion^b : and our author is persuaded, that the above-mentioned fable had an eye to this massacre.

Tribe of the Zenas or wolves,

THE ninth son of *Dutumin*, who escaped, was *Kaydu*, the father of *Biffikar*, and another called *Hurmalankum*, whose children bore the name of wolves ; on which the fable is apparently founded : but then this history does not respect the *Turks* in general, but only the particular hord of them called *Zenas* (B), or *Affenas*, as the *Chinese* pronounce it, descended from *Hurmalankum*.

Eastern and Western Turks,

TU-MWEN Ilkhân, after he had subdued the *Juijen*, attacked and defeated several other people of *Tartary*. His sons, imitating their father's example, formed an empire, which extended from the *Caspian* sea to *Korea*. But as so vast a region could not long remain under the dominion of one prince, these *Turks* divided into two branches^c, the eastern and the western, who had each their particular *Khân*.

Whey-ke Turks,

THE empire of the latter extended as far as the *Sibun*^d, and more than once became formidable to the kings of *Persia*, particularly *Hormâz*^d, or *Hormisdas*, son of *Kofrû Amush-*

^a Hist. gen. des Tartares. MIRKOND. hist. de Jenghîz Khân. Hist. des Monguls. Ywen shu. Kam-mo. ^b See before, p. 38. ^c Kam shu. Kam-mo. Anc. hist vol. xx. ^d Ferdusi.

(B) *Zena*, in *Turkish*, signifies a wolf, as hath been observed before.

irwân. But, in process of time, this empire of the western Turks was destroyed by other Turks of the-hord, named *Whey-ke*, who founded a new dominion in the same country; and from these *Whey-ke* Turks, in the opinion of our author, were descended the four famous *Seljuk* dynasties of *Irân*, or from *Persia* at large, *Kermân*, *Rûm*, or *Asia minor*, and *Syria*, whom the reigning in *Aleppo* and *Damascus*. *Seljuks*.

As for the oriental Turks, who inhabited at the farther end of *Turkestan*, their branch was destroyed by the people named *Eastern Khitân*¹, who came originally from *Eastern Tartary*: the *Turks-Khitân* were, in their turn, invaded from the same quarter, by the *Nyu-che Tartars*², who are the *Altûn Khâns* (C) of the *Mohammedan* writers, and called by us at present *Manchews*. This nation having ruined the empire of the *Khitân*, some of the latter passed into *Persia*, and there established a destroyed dynasty, known to the *Mohammedan* authors by the name of *Ki-tan*. *Kara Khatayans*.

THE *Turks*, after the destruction of their empire, as above related, formed themselves into small principalities; and every *Broken* hord had its particular *Khân*. The *Kera-its*, or *Kara-its*, to tribes. one of these *Turkish* tribes³, were, in the twelfth century, governed by a prince named *Tûli Khân*, otherwise called *Onk Khân*⁴, whom the *Arab* writers stile *King John*, and *European* travellers *Prester John*.

THE posterity of *Tû-mwen Ilkhân* dwindled insensibly, and was on the point of being extinguished, or at least of never making any considerable figure again in *Tartary*, when the famous *Jenghiz Khân* appeared⁵.

THIS is the original of the *Turks*, according to the *Chinese* historians; but compared, in certain periods, with the ac-Some re- counts given by the western *Asiatic* writers. In this compa-marks on- rison, however, Mr. *Guigues* does not sufficiently distinguish what is taken from the authors of each kind, either in the text, or by the references: neither does he assign dates to all the principal facts. When he says *Dibakkârû Khân* is the emperor *Tu*, and that *Mau ton Tanjou* is *Ogûz Khân*, it does not appear whether those are the words of the *Chinese* annals, or the forego- only conjectures of his own. Supposing them to be the Chi-going ex- nese account, there will be found a great disagreement be- tract.

¹ Sum shu. Kam-mo. Ven hyen tum shau. ² ABU'LFARAJ. BEIDAWI. ³ Ywen shu. ⁴ ABU'LFARAJ. ⁵ GUIGUES orig. des Huns & Turks.

(C) [And the *Kin Tartars* of nese, appellative for gold, as hath the *Chinese* historians: *Altûn* been already remarked]. ing the *Turkish*, and *Kin* the *Chi-*

tween it and the *Tartar* relation : for *Ogúz Khán* will be the nineteenth in descent from *Dibbakáwi*; or *Yu*, according to the former, and but the fifth according to the latter. By this latter also *Tu-mwen* is only the fifth ancestor of *Jenghtz Khán* : but the *Chinese* annals set him at the head of the *Irganakón* sally, instead of *Bertizena*, nineteen generations before. If Mr. *Guigues* had been more copious and distinct in his extract, it would have supplied many defects, and cleared up many obscurities in the history of the *Turks*, which, for want thereof, we meet with in the *Mohammedan* historians, from whom we are now going to give an account of their affairs, till the *Seljúks* founded their empire in *Irán*.

Subdues
the Ab-
tela.

MIRKOND, the *Persian* historian, informs us, that, when *Kesre Anushirwán*, the famous *Khosroes* (D) of the *Greek* historians, came to the throne, which was about the year 531, he was possessed of *Mawara'lnahr* (E), to which he added other countries ; and, among the rest, that of *Abtela* ¹.

Their do-
minions.

THE country of *Abtela*, which signifies, in *Persian*, *water of gold*, takes its name from a people so called ; who, some time before, had conquered it. The *Greeks*, corrupting the word, called them *Nephthalites* (F), *Eutalites*, and, more nearly, *Ephtalites*. They were denominated, by the *Arabs*, *Hayátelah*. According to *Procopius*, the *Ephtalites* were those called the *white Huns* : they seem to have been masters, for a time, of all *Mawara'lnahr*, or *Great Bukharia* ; to which *Abulfeda* gives the name of *Hayátelah* ¹. Dr. *Hyde* observes, that *Heyáteleh* was the title of the king of *Katlán* ², a province in the eastern part of *Mawara'lnahr* : and *Euty chius* informs us, that *Gostmawaz*, king of *Abtelah*, who raised *Firúz* to the throne of *Persia*, about the year 465, was king of *Balkh* ³, and part of *Khorasán* ; which shews, that the dominion of the *Abtela* had once been very extensive (G) ; though we may suppose their power to have been much reduced, at the time when *Anushirwán* conquered them.

¹ MIRKOND. ap. Teixeira, p. 163.

² ABULF. descr. Chowarazm, p. 29.

³ HYDE in Peritfol. itin. mund. p. 156.

⁴ EUTYCH. annal. vol. ii. p. 111.

(D) Son of *Kabades*. The *Persians* write *Khosraw* and *Kobad*.

(E) Which name answers to *Transoxana*.

(F) Hence some *European* authors have supposed those countries to have been peopled by *Jews*, particularly of the tribe of *Nephthali*.

(G) *D'Herbelot* says they were the ancient *Indo-Scythæ*, and inhabited the countries of *Kandahâr*, *Tibet*, and *Barantola*, a part of *Tibet* ; from whence he supposes the name to be derived. *Bibl. orient. art. Hiathela* and *Nousheravân*, p. 421, 680.

BUT

BUT while this prince was busy in extending his dominions, they were invaded by *Khákân Chini*, king of *Tatar* or *Tartary*, with a mighty army, who took from him *Samar-kand*, *Bokhâra*, and several other cities in *Mawara'nahr*, which he afterwards was forced to quit upon the successes of his grandson *Hormoz* *.

D'HERBELOT reports, from *Mirkond*, that *Anusbirwân* having repulsed the *Hiyatelah* beyond the mountain *Parapamisus* (H), in his twelfth year, marched against the *Khákân* of the oriental *Turks*, who then reigned in the *Transoxane* provinces, and obliged him to sue for peace, as also to yield him one of his daughters in marriage *. *Euty chius* relates this transaction with some variation : he tells us, that the *Persian* monarch, resolving to revenge on the *Hiyatelah* the injury done his grandfather *Firúz*, first makes an alliance with the great *Khákân* of the *Turks*, and acquaints him with his design ; that then marching against the enemy, he overthrew them, and killed their king ; by this means the country of *Balkh*, and the adjacent parts of *Khorasân*, were delivered up to him : after which he encamped in *Fargâna* (I), and married the *Khákân's* daughter *.

THE reader, from what has been said, may see that *Khákân* is a general name given by the *Persian* historians to the princes of the *Turks*, called also emperors of *Tartary*, of whom we find mention from the time of *Bahrâm-jaur*, son of *Yazdegerd* I. king of *Persia*, who began his reign about the year of Christ 417 †, as a people different, at least with regard to their original country, from the antient *Turks*, or inhabitants of *Turkestan*, situate to the north of *Persia*, with whom the

* MIRKOND. ap. Texeir. p. 163.
orient p. 680. art. Noushirwan.
ii. p. 188. † Ibid. p. 83.

* D'HERBELOT. bibl.
* EUTYCH. annal. vol.

(H) This can't be the name given by *Mirkond* ; nor can we determine what mountains D'Herbelot intends thereby. We presume he means those dividing either the country of *Balkh*, or *Khorasân*, from *India*. Authors, often endeavouring to explain, become more obscure ; and, out of an affectation of shewing their skill in geography, betray their want of it. There is no point in which they have committed more errors,

than in giving the antient names for the modern ; or those of their own fancy, instead of the names found in the writers they copy from : what is still worse, they commonly omit inserting, by way of note, the names used in the original ; which often puts it out of the power of others to correct their mistakes.

(I) A province of *Mawara'nahr*, or *Great Bukharia*, beyond the river *Sihân* or *Sir*. *Herb. Hormoz.* 457.

Persians, according to their history, had wars (K), in the earliest times of their monarchy. The former are called oriental *Turks*, by way of distinction; and the gentile name of *Chin* is added to the title of *Khákân*, in all probability to denote their coming from the eastern parts of *Tartary* towards *China*: although it must be observed, that *Chin* is a general name, sometimes used by the orientals, to comprehend both those regions².

Second invasion. *HORMOZ* (L), succeeded his father *Amisbirwân*, about the year 586, and was not long after invaded by the Greek emperor (M); of which *Shabashah*, his cousin-german, son of the *Khákân*, whose daughter *Nushirwân* had married, taking the advantage, passes the *Jibân*, or *Amû*, with 300,000 men (N), and subdues *Khorasân*. *Persia* being in this distress, *Bahrâm Chubin*, the bravest man of his time, was sent for to oppose the enemy (O); who taking with him but 12,000 experienced soldiers, made a great slaughter of them, slew their king, and took his son prisoner, besides an immense booty: but afterwards being defeated in his attempts against *Khojraw Parvîz*, the son and successor of *Hormoz*, he fled into *Turkestan*, where he served the *Khákân Chini*³.

They overrun Persia. FROM that time the *Turks* seem to have remained quiet, till the year 654, being the nineteenth of the reign of *Taz-dejerd*, last king of *Persia*; at which time vast multitudes of them (P) from *Turân*, or *Turkestan*, passed the river *Sibûn*, or *Sîn*, and laid waste the countries to the south of it. At the same juncture the *Arabs* invaded his dominions on the other side; and he dying next year, the whole, by degrees, fell a prey to the latter. At length, in 716, the *Arabs* drove the *Turks* out of *Karazm* and *Mawara'nahr*.

HOWEVER, from that time they swarmed all over the dominions of the *Khalîfah*, and, by degrees, got the possession of them: for being a handsome people, and famous for their

² See *TEXEIRA's* hist. p. 105. ³ *MIRKOND.* ap. *Texeir.* p. 186. *EUTYCH.* annal. vol. ii. p. 200.

(K) These were the *Juïjen*, whose princes had the title of *Khân*, or *Khákân*. See p. 44.

(L) He is also called *Hormozd*, whence the Greek *Hormizdas*; also *Tajedar*, or the crown-carrier; because he wore the *Taje* on all occasions.

(M) This was *Mauritius*, whom, according to the Greek

historians, *Hormizdas* invaded first, in 587. See ant. hist. vol. xvii. p. 8.

(N) *Texeira* has 400,000.

(O) *Texeira* still calls them *Tartars*.

(P) This is the first time *Mirkond* calls them *Turks*, according to *Texeira's* abstract.

courage, the Khalîfahs, and, after their example, several of the princes, who, in time, threw off their yoke, caused great numbers of young *Turkish* slaves to be bought, and educated in their courts. Out of these they formed troops of militia, who often rebelled, and deposed the Khalîfah himself. In effect, at length their commanders became masters, not only of the Khalîfat, and persons of the Khalîfahs ^b, whose guards they were; but also of great dominions, which they erected in *Khorasân*, *Karazm*, *Egypt*, and *India* itself ^c, as hath been already set forth at large.

BUT to return to the affairs of the *Turks* at home. In the year 894 *Ismael al Sammâni*, who, throwing off his subjection to the Khalîfah, set up for king of *Mawara'lnahr* and *Khorasân*, marched into *Turkeftân*; and, defeating the Khân, took him prisoner, with 10,000 men, besides a vast treasure. Some time before his death, which happened in 909, he made another expedition thither, subduing several provinces ^d.

THE *Turks* seem to have kept within their bounds till the reign of *Nûh Ebû Mansûr*, sixth king of the race of the *Sam-rebels*. *mâni*, who ascended the throne in the year of the *Hejrah* 365 (Q), and of *Christ* 975. This prince, being possessed of all *Mawara'lnahr* and *Khorasân*, gave the government of two considerable districts to two brothers, *Abuali* and *Faëkh*. These, at length, quarrelling together, the latter first, and then the former, rebelled, and invited *Kara Khân* (R) of *Turkeftân* to invade the dominions of *Nûh* (S). The Khân joins them; and, routing the army of *Nûh*, takes *Samarkand* and *Bokhâra*, while *Nûh* made haste to muster another. *Kara Khân*, falling sick, was advised by his physicians to return to *Turkeftân*; which he attempted to do, but died by the way.

HOWEVER, the rebel brothers still held out, and raised great forces; being assisted by the neighbouring princes: at what time *Sabektekin*, a famous general of *Nûh's*, having re-

^b See D'HERBELOT. p. 898, & seq. Art. Turk. ^c See before, vol. ii. and iii. ^d MIRKOND. ap. Texeir. p. 197, 206, 237, 239.

(Q) D'Herbelot, by mistake, puts this event twenty years lower: and tho' Texeira does not date all his facts, yet he seems more correct in his numbers.

(R) So D'Herbelot. Texeira calls him *Bokra Khân*.

(S) These troubles, according to D'Herbelot, began about the year 371 of the *Hejrah*, of *Christ* 981.

turned with laurels from *India*, the king, by his assistance, marched against, and, after a doubtful battle, routed them *.

AFTER this battle, *Nûh*, at the request of *Sabektekin*, made his son *Mahmûd* general of his forces, and went to *Bokhâra*; *Sabektekin* to *Gaznî* (T), a territory in *Khôrâsân*, and *Mahmûd* to *Nisabûr*; whence *Abuali* and *Faëkh*, who had retired thither, fled; but, raising forces, they drove out *Mahmûd*: however, the latter, rallying his troops, and being joined by his father *Sabektekin*, routed the brothers in their turn. *Abuali*, upon this, submitted to *Nûh*; but *Faëkh* retired to *Ilek Khân*, who succeeded *Bekra Khân* in *Turkestan*, and was persuaded by him to make war on *Nûh*.

Ilek Khân
with-
draws.

NUH, being informed of what was in agitation, ordered *Sabektekin* to attend him, and *Mahmûd*, with his troops, between *Kesh* and *Nesâf*, near *Samarkand*; but an accommodation being agreed on, whereby *Faëkh* was to have the government of *Samarkand*, an intire end was put to these troubles in 995; and *Nûh* died in peace two years after, having reigned twenty-two years, leaving his son *Abu'lhares Mansûr*, a youth, to succeed him at *Bokhâra*, in the dominion of *Mawara'nahr* and *Khôrâsân*.

Re-enters
Mawa-
ra'nahr.

ON the death of *Nûh*, *Ilek Khân* invades *Abu'lhares*; and, being joined by *Faëkh*, governor of *Samarkand*, attacks *Bokhâra*: from whence *Abu'lhares* flies, but soon after returns again, on assurances of fidelity given by *Faëkh*, whom he makes his general, and *Baktuzun* governor of *Khôrâsân* †.

Troubles in
Khôrâsân.

MAHMUD *Gazni* (U), son of *Sabektekin*, whose government *Khôrâsân*, was complaining of this injury, *Abu'lhares* gives him *Balkh*, *Termed* and *Herat* in lieu thereof: but *Mahmûd*, not being content with the exchange, marches to *Nisabûr*, from whence the king fled; yet, fearing to be deemed a rebel, turns off, without seeing that city. *Baktuzun* marches to the king's relief; and, meeting him on his return, under some pretence conspires with *Faëkh*, and puts out his eyes, after he had reigned one year and seven months. They enthrone *Abdalmâlek*, the eighth king; but *Mahmûd* marching against the traitors, they fled different ways; *Faëkh* carrying the new king to *Bokhâra*. Thus *Mahmûd* became possessed of all *Khôrâsân*. The traitors, gathering forces,

* Mirkond. ap. Texeiram, p. 255, & seq. D'HERBELOT. p. 679. Art. Nouh Ben Mansour. † Mirkond. ubi sup. p. 259, & seq.

(T) Of which the city *Gaznah*, or *Gazna*, is the capital.

(U) Or *Gaznawi*, so called from the city *Gaznah*, where his father resided.

march against him; but *Faëkh* dying, the expedition came to nothing.

MEAN time *Ilek Khân*, taking advantage of these troubles, Takes advances to *Bokhâra*, under pretence of assisting *Abdalmâlek*. Bokhara. The young king, giving credit to his words, sent the best commanders he had to return him thanks, whom the Khân secured. *Abdalmâlek*, in a fright, hid himself, with an intent to escape; but *Ilek Khân* having taken the city, and strict search being made, *Abdalmâlek* was found, and sent to *Ushkend* (X), where he died in confinement. This happened in the year 999. Hejrah 390.

His subjects proclaimed king a younger brother of his; but he enjoyed not the dignity long. *Ilek Khân*, being thus possessed of *Bokhâra*, seizes the blind king *Abulhâres Mansûr*, his two brothers, and two uncles, with others of the royal family, who were all confined apart, and attended by his women slaves. She who attended *Abu Ibrahim Monteser*, taking a liking to him, procured his escape by means of her veil. Being at liberty, he went to *Karazm*, where crowds resorting to him, he sent a numerous army to *Bokhâra*, which defeated *Ilek Khân's* forces, and took their general prisoner. Defeated twice, Marching forward, he routed another of his armies, commanded by *Takîn Khân*, governor of *Samarkand*.

MONTESER, after this, returned to *Bokhâra*; but *Ilek Khân* soon marching against him, he fled; and passing the *Jihûn*, came to *Nisfabûr*, in the year 1000: about the beginning of the next year, by the assistance of the *Turkmâns*, he marched into *Mawara'lnahr*, where *Ilek Khân* met him with a great army: but as they lay encamped near each other, the *Turkmâns* one night, by surprise, fell upon the Khân's camp, and killing many men, put the rest to flight: after which they returned to their hords, with the better part of the plunder. *Monteser*, finding himself deserted by the *Turkmâns*, crossed the *Jihûn*, which was then frozen, upon the ice. Mean time the *Turkmâns*, repenting that they had left him any part of the booty, returned to take it away; but coming to the river by day, found it thawed, and were thus baulked, as not being able to pursue him. *Monteser*, after this, got some victories in *Khorasân*; but finding he could not stay in that province, repassed the *Jihûn*, with his followers: and though he lost most of his men, in a conflict with the *Skena*, or governor of *Bokhâra*, yet, with the rest, he assaulted that city by night, and took it. Upon this *Ilek Khân* hastened thither; but being met in the territory of *Samarkand* by *Monteser*, Hejrah 391.

(X) *D'Herbelot* writes *Dizghend*.

Hejrah 394. *tefer*, was there overthrown; with whose plunder the victor's army was enriched. This was in 1003.

ILEK Khán, after this defeat, having recruited his forces, marched again towards *Montefer*, and found him, when those who had assisted him were gone. What was worse, one of his generals going over to the enemy, with 4000 men, he, despairing of success, fled. Finding no possibility of crossing the *Jihún*, he came to *Bokhára*, with very few followers; and though the governor promised to assist him, yet knowing that he was pursued by *Ilek Khán's* general, to whom most of his men had gone over in disgust, he left the city; and getting into *Khorasán*, hid himself in a poor house; which being forced in the night by one who was in search of him, he was there killed, in 1004^{*}.

Hejrah 395.
Mahmud
founds the

THIS was the fate of the dynasty of the *Sammáni* family in *Persia*, which properly ended in *Núh Ebn Mansúr*, in whose reign sprang up the *Gázni* monarchy, under *Mahmúd Gázni* before-mentioned; the foundation of which was laid by his father *Sabektekin*. This *Sabektekin* was a Turk by nation, and originally slave to *Alptekin*, another Turk, who was general to *Núh Ebn Mansúr*: on whose death *Sabektekin* succeeded in that post; and, by his conquests in *India*, and authority with the soldiery, became equal in power to the king himself. *D'Herbelot* tells us, that he defeated *Kara Khán* of *Turkeistán* in several battles (though *Texeira* speaks of but one, which he had with *Ilek Khán*); and that, at his return from the expedition, he died at *Bálkh*, in the year 997; which is the same year in which *Núh Ebn Mansúr* died.

Gázni
monarchy.

Hejrah 387.

HOWEVER that be, his son *Mahmúd*, who succeeded to his father's power and authority, being disgusted, as hath been before-mentioned, at his government of *Khorasán* being given to another, by *Abu'lbares*, successor of *Núh Ebn Mansúr*, subdued the whole province to himself; and having intirely pacified the troubles which reigned there, as hath been before set forth, in the year 998, went from *Gázna* to *Bálkh*, where the *Khalifah Káder* sent him a rich vest, by way of investiture in his new dominions: and thus the monarchy passed from the *Alsamáni* to the *Gázni*^h.

Hejrah 389.

Invaded by
IlekKhán
Hejrah 393.

SOON after, *Mahmúd* concluded a perpetual peace with *Ilek Khán*; and, to make it the firmer, took one of his daughters in marriage. In 1002 the governor of *Sistán*, or *Sejeistán*, having revolted, he has recourse for assistance to *Ilek Khán*;

^{*} MIRKOND. ubi sup. p. 267, 270, & seq. ^h D'HERBEL. p. 679, 792, 533. Art. Nuh ben Mansour, Sebektekin, and Mahmoud.

who,

who, in 1005, taking advantage of *Mahmūd* being engaged in the war of *India*, sends two generals to invade *Khorasān*; but *Mahmūd* returning on the news, they soon were obliged to retreat. *Ilēk Khān*, upon this, applies for succour to *Kader Khān*, of *Ketau Kotan* (Y); who, joining him with 50,000 horse, gathered in *Ketau Kotan*, *Turkeṣṭān*, and *Mawara'nahr*, they passed the *Jihūn*. Hejrah 396.

MAHMUD, on this news, hastens to *Balkh*, with a noble army of *Turks* (Z), *Gaznis*, and other people, to meet the enemy. They came to a battle; and *Mahmūd's* forces giving ground, he, almost in despair, rushed into the thickest of the enemy; and cutting his way through them, came up to *Ilēk Khān*; whom his elephant, unhorfing him, tossed up in the air. His men, at this, resuming their courage, put the enemy to flight. This battle happened in 1006 (A), and proved one of the most bloody which was fought in that age.

ILĒK Khān, after this loss, retired into *Mawara'nahr*;

¹ TEIXEIRA, p. 278. D'HERBEL. p. 554.

(Y). 'Tis hard to say what country this is: in *Teixeira* there is added, doubtless by himself, which we call *Katay*. 'Tis true, the empire of *Kitay* or *Katay* might have extended, at this time, under the *Kitān*, as far westward as *Kāshgar*; and this *Kader Khān* been the governor, or one set up there for himself: or the country here mentioned might have been *Kotān* or *Hetan*, a noted city and province to the south-east of *Kāshgar*; which formerly had kings of its own, but then seems to have been under the *Kitān* hereafter mentioned.

(Z) These *Turks* were either such as he and his father, who were *Turks*, always commanded; or else *Seljuk Turks*, who, many years before, had settled in *Mawara'nahr*. But neither *D'Herbelot* nor *Teixeira* are explicit enough on this point.

(A) Three other authors, made use of by *D'Herbelot*, place

this event in *Hejrah* 410, or 1019 of *Christ*, and vary much from the account of *Mirkond*. These authors call *Ilēk Khān* king of the oriental *Turks*, and all the country beyond the *Jihūn*. They add, that, dying in his own country, in 403 (1012), he was succeeded by his son *Kader Khān*; who, being joined by *Arslān Khān*, king of *Turkeṣṭān*, they passed the *Jihūn*, and advanced to *Balkh*; but that, being met by *Mahmūd*, mounted on a white elephant, they were driven back to that river, wherein most of them perished. The *Soltān*, crossing the *Jihūn*, quite ruined the enemies country, and then returned in 410, 1019, above-mentioned (1). According to this account, there were two great monarchies of the *Turks* existing in *Tartary* at the same time. *Ilēk Khān*, who, in the other account, is called king of *Turkeṣṭān*, is here made king of the oriental *Turks*, and *Kader Khān* to be his son.

(1) *D'Herbel.* p. 554; & seq. *Art. Mahmūd.*

where understanding that his brother *Togán* (B) *Khán*, who had been with him in that fight, had sent to make his apology to *Mahmúd*, he marched against him; but *Mahmúd* interposing, they were reconciled ^k.

Rise of the Seljûk dynasty. DURING these invasions by *Ilck Khán*, great numbers of *Turks* took the opportunity of passing out of *Turkestan* into *Mawara'n-nahr*. Among the rest was *Seljûk*, who, with his family and followers, settled about *Samarkand* and *Bekhtera*,

Hejrah
426.

where, by degrees, they acquired large possessions: at length, in 1034, being the fifth year of the reign of *Soltân* (C) *Massûd*, son and successor of *Mahmúd Gazni*, the grandsons of *Seljûk*, *Mohammed* and *Dawd* (D), called afterwards *Togrâk-beg* and *Jaffar-beg* passing the *Jihân* or *Amû*, and sat down about *Nesâ* and *Abirwerd*, or *Baward*, in *Khorâsân*; where they began some commotions: but, on the return of *Massûd*, who was then in *India*, they sat still, and sent an envoy to him, offering to become his subjects. *Massûd* rejected their message with contempt: yet, contrary to the advice of his council, set out again for his *Indian* conquests; before the affairs of the *Turks* were settled. They, in his absence, began to make their inroads through *Khorâsân*, with so much success, that, in two years, they conquered almost all that province, with ^l *Persian Irâk* (E); founding, in 1037, the second great monarchy of the *Turks*, in the south of *Asia*; which, in time, spread over all *Persia*, and the countries westward, as far as the *Archipelago*: whereof we shall give the reader an account in the next chapter.

Hejrah
429.

Turks
empire

HAVING brought down the foreign history of the *Turks*, from their first appearance out of *Tartary*, to this period, we ought now to return to their domestic affairs, and see what they were doing in *Tartary* among themselves, or with their kindred nations, during that interval. But here we are at a greater loss than before: for the memory of transactions, which are not committed to writing, can never possibly be lasting; and oral records are soon defaced. In short, we scarce know any thing of their domestic affairs during that long interval. We can only collect, in general, from certain circumstances, that their dominion, which once extended over

broken in
Tartary.

^k *TEXEIRA*, p. 281.
Art. *Selgiouk*.

^l *D'HERBELOT*. p. 800, & seq.

(B) Or *Dogân Khân*.
(C) His father *Mabnûl* was the first who took the title of *Soltân*.

(D) *Dawd*, or *Daud*, is the same with *David*.

(E) That is, the *Persian Irâk*. There is another call'd the *Arabian Irâk*.

all *Tartary*, in process of time became divided among several *Khâns*; and their power being thus broken, gave other nations an opportunity of depriving them of the greater part of what they formerly possessed.

We learn from the *Chinese* history, that, at the beginning of the tenth century, the *Kitân* or *Lyâh*, who founded the empire of *Kitay* or *Katay* (which comprized the northern provinces of *China*, with the adjoining part of *Tartary*, thence called *Kara Kitay*), subdued all the countries westward from *Korea*, as far as *Kâshgar*^m. And the *Persian* authors inform us, that, in the year 1017, 300,000 *Tartars* and *Mogols*, comprized under the name of *Turks*, issuing from the borders of *China*, ravaged the country from the oriental ocean, as far as *Balâsfûgûn*, then the capital of what is more properly called *Turkestan*: but that *Togân*, or *Dogân Khân*, who at that time reigned there (F), not only prevented their progress any farther westward, but, obliging them to retreat, pursued them for three months together, and killed more than 200,000 of themⁿ.

Hejrah
408.

THESE, which are here called *Tartars* and *Mogols*, were called *Kadoubtless* no other than the *Kitân*, or those from *Ketan Ko-rakitaytan* before-mentioned^o; who, under *Kader Khân*, or his successor, aimed to have extended their dominions, which already reached from *Kitay* to *Kâshgar*, as far westward as the *Caspian* sea. Not but a great part of their army might have consisted of *Mogols* and *Tartars*; these people probably, at that time, having been subject to the *Kitân*, as we know they were not long after.

THE *Kitân* having, in 1124, been dispossessed by the *Kin*, Their settlements another nation (G) of eastern *Tartary* retired westward, and founded the empire of the westward *Lyâh*, near *Kâshgar*^p. The historians of the west of *Asia* call these *Lyâh* or *Kitân*, who, after this event, became better known to them, *Karakitayans*; and say they settled in the parts about *Imil* (H), mixing themselves with the *Turks*^q; who, at that time, were divided into many nations, under different chiefs. The

^m GAUBIL. hist. de Gentch. p. 11. ⁿ D'HERBEL. p. 899.

Art. Turk. ^o See before, p. 55. ^p GAUBIL. ibid.

p. 127. ^q MIRKOND. ap. Horn. arc. Noë, p. 287, & seq.

ABU'LOHAZI KHAN'S hist. p. 44.

(F) He was brother to *Ilek Khân*, as hath been before-mentioned, and probably succeeded him.

(H) Called also *Amil* and *Anmil*, to the west of *Almalek*, in

(G) The same with those called *Little Bukhâria*.

Khân found some tribes about *Turfân*, and others on the borders of *Great Bukhâria*, whom they defeated.

*The Turk-
ish empire* THESE seem to have been independent tribes, which owned no subjection to the *Khân* of *Turkestan*; who, though possessed of but a part of the dominions of his ancestors, still preserved a shew of grandeur. But, in a short time after, his power began greatly to decline; insomuch that *Nek Khân*, who reigned at *Balkhân*, about the middle of the twelfth century, to defend himself against the *Kankli*, *Karlîks*, and *Kipjaks*, resigned his dominions to the king of the western *Kitân*, or *Karakatayans**, before-mentioned†: and thus *Turkestan*, which for so many ages had been possessed by *Khâns* of its own, fell under the dominion of a foreign prince: for although some oriental historians pretend to derive even the *Kitayans* from *Türk*, the supposed son of *Jafet*; yet their language and manners, as well as remote situation, shew them to be people of a different origin.

*The whole
possessed by* As soon as this prince was settled in his new dominions, according to *Abûlghâzi Khân*, he assumed the title of *Kavat Khân*, that is, *great lord*. But *Mirkond* writes *Kâr Khân* (I), and says it was the title of the kings of *Karakitay*‡; adding, that after he had vanquished the *Kankli*, he pursued his good fortune, and conquered, in the year 1141 (K), the cities of *Kûshgar*, *Khoten*, *Bishbâleg*, and *Turkestan*: and thus all *Tartary*, between mount *Altay* and the *Caspian* sea, became again united under one sovereign, who was the greatest prince who had reigned in northern *Asia* for many ages, before the time of *Jenghiz Khân*.

*the Kara-
kitayans.* IN all probability all the *Turkish* tribes, and even those settled about *Turfân*, had submitted to *Kâr Khân*; since we find the *Vigûrs* or *Igûrs*, their neighbours to the east, were under his protection; and so continued till the year 1212, when slaying his tax-gatherer, they went over to *Jenghiz Khân*§.

* See an account of them before, p. 57. § ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 44. MIRKOND. ap. Horn. arc. Noz, p. 288.
† Mirkond. ap. Horn. arc. Noz, p. 287. § ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 37. GAUBEL. hist. Jeng. p. 13.

(I) Which, in *Hornius*, is said to signify king of kings. Altho' this seems to be inserted as the explanation of *Mirkond*, we shall not give it as his; since, in his account of *Timûr*, or *Tamurlane*, who assumed the title of *Kâr-
khân*, he says it signifies the son-in-law and kinsman of kings and princes. See *D'Herb.* p. 878. Art. *Timour*.

(K) *Abûlghâzi Khân* places these events in the year 1177; p. 44.

To check this growing power, *Sanjar*, sixth Soltân of the *Seljuk* Turks, before-mentioned, being at *Samarhand* about the year 1145, was prevailed on to attack *Kârkhan* (L); king of *Karakitay*; but he was defeated; and all his *Harâm* (or women) taken ^w.

In 1172, *Takush* (descended from *Sabuktigin* ^x, the Turkish founder of the *Gâzî* monarchy), third Soltân of *Karazm* (a new dominion, which sprung up in the time of the *Seljuks*); applying to the king of *Karakitay* for aid against his brother *Soltân Shâh*, he sent *Karamara*, his son-in-law, with a powerful army, which recovered the crown for him ^y.

THE *Karazm* Shâhs were tributary (M) to the *Kârkhans*; but, on the death of *Takush*, or *Tokush*, his son, *Mohammed* refused to pay the tribute; and raising great forces, in the year 1200, first reduced *Bokhârâ*, and the other cities of *Mawarâ'nahr* (which had become independent under princes of their own); then, marching into the dominions of *Karakitay* *Kârkhan*, overthrew his army, commanded by *Taniku Taraz*, a famous commander. After this, he took *Otrar*, at that time the capital of all *Turkestan*, and returned home. Some years after, the *Karakitayans*, entering *Mawarâ'nahr*, laid siege to *Samarhand*: but hearing, at the same time, both of the approach of *Mohammed*, and the revolt of *Kuchluk* the *Nayman*, against *Kârkhan* his father-in-law, they raised the siege, and returned to *Turkestan* ^z.

THIS account of the *Karakitayans* reigning in *Turkestan*, *Historians* we have made up the best we could, from the few imperfect *disagree*. memoirs we meet with extracted from *Mirkond*; according to which, there were two *Kârkhans* who reigned in *Turkestan*, before the invasion of *Jenghiz Khân*; the first called *Gurjash*, to whom, by the course of the history, *Ilek Khân* must have resigned his dominion; the other *Kuyang*, to whom *Kuchluk* retired. But *Abû'lghâzi Khân* makes only one Khân of the *Abû'l*-two, and differs in the date of his reign, and other circumstances. He tells us, that the Khân of *Furjut* (N) having Khân's conquered *Karakitay*, its prince, called *Nusi Tayghir Ili*, was account.

^w D'HERBELOT, p. 736. Art. Sanglar.

^x Ibid. Art. Mohammed Khouarazm Shâh.

^y Ibid. p. 826. Art. Soltân Shâh.

^z Ibid. p. 609. Art. Mohammed Khouarazm Shâh. p. 610. Horn. arc. Noce, p. 288.

(L) Named *Gurjash*.

(M) D'Herbelot mentions nothing of this tribute in the life either of *Takush* or his son *Mohammed*, extracted from *Mirkond*.

(N) Perhaps *Ning hya*, in the province of *Shen-si* in *China*, then the capital of an empire called *Hya*.

obliged, in the year 1177, to retire among the *Kerghis*, and thence to a town of *Kitay* (O), called *Imil*: that, two years after, *Ilek Khân*, a descendant of *Afrasiab Khân*, who resided at *Bakîsâgûn* (P), being opposed by his neighbours the *Kanklii*, who had spoiled all his cultivated lands, for sake of his assistance, resigned the sovereignty of that city to the *Karakitay* prince (Q), who immediately assumed the name of *Kavar Khân* (R), or the *great lord*; after which he conquered the towns of *Andijan*, *Tashkant*, and *Turkestan*, and made *Samarkand* tributary. After he was returned home, he sent *Aris*, one of his generals, with a numerous army, towards *Urgheij* (S); who obliged *Vighisb* (T), Khân of that city, to pay his master a tribute of 20,000 gold dinars. However, *Soltân Mohammed*, his successor, refusing to do what his father had done, prepared for war. But though he had gathered all the forces of his dominions, which extended as far as *Râm* (U), yet he was defeated by *Kavar Khân*, and obliged

(O) Rather of *Karakitay*, and subject to *Kitay*.

(P) In the *English* translation *Talâsâgûn*: it was the capital of *Turkestan*, about 140 miles to the north-east of *Tonkat*, on the river *Sîr*.

(Q) It is hard to say which of the two accounts is, in the main, the most exact; but both are erroneous, as well as defective, in certain particulars. *Abu'l-ghâzi Khân* seems to make *Nuî Teygbir îli* the founder of the dynasty of the western *Karakitayans*; whereas there were several kings of that race (1), which began in 1124, as hath been related above. On the other hand, *Mirkond* gives *Kuyang*, his second *Kurkhân*, a reign of eighty-one years, if we may depend on the extract (2). So that, on a supposition that it ended in 1214, by the conquest of *Kucbluk*, whom that author makes *Kuyang's* successor, the beginning of it will fall in the

year 1133; which is to make him begin his reign in *Turkestan* eight years before his predecessor; to whom, according to *Mirkond's* account, *Ilek Khân* resigned in 1141; whereas *Abu'l-ghâzi Khân* places that event in 1177. We frequently meet with such irreconcilable disagreements in the extracts made from the oriental historians: whether the originals are more consistent we know not; but possibly the difficulties might be cleared up from the history of the western *Lyaû* or *Kitan*, which, we are told, is given at large in the *Cbinese annals* (3).

(R) A mistake, perhaps, in the reading, for *Kurkhân*: for the same letters may admit of both readings.

(S) Or *Orkani*, the capital of *Karazm*.

(T) A mistake, perhaps, for *Tekefb*, or *Takaib*.

(U) Or *Anatalia*.

(1) *Gaubil. bist. Tang. p. 23. & 127.*

(3) *Gaubil. ubi supra.*

(2) *Hern. arc. No. 2, p. 288.*

to fly for shelter to the *Kanklis*, till he could find means to obtain a peace ².

IN the year 1209, *Kuchluk*, the son of *Tayyan* (X) *Khân Karaki* of the *Naymans*, having been defeated by *Jenghiz Khân*, and *tayyan* his father slain, fled for shelter to *Karakitay Kûrkhân*, who ^{received} him honourably, and gave him his daughter in marriage ³: which favours, not long after, he repaid with ingratitude. Upon his revolt, he sent ambassadors to conclude a peace with Soltân *Mohammed*, whom he left at liberty to take *Kâshgar* and *Khotan*, in case he could conquer them before him. *Kuchluk* attacked his father-in-law first, and prevailed for a while, but was at length defeated. Soltân *Mohammed*, on his side, entered *Kûrkhân*'s dominions, and would have made great progress, but for the revolt of one of his generals with part of his troops. This accident, which happened in the midst of a battle, put the Soltân in no small danger; so that at length he was forced, in the habit of a *Tartar*, to cut his way through the enemy to join his army. After which he founded a retreat; and, by slow marches, returned to *Karazm* ⁴.

divided again.

As for *Kuchluk*, he still continued his rebellion, and at length ^{quite} deprived his father-in-law of more than half of his dominions. But his ingratitude did not remain long unpunished: ^{thereupon} for, in 1216, *Jenghiz Khân* sent one of his most experienced generals against him; and, although he advanced with an army superior to the *Mogols*, yet he was overthrown; and, flying with some troops, was at last overtaken near *Badagshân* in *Great Bukharia*, and put to death ⁵. After this the *Mogol* forces over-ran *Turkestan*, slaughtering all who opposed them. And thus an end was put to the very name, as well as dominion, of the *Turks* in *Tartary*.

S E C T. V.

Character of the Turks before the time of Jenghiz Khân; and whether they were the descendants of the antient Scythians, or the present inhabitants of Tartary are descended from them.

AFTER what has been said of the early *Turks* and their *Customs* affairs, it might be proper to give some account of the *manners and customs* of those people: but our memoirs are

² See *ABU'LOHAZI KHAN*, p. 44, & seq.

³ *Ibid.* p. 85,

⁴ *D'HERBELOT*. p. 610. Art. Mohammed Khourazm

⁵ *ABU'LOHAZI KHAN*, p. 94.

(X) Others write *Tayok Khân*.

ancient
Turks,

very defective in such particulars. The *Byzantine* historians already cited, take notice of very few things concerning them, and that only occasionally: as, that the *Roman* ambassadors found their king, *Diyabules*, under a tent, attended by a coach (or waggon) with two wheels^a: that it was their custom to shave the beard in token of grief; and that *Alexander* required this ceremony of the *Roman* ambassadors upon the death of his father^b: that, during the funeral, he ordered four *Huns* to be brought out of prison, and slain upon the tomb, with the horses of the deceased prince^c: that they pay public signs of respect to the fire and water, and chant hymns in honour of the earth: that, however, they adore only one God, creator of the visible world, and sacrifice to him horses, bulls, and sheep: lastly, that their priests can foretell future events^d.

purely
Tartar-
ian.

By the report of *Rubruquius* the monk, and others, who travelled into *Tartary* in the thirteenth century, as well as of the orientals, who wrote the history of *Janghiz Khan*, it appears that the same customs were common to the *Mogols*, and other inhabitants of *Tartary*, in the time of that conqueror.

Bad cha-
racter by

THE *Greek* historians, from whence we took these notices, say nothing as to the character of the *Turks*: but that defect may be easily supplied from the *Arab* and *Persian* authors, with whom the word *Turk* passes usually for a highwayman or robber. *Hafez*, a *Persian* poet, who lived in the fifteenth century, speaking of some evil, says, that it takes from our hearts all patience and repose, with as much violence as the *Turks* or *heggars*, do the viſuals, from a well-furnished table. What is more surprising, we meet with a distich in the *Turkish* language to this purpose: although a *Turk* or *Tartar* should excel in all the sciences, yet the barbarian would still be rooted in his nature. It may be seen in the history of the *Khalifas*, of the family of *Abbas*, to what a degree the blood of the *Turks* was thought unworthy to be mixed with theirs, when it was proposed to give a princess of that house in marriage to *Foghd Beg*, fifth Soltan of the *Seljuk* race.

Arabs and
Persians.

BUT that these things were, in great measure at least, owing to prejudice, appears from a proverb which the *Persians* have, importing, that no person need ever scruple to kill a *Turk*, even though he was a Doctor of the *Mohammedan* law. The *Arabs* and *Persians* bore a hatred to the *Turks*, for the injuries received from them, for several ages together, not

^a MENANDER. c. 13. See also before, p. 44.

^b Ibid. c.

19.

^c Id. ibid.

^d SIMONETTA, l. vii. c. 8.

only by their frequent invasions from *Tartary*, but also by *Why hated* the disturbances they raised in their dominions. To explain *by them.* this, it must be observed, that *Al Mozaffar*, eighth *Khalifah* of the *Abbâs* race, *Shehâb addîn*, Soltân of the race of *Gaur*, *Al Mâlek al Sâleh*, Soltân of the family of *Ayyub* in *Egypt*, and several other princes of *Asia*, caused a great number of young *Turkish* slaves, the handsomest who could be procured, to be bought, and educated in their courts (A); these being formed into troops of militia, as hath been already mentioned^f, not only often rebelled, and deposed the *Khalifah*, but, involving the country in cruel war, committed unheard of outrages on the inhabitants g.

THIS is the true foundation of the great animosity which *Yet esteem-* the *Arabs* and *Persians* bore the *Turks*; who, it must be ac-ed for knowledge, always were a most turbulent and insolent race of mortals, as they still are, where they had power; though humble enough where they had none. However, they were not altogether so despicable and brutish as their enemies represent them. The good air and mien of those young slaves *their hand-* above-mentioned pleased the eyes of the *Persians*; inso-much *some-ness.* that the poet *Hafez* himself, who had passed so severe a reflection on them, would have the word *Turk* to signify a *hand-some man*: and was charmed with one of them to such a degree, that, in his *Divân*, he cries out, *If I could but gain the good-will of this Turk of the city of Shirâz, I would give, for the smallest of his favours, the cities of Samarkand and Bokhâra* h.

AUTHORS divide the *Turks* into two kinds, with respect *Originally* to their way of living, some dwelling in towns and fixed *lived* habitations, others in the fields, and leading a wandering life, like the *Bedwin Arabs*: these are called, by the *Turks*, *Guchgunji Atrak*, and *Konar Kocher*; which implies a roving kind of life, and without fixed dwellingsⁱ. From these the *Turkmâns*, and even the founder of the *Othman* family (B), descended. In effect, the *Turks* originally, like all the other nations inhabiting *Tartary*, lived in the fields, under tents, *a wander-* and without any houses, but such as were carried on carts. *ing life.* This appears plainly enough from the manner in which the

^f See before, p. 51.

^g D'HERBEL. p. 898, & seq. Art.

Turk.

^h Id. *ibid.*

ⁱ D'HERBEL. p. 898, Art. *Turk.*

CANTEMIR. *hist. Othm.* pref. p. 12.

(A) Much in the same manner as the *Janizaries*, at present stigmatized with the name of *Turkmâns*, by the *Arabs* and *Persians*.

(B) And hence the *Othmâns*, *Persians*.

Roman ambassadors found their king *Difabules* encamped, in the sixth century, with tents and carts, just as the *Mogols*, *Eluths* or *Kalmüks*, and *Turkmäns*, encamp at present. And we presume it will be very difficult to prove, that ever the *Turks* lived in towns, or fixed habitations, till such time as they had conquered them (C) from their neighbours in the south.

Descendants of the
ancient
Scythians.

THUS we have, from the imperfect memoirs which are in our possession, given the best account we could of the origin of the *Turks*, of the tribes into which their nation is divided by the oriental authors, and of their affairs from the sixth century, when they became considerable, till the time of *Jenghiz Khân*. But, before we quit the subject, it will be necessary to examine into three particulars; 1. Whether the *Turks* are descended from the ancient *Scythians*, mentioned by the *Greek* and *Roman* authors. 2. Whether all the inhabitants of *Tartary* are either originally *Turks*, or sprung from one and the same root. 3. Whether *Turkestan* always had the same situation and extent that it has at present.

FIRST, Whether the *Turks*, or, if you will, all the present inhabitants of *Tartary*, are descended from the ancient *Scythians*. If, by *Scythians*, is to be understood not those properly so called, but all the different nations mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, and other authors, which, under that common name, inhabited that vast region: it may, without hesitation, be answered, that the present inhabitants are the descendants of the ancient; or rather of such of them as remained in *Tartary*, over and above those which might have been destroyed, or migrated into other regions: for not only there is a great conformity in the persons, manners, and customs of both, but no other nation or nations can be assigned, from whence the present possessors of *Tartary* could proceed. To the south of them live people, such as the *Persians*, *Indians*, *Tibetians*, and *Chinese*, who always dwelt in cities, or fixed habitations; and, consequently, could never be tempted to change their country and way of living for those of the *Scythians*, unless compelled by force (D), of which we meet with no instances in history.

But from
what
tribe.

INDEED, if we descend to particular nations or tribes, and

(C) Thus the *Mankäts* and *Kassäts* never dwelt in cities, till they settled in *Turkestan*: yet still in summer encamp in fields. So the *Eluths* or *Kalmüks* never lived in towns, till they conquered

Little Bukhária and *Tibet*, where the *Khân*, at certain times, resides.

(D) As the *Vigürs*, who seem to be *Tibetians*, might have been.

want

want to know whether the *Turks* are sprung from the *Massagetae*, the *Naymans* from the *Iffidon Scythians*, or would trace the migrations of the *Saka*, *Huns*, *Sarmatians*, or other swarms from that immense and prolifick hive, the attempt will prove a fruitless labour. This will plainly appear, if it be only considered, 1. that most of the names of the *Scythian* nations, which we find in the authors above-mentioned, did not properly belong to them, but were given them by the *Greeks*. Even the general name of *Scythians* was unknown to the *Scythians*, who, we are told by *Herodotus*, called themselves *Skolot*. Again; those names which cannot be affirmed to have been corrupted, or imposed by the *Greeks*, were such, perhaps, as were given to them by other nations (E). Thus the people, whom they called *Scythians*, were named by the *Persians* *Sagæ* or *Saka*, as we learn from *Mela* and *Pliny*; yet the *Greeks* considered the *Saka* as a particular nation or tribe of *Scythians*. Hence the *Greeks* confounded the several nations together, gave one nation the name of another, and often the same nation several different names, as hath been already hinted.

2. ANOTHER reason which makes it very difficult, if not almost impossible, to discover what nations or tribes the ancient names found in authors belong to, or to trace the several removals of those tribes, is; that it seems to have been always customary with the inhabitants of *Tartary*, as it is at present, to change their names on various occasions, as on removing their situation, dividing into different branches, being brought in subjection by other tribes, or in compliment to the reigning prince, if much beloved by them, of which some instances have been already produced^k, and more will be given, when we come to the history of the *Tartars*.

As to the second question, whether all the inhabitants of *Tartary* are either originally *Turks*, or sprung from one and the same root, our opinion is in the negative: for there is no *Tartary*, probability that people, so extremely different in their make^{not all} and features, as most of the *Mohammedan Tartars*, and the *Turks*, *Eläths* or *Kalmüks* are, should proceed from the same stock,

^k See before, p. 23, & seq.

(E) This is commonly done at present from various motives. The *Turks* call the *Poles* *Leb*, *Häjak Puruk*. So the *Arabs* call the *Persians*, *Ajem*, that is, *barbarians*: as the *Greeks* formerly did all foreign nations. *Eläths*, *Kalmüks*: and these, in the return, name the others.

any more than fresh and salt water should proceed from the same fountain. It is true, all the inhabitants of *Western Tartary* (for those of the *Eastern* are out of the case), speak the same language, or at least dialects of it: but might not this happen through constant intercourse, or one power prevailing over the rest, as that of the *Turks* did in the sixth century, and that of the *Mogols* in the twelfth? the conquered people generally speak the language of the conquerors, as well as their own, which, by degrees, becomes extinct, as that of the *Kopts* almost already is in *Egypt*, where the *Arabic* prevails; the *Celtic* in *Gaul*, where the *French* takes place; and in *England* the *British*, which has been superseded by the *English*.

though all
speak
the same
language.

HOWEVER, it must be allowed, that the identity or affinity of languages would go for almost a certain proof of the identity of nations, as to origin, did they agree in the other circumstances before-mentioned; and might also be admitted as a tolerably sure rule in tracing the migrations of people: because the migrating nation cannot receive their language from people of a different language among whom they live; and therefore must be a-kin to the unmigrating nation, whose language happens to be the same with theirs. Thus the language which the *Othmân Turks* speak, though mixed with *Persian*, *Arabic*, and even *Greek* words, demonstrates that they came from *Tartary*, or are descended from some of the inhabitants of that region, known by the name of *Turks*; although it may not be easy to ascertain the particular tribe or tribes from which they draw their original.

WE come now to the third question, whether *Turkestan* always had the same situation and extent which it has at present. To this we answer likewise in the negative; and make no scruple to affirm, that it hath often changed its situation as well as bounds; which we shall endeavour to demonstrate in the next section.

S E C T. VI.

Of the original country inhabited by the Turks, with a description of the present Turkestan.

Names of
Turke-
stan.

IT appears, from the account already given, both by the *Roman* and *Chinese* historians, that the country possessed by the *Turks*, at their first becoming known in the world, was about the middle of all *Tartary*, towards mount *Altay*, which divides that great region, as it were, into two parts: and that, in a few years, they, from a very inconsiderable beginning, extended their dominion from the river *Lyau* in the east,

east, as far westward as the *Caspian* sea. Thus almost the whole of *Great Tartary* (A), becoming subject to the *Turks*, might have taken the name of *Turkestan*, or country of the *Turks*; at least the oriental writers give that name to all the countries lying north of the river *Sihûn* or *Sîr*, the *Jaxartes* of the ancients.

THE name of *Turân* they extend still farther, making it and *Tu-* to include all the countries to the north of the *Jihûn* or *rân*. *Amû*, that is *Tartary* and *Maïwardînahr*, now called *Great Bukhâria*^a; and thus they seem to make their own hero *Tür* amends for the loss sustained by the *Tartarian* hero *Turk*, who has ingrossed all the inhabitants of *Tartary* as his descendants. But the fault lay in the framers of the ancient *Persian* history, who, by leaving the final *k* out of *Tür*'s name, gave their rivals the *Turks* an opportunity, by the addition of that letter, to form one more suitable to the person who was to represent their great ancestor.

IT may be presumed, if the name of *Turkestan* ever pre-Extend vailed over all *Tartary*, that it continued in use so long only over *Tartary*: as the dominion of the *Turks* was intire: but that when *tary*: their power was broken, and they became divided under many sovereigns, *Turkestan* also became divided into so many different parts, and lost the name, which seemed to have settled in the western part of *Tartary*, to the north of *Persia* and *Great Bukhâria*; where probably the descendants of their first *Khân*, *Disabules*^b, fixed their seat. From these quarters it was, that they made continual war upon the *Persians* and *Arabs*, for several ages together; and here they maintained their dominion longest, and with greatest lustre.

THIS, at least, we know from history; that, soon after *Ceases in* the time of *Toxander*, in the seventh century, the *Turks* fell the east, at war among themselves, which probably ended in a partition of the dominions^c: and, in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, we find the country of the *Turks* actually divided among several *Kakhâns*, or kings, some of whom had very large territories, called by different names, or those of the tribes under their subjection, as hath been already set forth^c in a foregoing section. However, it must be observed, that all those territories extending over almost the whole of *Western Tartary*, are represented as parts of the

^a D'HERBEL. p. 899. Art. Turk.
& seq. * See also p. 43 & 46.

^b See before, p. 37,
* See before, p. 56, & seq.

(A) All but what is, by us, called *Eastern Tartary*, to the east of *Lyau tong*.

Belâd Al Atrâk, which is the *Arabic* word answering to the *Persian Turkestan*, that is, *the country of the Turks*.

Settles in the west. IT may be presumed, that the nations who were not immediately subject to the successors of *Disabules*, were, in time, conquered or brought in subjection by some other nation or nations, more to the east or south : and thus the name of *Turkestan* came to cease, or be disused, in all but the western parts of that empire, where the *Turks* still preserved their power : on which account it always retained the name of *Turkestan* with the *Persians*.

Revives in the east. HOWEVER, from time to time, the *Turks* in this western region, at different times, seem to have recovered or extended their dominion eastward, as they found opportunity, from their own increase of strength, or the weakness of their neighbours, whom they had to deal with. Thus, in the time of *Ebn Saïd al Magrebi*, the geographer ^d, *Kâshgar*, in *Little Bukhâria*, was the capital of *Turkestan* : as it seems to have been also in 996, under *Ilek Khân*. At least *Turkestan* must, at that time, have been divided into two distinct dominions, the western and the eastern : of which last, according to some authors ^e, *Ilek Khân* was the sovereign lord, while *Arslan Khân* reigned over the former.

Extends over Tartary. EASTERN *Turkestan*, if we may so call it, that is, the countries east of *Kâshgar*, soon after fell into the hands of the *Karakitayans* ; and from thence had the name of *Karakitay* given to it by the *Persian* historians. But at length, about the middle of the twelfth century, both the eastern and western *Turkestan* were united again under one prince, in consequence of the surrender made by *Ilek Khân* of *Balâsagûn* to *Karakitay Kûrkhân*, or *Kavar Khân* ^f : nor did the western *Turkestan*, upon that revolution, take the name of *Karakitay*, but still retained its own, at least with the *Persians*.

Again contracted. BUT things did not long continue in this state : for, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, *Kuchluk* the *Nomân*, rebelling against his father-in-law *Kûrkhân*, wrested from him the eastern *Turkestan* ; and thus once more caused a division of the empire. Some say both parts were united again in a person of *Kuchluk* himself, who succeeded *Kûrkhân*. Be it as it will, in a very few years after, *Jenghîz Khân* the great having over-run the whole western *Tartary* with his *Mogols*, all *Turkestan* became a province of his immense empire. Since

^d *ABU'LFEDA* tabl. *Chowarasmiz*, &c. in edit. *Hudson*, p. 5.

^e See before, p. 52.

^f See before, p. 58.

which time we have heard no more of eastern *Turkeftân*, or oriental *Turks*.

HOWEVER, the part of *Tartary* to the north of *Persia* Remains in and *Great Bukhâria*, still retained the name of *Turkeftân*; the west. and, in the partition which *Jenghiz Khân* made of his empire among his four sons, fell to the share of *Jagatay* (B), who was the second. But, in process of time, these new monarchies being split into lesser states by intestine factions, and the descendants of one brother invading those of another, *Turkeftân* fell into the hands of the *Uzbeks*, and, at last, into those of the *Kassâts* and *Mankâts*; who were formerly the subjects of *Juji*, eldest son of *Jenghiz Khân*, and at present is possessed by them: the *Kassâts* having the eastern part, and the *Mankâts* (better known in *Europe* by the nickname of *Kara Kâlpaks*), the western part, under their respective Khâns; who, with their subjects, are *Mohammedans*.

FROM what has been said on this subject, it appears that *Why so Turkeftân* had not always the same situation and extent; but subject varying both, from time to time, is found sometimes in one part of *Tartary*, sometimes in another; just as the *Turks*, who, like the other tribes, lived for the most part in the fields, were able to stand their ground, or obliged to give way to superior force. Thus countries, which have neither cities, nor any fixed habitations, may be said to be of an itinerant ^{to change place.} nature, and follow their inhabitants wherever they remove. However, the *Turks*, who inhabited to the north of either *Great Bukhâria* or *Persia*, had generally towns along the *Sir* in their possession, as the *Mankâts* and *Kassâts* have at present: and as it was from the same quarter that those countries were, from time to time, invaded by them, it always retained, among the *Persians*, the name of *Turkeftân*: with the description of which we shall close this introduction to the history of the *Turks*.

THE present *Turkeftân* is situate between 42 and 50 or 51 ^{Present} degrees of latitude, and between 73 and 90 degrees of longitude, reckoning from *Ferro*, one of the *Canary* isles. It ^{Turkeftan's site.} is bounded on the north by the *Arâl Tâg*, or mountains of eagles, which are no better than hills in those quarters; on the east, by the dominions of the grand Khân of the *Elâths* or *Kalmûks*; on the south, by the river *Sir*, which separates it from *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria* (C); and on the west by

(B) See *D'Herbelot. Art. Khân*. See *Abûlghâzi Khân's* history of the *Turks*, p. 207. 563.

But perhaps part of it was in the lot of *Juji*, and given by *Baytu* to his brother *Sheybani* (C) But Mr. *Strahlenberg's* map extends it much to the south of the *Sir*.

the *Caspian* ſea, and river *Yem*. It may be about 660 miles in length from weſt to eaſt, and 540 in breadth from ſouth to north.

*Natural
ſtate.*

THE country conſiſts generally of vaſt extended plains, which are very fruitful; and has but a few mountains, excepting thoſe before-mentioned. It is watered by ſome rivers, ſuch as the *Tarâz*, or *Talaſh*, which falls into the *Sir*; the *Turugay*, which falls into the *Talaſh*; the *Karaſû*; and others of leſs note. They all deſcend from the north, and fall, for the moſt part, into the *Sir*; but authors differ as to the particular places where they enter that river. Here likewiſe one meets with ſeveral lakes. Among the reſt, one called *Kamiſh Nor*, that is, *the lake of reeds*, is 40 or 50 miles long, and 30 broad. That of *Iſſikol*, where *Turk*, the ſon of *Jafet*, is ſaid to have ſettled, is very near the eaſtern border of *Turkeſtân*, if not within it.

*Principal
cities.*

WHEN *Turkeſtân* was in its flouriſhing ſtate, under its own ſovereigns, and even till the irruption of *Jenghiz Khân*, it abounded with ſtrong and populous cities. However, theſe, or moſt of them, probably, were not built by the *Turks*, who lived moſtly in the fields, but by the old inhabitants of the country, or the *Arabs*, from whom they took them. Theſe were ſituate chiefly on the rivers in the ſouthern parts; eſpecially on the great river *Sir*; which was its natural common boundary on the ſide of *Mawarâ'nabr*, or *Great Bukhâria*. The chief of theſe were *Jenghikant*, *Jund*, *Yaſſi*, *Sabrân*, *Saſganâk*, *Uzkend*, *Otrâr*, *Tarâz*, *Eſfijab*, *Oſhanikat*, *Tonkat*, *Balâſâgûn*, *Benkat*, *Tâſbkant*, *Shakrokiya*, &c.

*Royal
ſeats.*

FOUR of the above-mentioned cities were, at different periods, the capitals of *Turkeſtân*; namely, *Jenghikant*, or *Karîyat al Fidâh*, in the time of *al Berjendi* the geographer; *Balâſâgûn*, or *Kambâlik*, enjoyed that honour from 1017 to 1177, and *Otrâr* was the metropolis in 1200; whence *Soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh* took it from *Karakitay Kûrkhân*, king of *Turkeſtân*.

MANY of the above-mentioned cities ſtill exiſt, notwithstanding the deſtruction made of them by the *Mogols*, under *Jenghiz Khân*: but we are better acquainted with the ſtate of them at that time, than at preſent; being furniſhed with very few modern accounts relating to this part of *Aſia*.

* See the maps of DE L'ISLE, STRAHLENBERG, D'ANVILLE, and the author of the new collect. voy. and trav. vol. iv. p. 477:

JENGHI

Y E N G H I k a n t (E), or *Al Kariyat al Jadidah*, as the *Arabs* Yengi called it, both names signifying *the new city* or *fortress*, was kant. situate, according to the *Arab* geographers, near the river *al Shâsb* (F), which falls into the lake of *Karasm*. This we take to be the *Aral Nor*, or *lake of Eagles*, in that country. It was ten days journey [of the *Karawâns*] from *Karasm*, twenty from *Farab* (or *Otrâr*), and twenty-five from *Bokhâra*^a. *Jund* or *Jand* was a little city, not far from thence. *Jund*, or It is near the mouth of the *Sihûn*, and has produced several Jand. famous men. *Mirkond* relates, that it was from this and some other cities thereabout that the *Scythian* ambassadors went to meet *Alexander*, and reproached him for his ambition and rapine. On the approach of the *Mogols* under *Tusli*, son of *Jenghiz Khân*, in 1219, *Soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh*, to whom it was then subject, sent 5000 men to garrison it. However, *Kutluk Khân*, the governor, fled: but the inhabitants, depending on the strength of the walls, and its towers, which was very great, they stood on their defence, and might have held out a long siege, if it had not been surprised by stratagem, without bloodshed. On this account their lives were spared; but they lost all their effects¹.

T A S S I, *Sabrân*, and *Saganâk* or *Signâk*, are often mentioned in *Shams addîn's life of Timûr Bek*. The last was a brân, Sa- large and strong city at the time of *Jenghiz Khân's* invasion. garâk. *Soltân Mohammed* sent 20,000 men to defend it. It was the first place the *Mogols* besieged; who, in their approach, sent an envoy to summon the inhabitants to surrender, with a promise of good treatment: but they, instead of listening to his proposal, tore him in pieces; which so exasperated *Tusli Khân*, who commanded at the siege, that he never ceased assaulting the place till he had taken it; and then, to revenge the murder, caused 10,000 of them to be put to the sword. The terror of this execution made *Uzkend*, or *Urkend*, surrender².

O T R A R, called by the *Arabs* *Farâb*, was, according to *Otrâr*, or *Abulfeda*, situate on the river *Al Shâsb* (G), in the neighbour- Farâb.

^a **ABU'LFEDA** descr. Chowar. p. 56. ¹ **ABU'LF.** ubi supr. 57. **DE LA CROIX** hist. *Jenghiz Khân*, p. 172, 177, & seq.

² **ABU'LGAZI KHAN**, p. 113. **DE LA CROIX**, p. 174.

(E) This word *kant*, which signifies town or city, is written also *kunt*: and *kent*; and sometimes ends with a *d*, as the pronunciation varies from time to time, or in different places.

(F) *Sihûn*, or *Sir*, probably

near its mouth, in the lake of *Karazm*. Some maps, which make that river fall into the *Caspian* sea, place it between that sea and the lake.

(G) The same with the *Sihûn*,

or *Sir*.

hood of *Baldágún*¹: but *Sharif addin* removes it two parasangs, or *Persian* leagues, from the north bank of the *Sihín* or *Sir*. We understand, from the same author, that a league to the east of it is the river *Arj*, with a bridge over it; likewise, that it is six *Karawán* stages from *Tashkent*, and seventy-six parasangs from *Samarkand*². *De la Croix* places *Otrar* in the most western extremity of *Turkeftán*; and bounds its territories on the east with that of *Al Sháh* or *Tashkent*. It was a city of great trade between the *Turks* and *Mohammedans* when the *Mogols* invaded the dominions of *Soltán Mohammed*³.

*Its famous
siege.*

As this was a place of great importance, the *Soltán* left 60,000 men with *Gayer Khán*, the governor, to defend it; who, on the march of *Oktay* and *Jagatay*, two of *Jenghiz Khán*'s sons, with 200,000 men, to attack it, shut himself up in the town, and vigorously secured it for five months: but, as the place could not hold out much longer, one of his generals advised him to capitulate in time. The governor, being conscious that he had been the sole occasion of the war, rejected the proposal. Hereupon the general retired, in the night, with his 10,000 men, into the camp of the *Mogols*; who, detesting his treachery, slew them all, and entered the city by the gate which they had marched out of.

*Gayer-
khan's
bravery.*

GAYER Khán, finding the town taken, retired with 20,000 men into the castle; which, being too little for so great a number, he endeavoured to free himself by continual sallies. This extremely incommoded the enemy for some time: but the princes, redoubling their efforts, took it at last, sword in hand, and cut all the garison to pieces. The governor, perceiving all was lost, retired into his apartment, with two men; who being at length killed, and arrows failing, *Gayer* defended himself for some time with great stones, which his wife supplied him with. At last he was taken, and shut up in a close prison, loaded with chains, where he was soon after put to death by *Jenghiz Khán*'s orders⁴.

*Timúr
dies here.*

D'HERBELOT says *Otrar* was taken by *Soltán Mohammed* at such time as it was the capital of *Turkeftán*; and that this action drew on his back the *Mogols*, who retook it in 1219⁵; but he mistakes the cause of the war. *De la Croix* says, the castle was rased; but that the city walls were rebuilt⁶. *Timúr Bek* or *Tamerlan* died in this city, on his way

¹ *ABU'LF.* ubi supr. p. 64. ² *SHARIF ADDIN*'s life of *Timúr Bek*, p. 382, 390, 395, 397. ³ *Hist. Jengh.* p. 145, 158. ⁴ *Hist. Jengh.* ubi supr. *ABU'LQHAZI KHAN*, p. 111, & seq. ⁵ *D'HERR.* bibl. orient. art. *Otrar*, p. 697. ⁶ *Hist. Jengh.* p. 170, & seq.

towards *Kitay* or *China*; which he intended to conquer: but at present it is a place of no great note.

TARAZ (H) was a city where the *Turks* and *Mohammedans* *Tarâz*, met to trade. It produced many learned men. It was near to *Esfijab* and *Jekel*, and four parasangs from *Shalj*. These two latter were cities of the *Turks*¹. *Taraz* stands on the river *Arj*, about 70 miles to the north-east of *Otrâr*.

ESFIJAB was reckoned a large city; though not so big *Esfijâb*, by two parts in three as *Benkât*. It had a castle formerly; but it was not standing in the time of *Abulfeda*. Both the city and suburbs were inclosed: the former with a double wall; the latter with a single wall, three parasangs in compass. The inhabitants were accommodated with delightful gardens in the adjacent plain, which is well watered: and from them to the nearest mountains is a space of three parasangs². *Esfijab* stands upon the north bank of the *Sîr*, or near it.

BALASAGUN (I), according to *Abulfeda*, was a city *Balâsa*-beyond the river *Sihûn*, in the borders of the *Turk's* domi-gions. In one place he makes it to be near *Kâşgar*; and near *Farâb*, or *Otrâr*, in another³; which is a sort of contradiction; those two places lying at a great distance asunder. By the position given it in his tables (K) it was about seventy-five leagues north-eastward of the latter. *Abûlghâzi Khân* observes, that it was called by the *Mogols* *Khambâlig*, or good town. It was the capital of *Turkestan* for a long time; but at present seems not to be in being⁴.

BENKAT is a great place of trade, belonging to *Al Benkât*. *Shâsh*, or *Tashkunt*, being a league in length. The fortress is without the city; but the same wall serves both. Its district or liberties are inclosed with a wall, as are its gardens and out-buildings. It is well supplied with running waters⁵.

AL SHASH was formerly a magnificent city, subject to *Al Shâsh*, *Samarkand*, near the *Sihûn*; from whence the water flowed or Tash- to every house. It is four stages from *Khojend*, and five from *kunt*. *Fargâna* or *Andukand*⁶. It is at present called *Tashkunt*⁷;

¹ *ABULF.* ubi supr. p. 69, 71. ² *ABULFEDA* descr. Cho-war. p. 68. ³ *ABULF.* ubi supr. p. 64, 74. ⁴ *ABU'LGH.*

hist. *Turks*, p. 44, 473.

⁵ *ABULF.* ubi supr. p. 66.

⁶ *ABULF.* ubi supr. p. 33, 65, 66, 72. ⁷ Hist. *Timûr Bek*, p. 406.

(H) Perhaps the same called (I) 'Tis sometimes written *Taran* in the Geogr. Nubienfis: *Yalâsâgûn*, as in *Abûlghâzi* the *nun* and *ze* being often writ- *Khân's* history.
ten nearly alike. (K) Lat. 47 degrees.

but

but much reduced from its former splendor, having been often destroyed and rebuilt; yet is the winter residence of the Khân of the *Kassâts*, who possesses the east part of *Turkestan*^a. *Tufsi* took this place from *Soltân Mohammed* in 1219; but not without much effusion of blood^b, and afterward put a great number of the inhabitants to the sword^c.

Fena-
kunt.

now Shah-
rukhiya.

FENAKUNT (L) was a strong city, on the eastern bank of the *Sir*, in the time of *Jenghiz Khân*. That prince sent 50,000 men against it, under two generals: and though *Soltân Mohammed* had detached thither 10,000 men, yet it was taken, after a siege of three days. All the garison were put to the sword, and the inhabitants carried into slavery^d. It was so ruined on this occasion, that there remained no vestigia of it till 1392, when *Timûr Beg* ordered it to be rebuilt, and peopled: and, as that conqueror gave it to his son *Mirza Shâbrokh*, it was from him called *Shâbrokhiya* (M). So we are informed by the author of *Timûr's* life^e. At present it is a miserable place, of about 200 cabins, dependent on *Tâsb-kunt*; from whence it lies about sixteen leagues to the east^f, or rather perhaps to the south.

Tunkât,
or Ton-
kât.

TUNKÂT, or *Tonkât*, is a city and mart of the province of *Ilâk*. Before the time of *Jenghiz Khân* it was inclosed with a wall, in which were many gates. It stood on a river; from whence water flowed into the town, and through its territories. It had a castle for its defence, and was adorned with the palace of a prince. While it was in the hands of the *Arabs* and *Persians* it had a wall, extending from the mountain *Shâbâleg* to the end of the valley of *Al Shâsh*, built to hinder the irruptions of the *Turks*. This city was the nursery of many learned men^g, and called *Dar al ilm*; that is, *the palace of the sciences*; on account of the academy of arts and sciences, which was formed there. It was a place so fitted for pleasure, that it became a saying, *that God never*

^a ABU'LG. p. 569.

^b DE LA CROIX hist. Jengh. p. 177.

^c ABU'LG. p. 114.

^d DE LA CROIX hist. Jengh. p. 172.

ABU'LG. hist. Turks, p. 114.

^e Hist. Timûr Bek, p. 373.

^f ABU'LG. p. 569.

^g ABU'F. ubi supr. p. 67, 72.

(L) By *Abûlgâzi Khân* written *Farnakant*, and by *De la Croix*, hist. Jengh. p. 172, *Fenaket*.

(M) *De la Croix*, in his hist. of *Jenghiz Khân*, p. 172, confounds *Fenaket*, as he writes the name, with *Tonkât*; and as *De*

l'Isle, in his last map of *Persia*, makes it the same with *Shâbrukhiya*, *Strahlenberg*, in his map of *Tartary*, gives the three to one place. *Arabsâb*, in his history of *Timûr*, l. i. § 12, speaks of *Shâbrokhia* as quite a new city,

made

made a more delicious dwelling than Tonkât^b. *Jenghiz Khân*, held a general diet here in the year 1224; which was so numerous, that its plain, though seven leagues in length, was scarce able to contain the number of people who were assembled on that occasion^c.

To the cities before described 'tis necessary to add that of *City Turkestan*, which we omitted to mention among the towns of *Turkestan*; because we find no antient place of that name^d in the oriental authors; though possibly it then existed under some other denomination, being mentioned often by *Abû'l-ghâzi Khân*, in the earliest times of his history. It stands on a river that comes from the north-east, and falls into the *Sir* a little below the town (N): though built of brick, is yet a very pitiful place, and remarkable for nothing but an agreeable situation: however, in this condition it enjoys the honour of being the capital of *Turkestan*, and is the residence of the Khân of the *Mankâts*, who possesses the western part of this country^e.

^b DE LE CROIX hist. Jengh. p. 182, & seq.
356.

^c ABU'LGH. p. 568.

^d Ibid. p.

(N) The maps of *De l'Isle* and *Strahlenberg* place it about 15 miles distant.

CHAP. II,

The history of the Seljûkians of Irân, or Persia, at large; and of Kermân.

SECT. I.

The authority on which the Seljûk history is grounded.

BESIDES the empires which the *Turks* established in *Seljûkian Tartary*, their native country, they founded four great dynasties, monarchies in the south of *Asia*. The three first were possessed by the princes of the same family, called *Seljûk*, and *Turks*, of the same tribe or tribes. The fourth, by princes of the family of *Othmân*, or *Ozmân* (A), with their respective followers. Of these we propose to give the history in order; and are sufficiently furnished with materials for setting the *Othmân* affairs in a very good light. We could wish, for the reader's sake, that we were but half as well provided

(A) *Othmân* is the *Arab* pronunciation; *Ozmân*, the *Persian*, which is mostly followed by the *Turks*.

to treat of the *Seljûk* dynasties. The misfortune is, that, although many *Persian* and *Arab* authors have penned their history at large, but few copies in the original language have as yet appeared in this part of *Europe*; and none of them been translated into any *European* tongue.

Oriental historians. 'Tis true that two or three oriental historians have been rendered into *Latin*, which speak of the *Seljûk* affairs; as *Abû'l-fâraj* (B), *Ebn Amid*, called *Al Makin* (C), and the *Lebtarikh* (D) of *Amir Yahia*; but although these furnish us with the

(B) The work of *Gregory Abûl-fâraj*, near the *Euphrates*, is intitled, *a compendious history of dynasties, or successions*. It is written by way of annals, and takes in the transactions of the most remarkable kingdoms, from the beginning of the world to the end of the thirteenth century. He is remarkable for giving a good account of the *Mogol* affairs under *Jenghiz Khân*, and his successors, to that time. He likewise has inserted many remarkable particulars relating to the *Seljûk* dynasties; especially that of *Rûm*, or *Natolia*, which he had an opportunity of knowing, as having been a physician of *Malatia*, a city of that country near the *Euphrates*. His history, in *Arabic*, with a *Latin* translation, was published by *Dr. Edward Pocock*, that great master in the oriental learning, as well as languages.

(C) *George*, the son of *Abu'l-jâser al Amid*, compiled a history out of several authors, particularly *Abû Jâfar Al Tabârî*, and *Kemal oddin Armonî*. The first a very copious author (1). It begins at the creation, and reaches down to the year of Christ 1127. The lat-

ter part, titled *Tarikh Al Moslemîn*, or *the history of the Moslems*, was published by *Erpenius* (but from a very faulty copy), both in folio and octavo, in 1625. The former has joined with it a *Latin* translation; which is also published separately in quarto, under the title of *Historia Saracenica*. He was for his learning called *Al Shейkh al Kais al Makin*; that is, *the prime doctor, solidly learned*. Hence his translator styles him *Al Makin*: but all others quote him by the name of *Ebn Amid*, or the son of *Amid*, who was secretary for 45 years to the council of war under the *Soltâns* of *Egypt*, of the family of *Jyûb*, or *Job*; and, on his father's death, succeeded him in that employment (2).

(D) The *Lebtarikh*, or *Lob Al Tawarikh*, is written in *Persian* by the *Amir Yahia Ebn Abdollatif* of *Karvin*, in the year 1541 (3). This is a very brief history of the *Abammedan* monarchies, and those preceding *Mohammed*. It was translated into *Latin* by *M. Golmin*, a *Frenchman*; but part of the copy, at the beginning and end, is lost; the remainder was published by *Mr. De Thevenot*, in

(1) See the author's preamble.

(2) *Vid. Hist. Saracen. pag. ult. Hyde de relig. vet. Persar. Prideaux's life of Mahomet. p. 136.*

(3) *Mij. 948.*

the origin of those monarchies, and a succession of their kings, with many facts, and their dates, not to be met with in our western writers; yet they are all too general to give such a light into the history of them, as might be sufficient to satisfy the curious. The two first authors likewise, being digested in the form of annals, the *Seljuk* history is given mixed with that of other states, and not in one continued series, as it is in the *Lebtarikh*: but then this latter, besides its great conciseness, treats only of the first *Seljuk* monarchy, and *Al Makin* of no more than the six first princes of that line.

THESE defects indeed are somewhat supplied by *D'Herbelot*; who has made an extract of the history of the respective kings of each dynasty from *Mirkond*, often mentioned before, and other *Persian* historians. But *Texeira*, who has given an abstract of *Mirkond*, so far as relates to the history of *Persia*, says very little of the *Seljuks*, except *Togrul Bek*, or of their affairs, and that very imperfectly, as well as in confusion. Perhaps he grew tired towards the end of his work, or was afraid of swelling it too much; for we presume his author *Mirkond* has handled matters in a more exact and particular manner.

As for the *Greek* or *Byzantine* historians (both those who wrote by way of annals, or such as penned the lives of particular emperors), they give such imperfect, confused, and erroneous accounts of all transactions which happened without the bounds of the *Roman* empire, that scarce any thing true, or of moment, is to be expected from them. This may appear from the histories of the *Arabs*, the *Khálifas*, and other *Persian* monarchies, as well as that of the *Seljuks*; compiled out of them by *Curio*, *Lonicerus*, *Bizarus*, *Leunclavius*, and other authors. These our *Knowles* made use of in his voluminous work; which, consequently, must be like the originals, a confused imperfect mass, full of chasms and intricacies; nor to be depended on, either as to the facts, dates of actions, or even names of places and persons: in which they disagree so much, that it would be utterly impossible for any man to reconcile them (E), or make any good use of their materials,

his collection of voyages and travels. It is observable, that the extracts given from the *Lebtarikh* by Mr. *D'Herbelot*, who often makes use of it, sometimes differ widely, and even contradict the text of *Golmin*: but the fault must needs be in

one of the copies, which were made use of by those two gentlemen, neither of whom can be supposed capable of expounding their author so ill.

(E) The reader may find a remarkable instance of this in the learned and judicious *Leunclavius*,

materials, without the assistance of the oriental authors to direct his steps.

OUR readers will easily perceive this, by only slightly comparing the account, which we shall give him, of the *Seljûk* dynasties, with that furnished by any of the above-mentioned authors: for although *Leunclavius* hath gone far beyond the rest, with regard to the history of the *Othmân Turks*, as being taken in part from the *Turkish* historians; yet what little he hath collected in relation to the *Seljûks* is almost wholly drawn from *European* authors, having had no oriental writers to help him out.

yet of use. HOWEVER, it is not to be thought, by what has been said, that the *Byzantine* and other western historians are of no use in writing the history of the *Turks*: on the contrary, as the latter *Greek* emperors had wars with the *Seljûks* as well as the *Othmâns*, so those wars, related sometimes in detail, sometimes very superficially, make a part of their history; and hence it is that we sometimes meet with transactions not to be found in the oriental authors. Which shews, that to write the history of a nation with any completeness, it is absolutely necessary to consult the histories of those nations with whom it hath had hostilities, or other concerns.

Turkish BESIDES, although in relating the affairs of the *Turks*, we ought in reason to give preference to *Turkish* authors, as every nation must be needs be best acquainted with their own transactions, yet we are not to expect absolute perfection and exactness from them: for they sometimes differ in the account they give of the origin of their monarchies, as well as in the actions and reigns of their princes, with respect to their beginning and length: but this is no more than what happens to the historians of all other nations; for often the rise of the states being attended with various changes, before they come to be settled, and their founders obscure or inconsiderable persons, it is therefore difficult sometimes to fix the origin of either. Besides, the memory of many transactions and events is lost or obscured in the confusion introduced in countries by wars and revolutions; especially, if they be

Remarks
on them.

elavius, who, examining into the original of the *Seljûks*, as delivered by several authors, all disagreeing among themselves; was so perplexed in his judgment, as to reject the true list given by *Ayton*, or *Hayton*, the

the *Armenian* (1), of the first kings of that race, in favour of the false account given by *Cædrenus*, and other *Greek* writers (2), as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter.

(1) *De Tartaris*, cap. xv. p. 377. edit. Gryn. 1532.
hiß. Musul. Turk. l. i. p. 71. edit. Wechel. 1591.

(2) *Vid. Leuncl.*

of

of any long continuance. However, as some historians are more exact, as well as particular than others, and it being our misfortune, as yet, to have only extracts from the orientals, and those not from any historian who has written expressly on the subject, it is therefore presumed, that the reader, where-ever he meets with any such imperfections in the following history, will rather impute them to these last than to the first-mentioned causes.

THIS we judge to be doing no more than what is justice, *Extracts* even to the authors from whence the extracts before us, are *from them* made, in order to prevent our reader's taking up any hasty prejudices against the oriental writers in general, from the defects which he may discover in the few scanty materials out of which we are obliged to compose the history of the *Seljuks*, for want of more copious memoirs. And indeed there is the more reason for this apology in their favour, because the extracts in question differ in certain particulars, and, among the rest, in those relating to the origin of the *Seljuks*, and the establishment of their monarchies.

S E C T. II.

The origin of the Seljukians, and their entrance into Persia.

SELJUK, or *Saljuk*, the founder of the *Seljuk* dynasty of *Seljuk* in *Iran*, or *Persia* at large, according to the *Lebtarikh*, descent, derived his origin from *Afrasiab*, often before mentioned^a, and was the thirty-fourth descendant from that prince, in a direct male line.

BUT *Mirkond*, in his account of the genealogy of *Jenghiz Khan*, says, that *Saljuk* was of *Mogol* race, and descended from *Boskin Salji*, son of *Alankawa*^b.

MR. *Guigues*, in his memoir concerning the origin of the *Huns* and *Turks*, extracted from the *Chinese* historians, seems to think, that the *Seljuks* were derived from a stock different from both the former. He relates, that the children of *Tumwen Ilkhan*, or *Tumena Khan*; who, descended from *Buzenjir*, the son of *Alankawa*, imitating the example of their father, formed an empire, which extended from the *Caspian* sea to *Korea*: that this empire, being too large to continue long intire, at length became divided into two; the eastern and the western; each of which had its own *Khan*: that

^a See p. 3, & seq.
601.

^b See before. D'HERBELOT, p.

the empire of the western *Turks*, which extended as far as the river *Sihûn*, or *Sir*, was often formidable to the kings of *Persia*; particularly *Hormozd*, son of *Kofrû Anûsbirwân*, with whom they had considerable wars: that, in process of time, other *Turks*, of the hord of *Whey-ke*, destroyed the empire of the western *Turks*, and founded a new empire of their own: and 'tis from these *Whey-ke*, that, in the opinion of Mr. *Guigues*, the four *Seljûk* dynasties, which reigned in the southern *Asia*, were descended.

ACCORDING to this hypothesis, the *Seljûk* tribe could not be descended from either *Afrasiab Khân*, or *Alankâwa*. But as this is only a conjecture of Mr. *Guigues*, and he has produced no arguments to support it, we shall leave it, and return to the account given by *Mirkond*. This author informs us more particularly as to the family of *Seljûk*, that he was the son of *Dekâk*, chief officer of *Bigû*, prince of those *Turkish* tribes which inhabited the plain of *Khozâr* (A), or *Kipchâk*, to the north of the *Caspian* sea. *Dekâk* was so renowned, among those of his nation, for his extraordinary wisdom and valour, that they gave him the surname of *Tazialig*, which signifies *a strong bow, and hard to manage*. After his death, the king took care to educate *Seljûk*, who was very young; and, not doubting but the son of such a father would make a very brave man, surnamed him *Bassasbi*; that is, *Chief*, or *Captain*. As he advanced in years, the Soltân heaped favours on him: but, forgetting his duty to so good a prince, he one day presumed to enter the secret apartment of the palace, and would needs see his women and children.

and fortune.

BIGU, being informed of this insolence, was resolved to punish him severely for it. But *Seljûk*, getting some knowledge of his design, thought it best to avoid his anger, by escaping in time. Accordingly, having gathered all his friends and people, who were attached to his family, he retired, with his effects; and (crossing the *Sihûn*, or *Sir*), drew towards *Samarkand* (B). *Belil Khân*, governor of that city (C), not relishing such neighbours, resolved to oblige them to remove at a distance: but *Seljûk*, having augmented his forces, got the better of him in several engagements. In one especially

(A) On this occasion *D'Herbelot* observes, that these *Kipchâk Turks* are *Khorarians*, whom the *Greek* and *Latin* historians, who speak of the wars of the emperor *Heraclius* and *Xbofroes*, call *Ararians*. 375, and of Christ 985, according to the *Lebtarikb*; which says, the motive of their expedition was to seek pasture.

(C) 'Tis not said for whom; but at this time *Mawarâ'ulbar* seems to have been under the *Khân* of *Turkestan*.

he

he obtained a considerable advantage, by means of an ambuscade; which was so well conducted, that he acquired a great reputation throughout the country. This success laid the first foundation of his greatness, and emboldened him to present himself before *Bokhâra*; where he was very well received ^c.

MIRKOND mentions nothing of the death of *Seljuk*; ^{Leaves} which we learn from two other authors, *Ebn Amid* and *Ebn Shohnah* (D); who differ somewhat in their account of him <sup>Turkes-
tân.</sup> both from that historian, and from one another. *Ebn Amid* relates, that *Dakak*, *Seljuk*'s father, being a wise as well as stout man, was always consulted by the king of the *Turks*, and carried with him in his wars: that he was the first of his family who embraced *Mohammedism*: that his son *Seljuk*, being of age, when he died, the king made him general of all his forces: but that, afterwards, apprehending danger from his crafty disposition, he resolved to kill him; which coming to the knowledge of *Seljuk*, he fled to *Harûn Sahab Oddarwla*, king of *Ghabia*, and desired aid of him, to go and conquer the country of the infidel *Turks*; that *Harûn* furnished him with a numerous army, to execute his design; but that, in a battle with those infidels, *Seljuk* was slain, when he was 107 years old ^d.

ACCORDING to *Ebn Shohnah*, *Seljuk*'s father was named *Settler Dakak*, or *Dokmak*, which, in *Turkish*, signifies a hammer; but at present is pronounced *Tokmak*. *Seljuk* was chief of ^{about} *Bokhâra*. one of the principal families of *Turkestân*; and, as he was always followed by a great number of relations, and others, who were in his interest, the king grew jealous of the great authority which he had acquired, and obliged him to depart his dominions.

SELJUK upon this retired into the countries of the *Mohammedans*, where he embraced their religion. His first settlement was at a place called *Joud*, which depended on the city of *Bokhâra*, in *Mawarâ'nahr*. From whence he continually made incursions upon the infidel part of the *Turks*;

^c D'HERBELOT *Bibl. orient.* p. 800; art. *Selgiuki*.

^d *EBN AMID Hist. Saracen.* p. 331.

(D) The surname of *Mûbi-bo'ddin Abû'l-walid Mohammed*. He was a great doctor, of the sect of *Hanifab*, and high chancellor of the *Arabian Irâk*. He died in the year of the *Hijrah* 883, of Christ 1478. He is the author of several works; among the rest, of a very exact history from the creation to the year 806; that is, of Christ 1403. *D'Hérbelot*, pag. 792. Art. *Schobuah*.

whom he harrassed during the whole course of his life : in the length whereof *Ebn Shonah* agrees with *Ebn Amîd* ; but mentions nothing about his death.

His sons.

THE *Persian* historians unanimously agree, that *Seljûk* (E) had four sons ; but differ a little as to their names ; which, according to the *Lebtarikh*, were *Mikaël*, *Israel*, *Mussa*, and *Tunos* : but *Mirkond* calls the last *Bigû*, and not *Tunos*. *Ebn Shohnah* gives him only three sons ; whom he names *Alp Arslan*, *Mikaël*, and *Mussa* (F). While *Ebn Amîd* seems to allow him only one ; that is, *Mikaël* ; from whom the founders of the *Seljûk* monarchy are unanimously acknowledged to have been descended^e. The sons of *Seljûk* became very powerful in friends, and rich in lands as well as flocks^f, especially *Mikaël* ; than whom, great numbers of *Turks* acknowledged no other superior : and, when Soltân *Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekin* passed the *Jihûn*, with forces, to the assistance of *Warar Khân* (G), king of *Mawarâ'nahr*, *Mikaël* went to salute that prince ; who, admiring his courage, and the great submission which his family paid him, intreated him to remain about his person, and, at his return, to accept of the government of *Khorasân*, in order to defend it against the invasion of enemies. On *Mikaël*'s declining the Soltân's offer, *Mahmûd*, enraged, sent him in chains to prison, and, returning to *Khorasân*, still kept him in durance. However, the soldiers and family of *Mikaël* followed the Soltân, and settled in the plain of *Khorasân*. This is *Altabârî*'s account

• D'HERBELOT, ubi supr. p. 801.

^f *Lebtarikh*.

(E) It is *Seljûk*, who is to be understood by *Haythôn*'s *Saddock* (1), and not *Tangrolipix*, or *Togrol Bek*, as *Leuclavius* writes (2) ; for *Haythôn* makes *Sadok* the father of *Dogriſſa* (which stands for *Dogri Shab*, or *Dogril Shab*) ; who is evidently *Togrol Beg*.

(F) *Cedrenus* makes *Mikeil* the father of *Tangrolipix* (as he writes *Togrol Bek*) ; *Habramius-Alim*, *Aspam-Sallarius* (so he calls *Alp Arſân*) ; and a third son, whom he does not name. He adds, that this last left a son, called *Aſan* (or *Haffan*), surnamed the Deaf : that *Habra-*

mius had a son, called *Makbalet* ; and that *Mikeil*'s brother had two sons, *Kutlu Muses* (*Kotul Miſh*), and *Abimelekk* ; of whom more hereafter.

(G) Other historians, as hath been before set forth, speak of *Mahmûd* as undertaking this expedition on his own account against *Kara Khân* of *Turkeſtân*, or of *Karakitay*. If so *Warar Khân* must be a mistake for *Kara Khân* ; and bringing aid to him, a mistranslation for bringing forces against him : which is not unlikely to be the case, considering how faulty a copy *Erpenius* made use of.

(1) *Hist. de Tartaris*, cap. xv. p. 377. edit. Gryn. 1532. *Binſul. Turke*, l. i. p. 71. edit. Wechel, 1591.

(2) *Hist.*

of the manner in which the *Seljûki*ans first entered Persia². But other authors represent the occasion very differently.

MIRKOND relates, that *Mikaël* deceased very young; and *Ebn Shohnah* says expressly, that he died in *Mawarâlnahr*, in the war which he waged with the infidels; and that, for this reason, he is dignified in the genealogy of the *Seljûki*ans with the title of *Shedid*, or *Shadid*; that is, martyr. According to the *Lebtarikh*, and *Mirkond*, *Mikaël* left two sons, *Heirs of: Mohammed* and *Dawd*, who were afterwards called *Togrol Seljûk*. *Beg* and *Jaffar Beg* (H): but *Ebn Shohnah* adds to these a third, whom he places before the other two, as if the eldest, called *Tebeḡû*: but possibly this is *Begû*, whom he has omitted among the sons of *Seljûk*, and reckoned to *Mikaël*. However that be, we are told by *Mirkond*, that *Seljûk* took great care to educate his two grandsons; and, by his will, left them sole heirs to all his effects and growing state. The young princes, having arrived at the age fit to bear arms, were masters of so much address and conduct, as well as valour, that in a short space they greatly enlarged their small territories, by the defeat of several princes of *Mawarâlnahr*; who became their vassals. The news of these victories coming to the ears of *Mahmûd* (first Soltân of the *Gaznah* family, who reigned in *Khorasân*), he sent to desire them to send some trusty person to him, in order to treat about an affair of importance.

ISRAËL, the uncle of the young princes, offered to re-*Israël's* pair to the Soltân; who received him with great civility and *adven-* honour: but one day, being desirous to know what number of *ture,* troops he was able to furnish him with, in case of need; *Israël* replied, that if the Soltân would shoot one of the two arrows, which he held in his hand, into their camp, 40,000 horse would immediately set out, for his service: that if he shot the other into the *Ordû* of *Bilkhân* (I), he might command 50,000; and the Soltân asking, how many could be had, if there was very pressing occasion, *Israël* told him, that if he would send his bow into *Turkeştân*, 200,000 *Turks* would issue forth to his assistance. This discourse so alarmed *Mahmûd*, that, to prevent danger, he seized *Israël*, and secured him in a castle; where he died. This castle is named *Kalenjar* (K), and death. by the author of the *Nighiaristân*; who says, he was confined there seven years. The same writer speaks of the *Seljûki*ans with

² *EBN AMID*, p. 332.

(H) *Abû'l-saraj* calls him *Jagri Beg*. These rather were their first names.

(I) The author of the *Nighiaristân* calls this place *Beljân*.

(K) A castle in *Khorasân*.

G 2

great

great contempt; and says, they were descended from the ancient *Turkmâns*. As a proof of this, he alleges the reproaches which *Massûd*, third Soltân of the *Gazni* race, and *Mohammed*, Soltân of the *Karazmians*, made them, on account of the baseness of their original^b. However, the *Seljûks* looked upon that imputation as a great dishonour to them, and treated it with the utmost contempt.

The Seljûkians

HISTORIANS differ about the time when the *Seljûkians* first passed the *Jihûn*, to enter into *Persia*. Some say, it was in the reign of *Mahmûd*, the first Soltân of the *Gazni* race, and by his permission; others, in that of his son *Massûd*. Of the first sentiment are *Abûl-faraj*, the *Lebtarikh*, and *Al Makin*.

THE *Lebtarikh* relates, that, on their having demanded leave to cross the river, *Arslân Jazeb*, governor of the city *Tûs* (L), in *Khorasân*, was of opinion, that their request should not be granted, lest these four families of the children of *Seljûk*, which were already pretty numerous, should draw others to them; but that *Mahmûd*, who confided too much in his own power, rejected the governor's counsel; and, not only granted their demand, but also permitted them to settle in the neighbourhood of *Nessa* and *Bawerd* (M). This colony increased so much in a short time, by the continual passage of *Turks*, who joined them (as the governor *Jazeb* had foreseen), that the inhabitants of *Khorasân* began to be in fear of them, and resolved to get rid of those new guests, whom they looked on as dangerous neighbours (N).

^b MIRKOND ap. D'Herb. p. 800. Art. Selgiuki.

(L) It is also called *Masbhad*, or, *The place of the Martyr'd*, from the tomb of *Imâm Riza*, who was murdered there; and is a great place of pilgrimage.

(M) The first is called also *Abiwerd*, and the latter *Nesa*, or *Little Damascus*, about 120 miles from the river *Jihûn* or *Amû*, and from each other. They are often mentioned in *Abûlghazi Khan's* history of the *Turks*, by the names of *Iburdu* and *Nafay*; and, when he wrote, belonged to the kingdom of *Karazm*.

(N) This account is taken from *D'Herbelot's* extract, p. 800; but *Golmin's* copy repre-

sents them quite otherwise. There we are told, that *Togrol Bek* and *Jaffar Bek*, had something so royal in their aspect, that the people of *Khorasân* were extremely fond of them, and had recourse to them, to decide their differences: that this was the cause of *Mahmûd's* hatred to them: that the *Seljûks* having beaten an army sent against them, *Mahmûd* prepared to be revenged; but the troubles in *India* calling him thither, he left the conduct of the war to *Asbi*, governor of *Khorasân*; who was also defeated.

EBN

EBN AMID agrees, in the main, with the *Lebtarikh*. ^{pass the} He tells us, that *Mahmūd* before he died repented much of *Jihān*. having suffered the *Seljūkiāns* to remain in his dominions; fearing they might seize them after his death¹.

ABU'L-FARAJ goes further still on this head. He writes, that in the year 420, while *Togrol Beg*, with his brothers *Dawd* and *Biga*, were still in *Mawarā'lnahr*, the *Gāz* A D. 1029. *Turks* (O), under *Arslān* (P), son of *Seljūk*, ravaged *Khorasān*: that, however, *Yamīn Oddawla Mahmūd* drove them out of that province: but that the enemy, carrying with them about 2000 tents, went to *Isfāhān*. *Togrol Beg*, with his brothers *Dawd* and *Biga*, the sons of *Mika'el* (Q), were then in *Mawarā'lnahr*. Some of the *Gāz*, after being expelled *Khorasān*, shaped their way into the province of *Aderbijān*, where they took the city of *Marāga*, burnt the temple, and made a great slaughter of the people; among whom were many *Kurds* (R). After this some went to *Ray*, others to *Hamadān* and *Mausel*, which they also took².

SOME historians have written, that *Soltān Mahmūd* gave *Under Sol-* the *Seljūkiāns* liberty to cross the *Jihūn*, in order to seize the *tan* *Ma-* vast riches which they had amassed, by the plunder of the *fid* best cities in *Mawarā'lnahr*.

BUT, in opposition to all this, *Mirkond* affirms, that the *Seljūk Turks*, who had already made a great noise in *Persia*, passed the *Jihūn*, or *Amū*, not in the reign of *Mahmūd*; but of his son *Massūd*, in the year 424, under the conduct of *Togrol Beg* and *Jaffar Beg*; who, settling themselves about the cities before-mentioned, soon after began to make incursions into the neighbouring provinces¹. A D. 1032.

SECTION III.

Their transactions in Persia, and founding of their first monarchy there.

ABOUT the time that the *Seljūk Turks* entered *Persia*, the *State of* provinces of *Khorasān*, *Sablestān*, *Gaznah*, *Persian Irāk*, *Persia*. *Tabrestān*, *Jorjān*, and part of *India*, were under *Massūd*,

¹ EBN AMID, p. 332. ² ARU'L-FARAJ hist. dynast. p. 222.

³ D'HERB. p. 562, & 801, art. Selgiūk and Massoud.

(O) The *Gaz Turks* are properly *Turkmen*s. They gave the name to *Gazaria*. (Q) Son of *Seljūk*, son of *Yakak*.

(R) Of the *Hadb Baniyah* tribe. Another copy has *Al Harayyah*.

(P) This must be the *Alp Arslān* of *Ebn Shobnah*.

third Soltân of the *Gazni* race. The rest of *Persia* (A) was in the hands of *Abûlganjar*, by others called *Kalijar*, one of the princes of the family of *Buyah*, or *Bowyah*; who had reigned in *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), and *Kermân*, both the *Persian* and *Arabian Irâks*, *Mazanderân*, and *Jorjan*, *Diyar-bekr* (or part of *Mesopotamia*), and in *Baghdâd*: to the jurisdiction of which city, the dominions of the *Khalifah*, once so very extensive, were now almost wholly confined.

at this
juncture.

As to the provinces of *Marwarâlnahr* and *Khorasân*, it is somewhat dubious what power they belonged to. From some circumstances in the history of the *Gazni* Soltâns, they should be in the possession of *Massûd*, third Soltân of that race^a: by other circumstances, *Marwarâlnahr*, or at least a good portion of it, seems to have been in subjection partly to the Khân of *Turkestan*, and partly to several princes of its own^b. *Ebn Amîd*, as hath been related, makes it subject to its own monarch: Possibly all those different princes might have had a share in it; and the confusion which the country must have been in, from so many contending powers, doubtless favoured greatly the quiet entrance of the *Seljûks* into that province: but it is not probable they had conquered the whole before they entered *Persia*, as *Mîrkond*, in his genealogy of *Jenghiz Khân*, asserts; not only because he elsewhere brings proof to the contrary, as hath been shewn, but because such a supposition is quite inconsistent with the submission which the same author tells us they offered to *Massûd*, on their arrival in *Khorasân*.

Raise some
commo-
tions;
Hejrah
421.
A. D.
1030.

ACCORDING to this historian, as soon as they had sat down about *Nessa* and *Bawerd*, they sent an express to that Soltân (who ascended the throne in 421,) to demand a place of settlement; offering to swear obedience and fidelity to him. But *Massûd* received the ambassador very ill; and, among other disobliging things, said, that he never heard of the *Seljûk* family, although he was himself a Turk by descent, and therefore ought to be well acquainted with all the illustrious houses of that nation. When the *Seljûkians* were informed with what contempt the Soltân had treated both their ambassador and family, they prepared for war^c; and, according to *Mîrkond*, as related by *Texeira*, whilst *Massûd* was subduing the provinces of *Jorjan* and *Tabrestân*, in the year

^a TEXEIR. hist. Per. p. 292.

^b See before, p. 56, & seq.

^c D'HERB. p. 801, art. *Seljûk*.

(A) As *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, *bijân*, with *Arabian Irâk*, of *Kermân*, *Khuzestân*, and *Adber-* which *Baghdâd* was the capital.

426, made some commotions in *Khorasân*; but sat still upon his return (B).

ALTHOUGH their affairs were not settled, yet the Soltân *Defeat*- would go into *India*, against the advice of his generals. In *Soltân* his absence they made incursions throughout the country, *Massûd*: from *Khorasân* to *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), with so much success that they obliged *Alla oddawlat Ebn Kakuya* and *Abusâlab* to quit their governments of *Rey* and *Isfahân*, which the *Seljuks* seized, with other parts of *Persia*. This was about 428: by which time *Massûd* returned from his *Indian* expedition to *Gaznah*; and, two years after, set out again for *Forjân*. In his way, being informed, that *Nûr Takkîn*, governor of *Balkh*, oppressed them, he moved towards him, though in a hard frost; but, when advanced about half way, turned back against *Dawd Seljûk*, who was marching with considerable forces to assist *Nûr Takkîn*; and, though this latter fell on his rear, and took most of his baggage, yet he held on his way till he met *Dawd*; by whom being overthrown, he fled to *Gaznah*; where he put to death many of the *Turks* who served under him (C); because they had misbehaved in the battle^d.

Hejrah
428.
A. D.
1036.

TEXEIRA seems to have omitted the most remarkable *Take* circumstance, relating to the establishment of the *Seljûk* monarchy. *Ebn Amîd* is more particular. This author writes, *Tâsh and Nishabûr*: that *Massûd*, surnamed *Abûsâyd* (soon after *Mahmûd's* death), sent an army against the *Seljûk Turks*; who were defeated, and some of them taken prisoners. Not long after this, *Mikael ebn Seljûk* dying (D), his soldiers put themselves under the command of his son *Mohammed Abutâlib*, surnamed *Togrûl Beg*; who, attacking *Massûd's* army, routed it, and pursued them to *Tûs*: which he besieged, and took. This is the first city which fell into the hands of the *Seljûkians*; who assembled there, and fortified it. After this they subdued *Nishabûr*.

MEANWHILE *Massûd* fled into *India*, where he staid a *Conquer* long time: so that *Khorasân* being deserted by him, the *Sel-Khorasân*.

^d *TEXEIR.* p. 292, & seq. *D'HERB.* p. 562, art. *Mossoud*.

(B) In the *English* of *Texeira*, they are always written *Salinquis*, or *Salinquis*, instead of *Saljûkis*, or rather *Saljûkians*; and *Jakar Bek*, instead of *Jassar Bek*.

(C) Great part of his forces, and almost all his chief officers, were *Turks*.

(D) From what has been said before about *Mikael's* death, it should seem that he is named here (and perhaps in the former place) by *Ebn Amîd*, or the authors he copied from, instead of *Israel*.

Hejrah 439. *jûks* made use of the opportunity, and conquered it. *Mas-*
 A.D. *sûd*, upon advice of this, returned from *India*; but the
 1038. *Seljûkians*, advancing to meet him, put him to flight (E);
 upon which the Khalîfah *Kayîm Beamrillah* recommended
 to them the defence of the country of the *Moslems* (F).
Masûd, incensed hereat, marched against them; but they
 made him turn his back a second time. And thus their em-
 pire was established in the year of the *Hejrah* 430. of Christ
 1039°.

Empire
founded.

EBN AMID omits to mention either when *Nisâbâr*
 was taken, or that *Togrûl Bek* ascended the throne there;
 both which happened by the general consent of historians^f,
 in the year 429, from whence they date the beginning of his
 reign, and the *Seljûk* monarchy.

A. D.
1037.

ACCORDING to *Mirkond* (G), as delivered by *D'Herbelot*,
 as soon as *Togrol Beg* was acknowledged for king in the city
 of *Nisâbâr*, in the year 429, he sent his brother *Jaffar*
Bek to subdue the city and county of *Herât*, or *Heri*, in the
 same province of *Khorasân*: which conquest being soon per-
 formed, he placed one of his uncles there, to govern it. In
 the mean time he marched himself to *Merû* (H), and, having
 taken it, he made it his royal seat. After this he put *Khoro-*
sân under new regulations; and, by that means, suppressed
 the disorders which had reigned there for a long time.

Their
royal seat.

THE same year, which was 429, *Soltân Massûd Gazni*
 assembled all his forces to drive the *Seljûkians* out of his^g
 dominions: but the two brothers, having also collected
 their troops, after an exceeding bloody battle, gained so com-
 plete a victory, that *Massûd* found he had no farther business
 in *Khorasân*.

* *EBN AMID*, p. 332, & seq. ^f *AB'UL-FARAJ* hist. dy-
 nast. p. 225. *Lebtarikh*, p. 42; and in *D'HERB.* p. 800.

(E) According to *Abû'l-faraj*
Massûd, marching from *Gazna*
 to *Balkh*, drove the *Seljûks* out
 of *Khorasân*, the year after they
 had taken *Nisâbâr* (1).

(F) That is, believers, or
Mohammedans.

(G) *D'Herbelot* indeed quotes
Kondamir; but as he confounds
 the two authors together, as hath
 been observed before (2), we
 make no scruple to put *Mirkond*

in his place: and the rather,
 since *Kondamir*, being only an
 abridgment of *Mirkond*, cannot
 be supposed to differ from him.

(H) There are two cities of
 this name in *Khorasân*; one
 130 miles north-east of *Herât*,
 the other 140 north of it to-
 wards the river *Jibûn* or *Amû*.
 This last, called *Merû* or *Marû*
Shahjân, is the place mentioned
 in the text.

(1) *Abû'l-far.* p. 226.

(2) *Pag.* 4. note G.

HAVING related what the oriental historians deliver concerning the foundation of the *Seljuk* monarchy, let us see ^{Erroneous account.} what the *Greeks* have said upon the same subject. Two of them, *Cedrenus* and *Nicephorus Bryennus* are more particular than the rest, and speak nearly alike. In the year 1030, while *Mukhumet* (I) (son of *Imbrail* (K), prince of *Persia*, *Media*, the *Khorasmiens*, and *Oritans*), was engaged on one side with the *Indians*, and on the other with the *Babylonians*, he sent an embassy to the prince of *Turky* (L), for 3000 auxiliaries. The *Turk*, charmed with the presents made on that occasion, readily dispatched the men, under the conduct of *Tagrolipix Mukalet* (M), son of *Mikaël*. And the rather, as he flattered himself, that, at their return, when the enemies of the *Saracens* were defeated, they might easily seize the two castles which guarded the bridge over the *Araxs* (N), and open a passage for his *Turks* into *Persia*, which he proposed to conquer.

WITH these succours *Mukhumet* marched against *Pissafius* (O), prince of the *Babylonish Arabs*, and easily routed him; the *Arabs* not being able to withstand the force of the *Turkish* bows. The expedition being finished, the *Turks* desired leave to return home; and that the guard of the said bridge might be committed to them: but *Mukhumet* insisted on their following him into *India*; and, on their refusal, threatened to compel them (P). The *Turks*, through fear, withdrew into the desert of *Karvonites* (Q); from whence they made incursions on the *Saracens* and *Persians*. Hereupon *Mukhumet* sent against them an army of 20,000 men, under ten of his best commanders; who pitched their camp at the entrance of the desert. *Tagrolipix*, being informed of this, made two great marches, and, coming upon them in the night, defeated them: on which occasion he got abundance of arms, horses, and riches: then, issuing out of the desert,

(I) This must be *Mabmūd*, the first Soltān of the *Gaxni* race.

(K) *Sambrail* some copies.

(L) Meaning *Turkestan*.

(M) *Nicephorus Bryen* makes *Mukalet* a distinct person from *Tagrolipix*, or *Togrol Bek*.

(N) This is not the *Araxes*, now *Arrāx*, in *Armenia*, as the historians hitherto have imagined; but the *Jibūn* or *Amē*.

(O) *Nicephorus Bryen* calls

him *Pisares*. This is *Basafiri*, prince of *Irāk Arabi*, or *Babeli*, (misnamed by *Knowles* and others *Kalif* of *Babilon*), whom not *Mabmūd Gaxni*, but *Togrol Bek*, had to do with, and that not till the 17th year of his reign.

(P) There was some dispute of this kind between them and *Massūd*, son and successor of *Mabmūd*.

(Q) Or *Karabonitis*, as *Nicephorus Bryen*.

and

and encamping in the open country, his army, by the accession of disaffected people, slaves, robbers, and the like, increased at length to 50,000 men.

by the
Greek
writers.

MUKHUMET, imputing the late disgrace to the misconduct of his generals, ordered them to be deprived of their sight; and threatened to expose, in womens cloaths, the soldiers who fled (R). After this, raising an army of *Saracens*, *Persians*, *Kaviri*, and *Arabs*, 50,000 strong, and having with him 100 elephants, bearing towers, he marched to *Aspahan* (S); where *Tagrolipix* hastened to meet him. The conflict, for a time, was bloody and doubtful; but, while *Mukhumet* rode about to animate his troops, he fell from his horse, and broke his neck (T). Whereupon his army, submitting to *Tagrolipix*, proclaimed him king of *Persia*. The new monarch immediately sent to open the passage over the *Araxis*; and, giving free permission to all *Turks* to enter *Persia*, vast numbers laid hold of the opportunity; and thus became lords of the country, giving the title of *Soltân*, which signifies *emperor*, or *king of kings* (U), to *Tagrolipix*; who divided the provinces, and, bestowing all offices in the magistracy and government among his *Turks*, reduced the natives to a very miserable condition.

Remarks
on them.

THE reader, from the foregoing specimen, may see what little accuracy he is to expect from the *Byzantine* historians, with regard to the affairs of other nations; and what little they have further written concerning the transactions of this *Soltân*, and one or two of his successors, excepting such as the *Romans* themselves had a share in, is no less confused and erroneous. Let us now resume the history of the *Seljûks* from the eastern writers.

S E C T. IV.

The reign of Togrol Bek.

Dynasty
of Irân.

THE descendants of *Seljûk* are, in *Arabic*, called *Seljûkiyân*, or *Selajekah*, and, in *Persian*, *Seljukiyan*; which is made *English* by the addition only of an *s*, at the end of it. The singular of both is *Seljûki*; which, with the particle

(R) Something of this nature is related of *Massûd*, who put to death several of his *Turkish* officers and soldiers, for not doing their duty against the *Seljûks*.

(S) *Isphâbân*, or *Sjânân*, capital of *Persia*.

^a (T) *Mahmûd* neither fought battle with *Togrol Bek*, nor died a violent death.

(U) It is equivalent only to the title of king; and was first assumed by *Mahmûd Gazni*. See that article in *D'Hierbelot*.

Al,

Al, or *the*, before it, signifies any person of the family or race of *Seljuk* (A).

THE oriental authors divide the *Seljukians* into three dynasties or races of princes, reigning in the south of *Asia*, and which were contemporary, not successive; namely, those of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large; those of *Kermân*, a province of *Persia*; and those of *Râm*, or *Asia minor*; of which we propose to treat in order. And, first, of the *Seljukians* of *Irân*.

THE author of the *Nighiaristân* gives to the dynasty of *Its dura-Irân* fourteen princes; fixes its commencement at the year of *tien*. the *Hejrah* 429, of Christ 1037; and terminates its duration, which he makes 161 years, in the year 593, of Christ 1196. This is conformable to *Mirkond* (B), and the *Lebtarikh*; only the latter puts the end of this dynasty in 590: but *Katib*, or *Kyatib Zadeh*, surnamed *Haji Khâlfah*, in his work, intitled, *Takwim al Tavarikh*, says, that this succession consisted of fifteen Soltâns; who began to reign in 532, and ended in 590; giving them an existence of no more than 158 years*. *Ebn Amid* again places the commencement of the *Seljuk* monarchy in 430 of the *Hejrah*; and, in a matter of some uncertainty, 'tis hard to say which computation is most exact: however, as we are obliged to make use of one, we choose to be regulated by that of *Mirkond*, and the *Nighiaristân*.

TOGROL Bek, or *Beg*, first Soltân of this dynasty, is the 1. Soltân, person whom *Cedrenus*, and the other *Byzantine* writers, call *Togrol Tagrolipix*, or *Tangrolipix*, by a corruption of the name, no less extraordinary than common with the *Greeks*, who have, in all ages, so disfigured most of the words which they borrowed from other languages, that 'tis scarce possible to tell what to make of them. His *Mohammedan* name was *Abu Taleb Mohammed*; and his surname, or title, given him by the *Khalifah*, *Rokn Oddîn* (C); the pillar of the faith and religion^b.

ALTHOUGH

* D'HERB. p. 800, art. *Seljuk*.
art. *Thogrol Beg*.

^b D'HERB. p. 1027,

(A) We sometimes, after our authors, use the word *Al Seljuki*, but render it the *Seljukian*, never the *Seljuk*; but in the plural say, the *Seljuks*, and *Seljukians*, indifferently, as our language admits of either. The word may be also written either *Seljuk* or *Saljuk*.

(B) D'Herbelot has *Kondamir*; but we have already observed, p. 4. note G. that he confounds the father and son together. We always make the change found in the text.

(C) This last word may be written *Addin*, compounded of *al*, *the*, and *din*, *faith*, or *religion*:

defeats **MASSUD**, **ALTHOUGH** the *Seljûks* had gotten possession of almost all *Khorasân*, yet *Massûd*, a brave prince, resolved to do his utmost to recover it. Accordingly, in the year 431, having raised a considerable army, he marched against *Togrol Bek*, and put him to flight; killing a good number of his men, and taking others prisoners, with their arms. Next year *Togrol Bek* returned to *Nisâbâr*; from whence *Massûd* fled to *Gazna*: and, after this, the *Seljûkians* became masters of all *Khorasân*; on which occasion an incredible multitude of people were slain. Thus writes *Ebn Amîd*^c.

conquers **PERSIAN** **IRÂK**. **BUT** the *Lebtarikh* relates, that he returned thither after fighting a battle with the *Seljûks*, in the plain of *Zandekon*, near *Marû*, wherein he was defeated. 'Tis added, that these successes were followed by the patent of investiture (D) sent to the two brothers, *Togrol Bek* and *Jaffar Bek*, by the Khalîfah *Kayim*^d; and by the reduction of the provinces of *Jorjân* and *Tabrestân*, in the year 433^e, which *Togrol Bek* undertook, and then made himself master of all the *Persian Irâk*^f: for, in 434, *Ebrahim Neâl Al Seljûki* (E), took *Hamadân*. He was followed by *Togrol Bek*, who subdued *Rey* (F). Then, dividing the provinces between them, *Jaffar Beg* had for his share *Khorasân*, and *Togrol Beg* the *Persian Irâk*, with the other provinces which he subdued; fixing his seat at (G) *Hamadân*^g.

MASSUD, after his retreat to *Gazna*, seems to have raised fresh forces; the command of which he gave to his son *Maëdûd*, whom he sent towards *Bâlkh*, to defend that frontier^h. Then carrying his blind brother *Mohammed* with him, he marched again into the *Indies*; where he continued till the winter following, and made great progress: but being obliged to advance towards the city of *Bâlkh*, to defend himself against the *Seljûkians*, who every day increased in power, as he was about to pass the river *Sind*, which is the *Indus*, *Tu'sef Ebn Pustekkin*, one of his generals, deposed, and after-

^c P. 333.^d *Lebtarikh*, p. 42.^e *ABULF.* p. 226.^f *D'HERB.* p. 1027.^g *Lebtarikh.* *D'HERB.* p. 1027.art. *Seljûk*.^h *D'HERB.* p. 562, art. *Maëdûd*.

gian: the *l* being liquidated into the *d*.

(D) Or patent of Soltân, as in *D'Herbelot*.

(E) That is, the *Seljûkian*.

(F) As it was subdued by

him in the time of *Massûd*, 208, he must have lost it again before he could take it the second time.

(G) Faultily, in *Gölnia's* copy, *Gamsadân*.

wards

wards murdered him in the same year 433 (H); when he had reigned thirteen years with great magnificence, and the love of all the learned men of his age, of whom he was very fond.

MAEDUD his son, who was then at *Balkh*, succeeded *Karazm* him in the kingdoms of *Mawarâ'nahr*, *Khorasân*, and *In-subdued. dia*, so far as had been conquered: but the *Seljuk Turks*, who dwelt in those provinces, refusing to acknowledge him, he sent an army against them in 435, which being met by *Hej. 435. Olb Arslân*, son of *Jaffar Bek*, with a considerable force, was *A. D. 1043.* overthrown. On the other side, great numbers of *Turks* breaking out of *Turkestan* into the territories of *Gaumasfer* and *Kandahâr*, to plunder, were routed by *Maëddûd's* garisons¹. By this time the power of the *Seljukians* was so well established, in that large province, that, after the Soltân's death, they found it no difficult matter to join to their other conquests the province of *Balkh*, with all the country of *Karazm*^k.

THE same year a detachment of 1650 *Gâz* (I) horse, under *Turkmân* four commanders, *Kukias*, *Abu Ali Ebn Dahkan*, *Haji Israel*, *invafion.* and *Abû Mansûr*, made an irruption into the country of *Amîd* (K), and *Miyafarkîn* (L), then possessed by prince *Abunafsr Ebn Marwân*. From thence they went to *Nasibîn*, where they cut down the trees: and having stayed for some time, proceeded to *Musol*, whose lord, *Karwâs Ebn Muktadir*, bought his peace of them with money. But after destroying the other cities of *Diyaarbekr* and *Aljaztrah* (M), they returned to *Musol*, and took it, killing, enslaving, and plundering the inhabitants. When they had been here for some time, the *Arabs* assembled on all sides; and besieging them, at length drove them out of the city. They afterwards defeated them in several battles, and killed many: the rest fled

¹ *TEXEIRA*, p. 294, & seq.

^k *D'HERB.* ubi supr.

(H) *Texteira* has 431, or 1039 of *Cbrist*, but faultily.

(I) By *Gâz Turks* are properly to be understood *Turkmâns*. These, with the *Turks*, swarmed in *Persia*, having been employed as soldiers, not only by the *Gazni* Soltâns, who were themselves originally *Turks*, but by all the princes of the *Buzab* family, who reigned in *Tabresân*, *Persian Irâk*, *Pârs*, or proper *Persia*, and at *Bagdad*, before

they were subdued by the *Seljukians*, under whom the *Turks* and *Turkmâns* united and served, as their natural princes.

(K) The same with *Diyaarbekr*.

(L) A city, two days journey to the north of *Diyaarbekr* city: it is the ancient *Martyropolis*.

(M) That is, *Mesopotamia*, or rather the part south of the province of *Diyaarbekr*.

to *Mayaferkîn*; and making what plunder they could, retired into *Aderbijân* ^k.

- Affairs of Persia.* THE same year 435, *Jalâl Addawlat*, king of *Baghdâd*, dying without children, after seventeen years reign, his nephew *Abu Kalanjar* (N), son of *Soltân Addawlat*, succeeded him in the post of *Amir al omerah*, that is, generalissimo of the troops of the Khalîfat: and finding *Togrol Bek* grow powerful in *Persia*, made an alliance with him in 439, by marrying his son to the Soltân's niece, the daughter of *Dawd al Saljûki*: but the following year died, having reigned four; and was succeeded by the second of his four sons, *Khofraw Ferûz*, who happened to be at *Skirâz*, and there assumed the name of *Malek Rahîm*. *Maëddûd Gazni* resolving to recover *Khorasân*, if possible, out of the hands of the *Seljûks*, began his march against them with a powerful army; but dying by the way of the cholick, his great preparations came to nothing ^l.

Ispahan taken. IN the year 442, *Togrol Bek*, marching to *Ispahân*, took it by force; and, four years after (446), entering *Adherbijân* with his troops, reduced it under his obedience ^m.

- Hej. 442.* A. D. 1050. *MALEK Rahîm*, king of *Baghdâd*, succeeded his father *Abu'l Ganjar* (or *Kalanjar*) in 440, 1048, as hath been said. But being attacked by *Abu Mansûr Fulâd Sotûn*, his eldest brother, and deserted by his *Turkish* troops, he retired to *Ahwâz* (in *Khuzestân*), and thence to *Wafet* (on the *Dijlat* or *Tigris*); where the war was continued, with various success, till 447: when being informed that *Togrol Bek*, at the instigation of *Abu Mansûr*, had possessed himself of *Shirâz*, and most of *Pârs*, he raised all the forces he could, and recovered it: then returned to *Wafet*.

Other places submit. *ABU Mansûr* having, by the defeat and death of his brother *Abufayd*, secured himself in the throne of *Pars* (O), died in a castle, where he was imprisoned by *Wazîr Fazel Hassan*, or *Huya*, who assumed the title of king. *Malek Ma-verd*, a *Seljûk* commander, who was then in the province of *Kermân*, being informed of this, marched against *Fazel Huya*, and he fled to another call'd *Olb Arslân* (P), whose lands he

^k EBN AMID. p. 333. ^l D'HERB. p. 240, art. Caim Beamrillah. ^m ABULF. p. 226. ⁿ ABULF. p. 226.

(N) In *Texeira*, *Abu'lganjar*; in *Abu'lfaraj*, *Kalijar*.

(O) Or proper *Persia*, called *Fârs* by the *Arabs*, of which *Skirâz* is the capital,

(P) This doubtless was *Olb* or *Alp Arslân*, *Togrol Bek*'s nephew and successor.

farmed; and growing very rich by that means, revolted from him: but soon after was taken, with a son of his called *Nezâm al Molk*, and imprisoned in the fortrefs of *Strabar*, where they died. This was in the year 448.

ABU ali Kay Khozraw, who had succeeded his father *Abu'l Ganjar*, voluntarily submitted to *Olb Arslân*, who gave him *Nâbanjân* and *Aktak* (Q) to live on, treating him with much honour (R).

ABOUT this time *Dawd* the *Seljuk*, called also *Jaffar Bek*, brother of *Togrol Bek*, who commanded in *Khorasân*, made war upon *Ferozkâd Ebn Massûd*, eighth Soltân of the *Gazni* race (S); but the Soltân defeated him; and then marching into *Khorasân*, overthrew the king of *Turkeftân*'s (T) general, who came to meet him. At last *Olb Arslân*, advancing against him, routed his forces. *Ferozkâd*, having reigned six years, died, and left the crown of *Khorasân* and *Mawarâ'nahr* (U) to his brother *Ibrahim Ebn Massûd*, who concluded a peace with the *Turks*, and then marched into *India*, to make farther conquests^a.

THE distractions which had long subsisted at *Baghdâd*, *Basafiri* occasioned by the *Turkish* militia, still continued to afflict rebels, that city; when great feuds arose between *Rais al Ruffa*, *Wazir* or *Vizier* to the *Khalifah Kayim Beamrillah*, and a *Turk* called *Ruslân Abu'l Harith Mutaffer*, surnamed *Basafiri* (W). This *Basafiri* was originally a slave to *Bahao'ddawlat*,

^a *Tex.* p. 298, & seq.

(Q) Two cities in the province of *Pârs*, to the north-west of *Shirâz*.

(R) This prince lived forty years after his brother, dying in 487; and in him ended the family of *Buyah* in *Pârs*. *Tex.* p. 301.

(S) He succeeded his brother *Abdal Rasbid*, or *Abdal Rabim*, who was murdered in 445, or 1053, by *Togrol* or *Tokzel Bek*, one of his favourites.

(T) In *Texeira* he is called general of *Salinquah*, king of *Turkeftân*, by whom must be understood *Togrol Bek*, and *Olb Arslân* said to be his son; which inaccuracies may be owing to

too much haste in that author making his extracts from *Mirkond*.

(U) Tho' he seems to have had very little share of either province, excepting the country of *Gaznah*, and the parts eastward of it.

(W) So named from the city *Basa*, or *Pasa*, in *Pârs*, or proper *Persia*, the ancient *Pasagarda*; and not from *Basafir*, as *Abul-faraj* writes, p. 226. of which name we meet with no city. In the *Lebtarikh* of *Golmin* he is called prince of the *Dilamites*; probably a mistake for an *Amir* or commander of the *Dilamite* troops; meaning those of

lat, king of *Irâk* and *Baghdâd*; but, by degrees, rose to be one of the principal commanders of *Malek Rahim*, then king of *Baghdâd*. Being obliged, on account of this quarrel, to quit *Baghdâd*, he put himself under the protection of *Al Mostanser*, Khalîfah of *Egypt*; who supplying him with troops, *against the* he became very powerful in *Irâk Arabi*, and at length got *Khalîfah*. possession of the country, which he ravaged as far as the imperial city; so that he grew a terror both to the *Arabs* and *Persians*. He was already prayed for in the pulpits of that province: and as the Khalîfah had been deprived of all authority by the *Buyah* or *Dilem* princes, in whose hands he was, so, by this rebellion of *Basafiri*, nothing remained to *Malek*, who succeeded *Abu Kalanjar*, but the naked title of king of *Baghdâd*°.

Togrol
Bek in-
vited.

Hej. 447.

A. D.

1055.

AUTHORS place these events in the year 447; but they seem to have had a beginning some years earlier (X). However that be, it is certain that the Khalîfah, being informed that *Basafiri* designed the same year to seize on the imperial castle, wrote to *Togrol Bek*, who was then in the district of *Rey*, intreating him to come to his assistance.

BASASIRI was at *Wafet* (Y), whence some of his soldiers deserting, came to *Baghdâd*; and, having plundered, burnt his palace.

TOGROL BEK arrived at that capital in the month of *Ramadhân*, bringing with him eighteen elephants; at what time *Basafiri*, who was at *Rababa*, on the *Euphrates*, wrote to *Mostansfirbillah*, lord of *Egypt* (Z), had prayers put up in his name, and furnished him with money.

° TEX. p. 299. D'HERB. p. 240, art. Caïm Bembr. EBN AMID. p. 336. ABULF. p. 226.

of the *Buyah* kings of *Baghdâd*, called *Dilamites*; as being originally from *Dilum*, *Deylum*, *Daylum*, or *Deylemon*, a city in the province of *Gheylan*, or *Khylan*, in *Persia* (1). Besides, there was a *Buyah* race of kings in *Tabresân* and *Torjân*, called *Diale-mab*, *Deylemiyah*, or *Deylamites*. *Olearius* says, that *Dilum* is a city of the province of *Resht* in *Ghilân*: 'tis not in his map of *Ghilân*, inserted p. 388. but we find the mountain *Deylum* on the east side of the river *Isperûdh*, or *Kesiluzan*.

(X) *Abu'l-faraj* remarks, p. 226. that *Basafiri* took *Anbar*, or *Ambar*, a city of *Irâk*, on the *Euphrates*, in the year of the *Hej-rab* 441, or of *Christ* 1049: whence we presume, that the origin of these troubles may be dated at least so high.

(Y) A city on the *Tigris*. See before, p. 94.

(Z) He was the Khalîfah of *Egypt*, whose power extended over that country, *Syria*, and the coast of *Barbary*.

(1) *Texeira hist.* p. 232, 245. *Olearius trav. Mosc. Pers.* p. 198.

As soon as *Togrol Bek* arrived at *Baghdâd*, he seized *Malak Rahim*, for whom prayers were no longer said (A): Thus ended the dominion of the *Buyians*, which had continued 127 years; and that of the *Seljuks* began in the same city, where *Togrol Bek* took up his lodging, in the imperial castle. Next year the Khalifah married *Kadija*, the sister of *Togrol Bek*, who gave her a portion of 100,000 crowns in gold: and *Togrol Bek*, having stayed between three and four months at *Baghdâd*, marched from thence towards *Musul*, carrying with him battering rams, and other engines of war (B). He went also and besieged *Takrit*, at what time the cities of *Kufa*, *Waset*, and *Aynottamri*, falling off from their allegiance, caused prayers to be made in the name of *Mostansir Billah*, Khalifah of *Egypt*. Hej. 448
A. D.
1056.

IN 449 the Khalifah *Kayim Beamrillah* honoured *Togrol Bek* Buyian with the imperial vest, and crowned him king of *Baghdâd*. *dynasty* He likewise adorned him with the collar and bracelets, appointed him ruler over his court, and money to be coined in his name ^{suppressed}.

THUS the Soltânat of *Baghdâd*, or post of *Amir al omerah* of the Khalifahs, passed from the house of the *Buyahs* to that of the *Seljuks*: and thus his power was thoroughly established: nor was there any person left, in both the *Irâks* and *Khorasân*, who gave him the least opposition.

THE year following *Togrol Bek* marched to *Musul*, and from thence to *Nasibin*, with a design to subdue those places. There went with him his brother *Ibrahim*, whom *Basafiri*, by his emissaries, stirred up to revolt; giving him hopes of obtaining the kingdom, and promising assistance. *Ibrahim*, upon this, taking an oath of fidelity to the soldiers, departs with a great army to *Rey*, and rebelled. Revolt of
Ibrahim.
Hej. 450.
A. D.
1058.

KONDAMIR, or *Mirkond*, as reported by *D'Herbelot*, represents this affair two very different ways. In one place he says that *Ibrahim*, surnamed *Nial*, *Togrol Bek*'s brother, seized the city of *Hamadân*; and while the Soltân was on his march

^p *EBN AMID.* p. 336, & seq. ^q *D'HERR.* p. 1027, art. *Thogrol.* ^r *EBN AMID.* p. 337, & seq.

(A) *Togrol Bek*, or *Beg*, was prayed for in the pulpits instead of him. *Abûlfaraj*, p. 226.

(B) Our author does not tell us what his design was; but probably it was to besiege that city,

which we find was taken the same year by *Basafiri*: but that, on *Togrol Bek*'s approach, he abandoned it. *Mirkond*, ap. *D'Herbelot*, p. 240, art. *Caim Beamrillah*.

to drive him thence, *Basasiri*, taking the opportunity, made himself master of *Baghdâd* *.

Togrol Bek's bro. sh. In another place the same author relates, that *Ibrahim*, the Soltân's maternal uncle, revolted, and unexpectedly advanced against him from the *Arabian Irâk*, where he was governor, with an army, as far as *Hamadân* (C), in *Persian Irâk*, where *Togrol Beg* then resided †.

THE *Persian* historian also dates this transaction, if it be the same with the former, three years later in this place than in the other (D). Whether this difference be owing to the disagreement among authors, from whom *Kondamir* copied, or to the negligence of *D'Herbelot*, in extracting from him; or whether they be two distinct events, differing with respect to persons, time, and action, we must leave the reader to judge, on reading a subsequent note, relating to *Ibrahim's* death.

Basasiri's cruelty, *BASASIRI* entered *Baghdâd* on the 8th of *Dhu'l-hajjah*, with the name of the *Egyptian* Khalifah (E) inscribed on his standards; and on the 13th prayers were put up in the cathedral church in his name. Then ordering a bridge to be laid across the *Tigris*, he passed over to the eastern side of the city, called *Rusifah* (F), where the same ceremony was performed. After this, seizing *Ebn Moïsem*, the Khalifah's Wazir or Vizier, he ordered him to be dressed in a woollen gown, with a high red bonnet, and a leathern collar about his neck; and, in this manner, to be led through the streets of *Baghdâd*, tied upon a camel, with a man lashing him all the way behind: then being sowed up in a fresh bull's hide, with the horns placed over his head, he was hung up on hooks, and beaten till he died.

The Khalifah imprisoned, As for the Khalifah, he went to the camp, where a tent was set up for him on the east side of the city. Mean time the mob pillaged the imperial palace of things to an immense value. On *Friday*, the 4th of *Dhu'l-hajjah*, there was neither sermon nor prayers in the temple of the Khalifah; while, in all other churches, the harangue was made in the

* *KONDAMIR* ap. *D'Herb.* p. 240, art. *Caïm*.
p. 1027, art. *Thogrulbek*.

† *Ibid.*

(C) The *Amatha* of the *Jews*, and *Ekkatana* of the *Greeks*; erroneously thought to be *Tauris* by most authors.

(E) *Viz. Prince Mabadi Abutamin. Moïssafir Biltab, Amir Almumenin.*

(D) That is, in the year of the *Hejrah* 454, and of *Christ* 1062.

(F) Because the streets were paved with stones. *Got. not. in Alfragan*, p. 122.

name of *Mos̄tanfir Billah*, lord of *Egypt*. Thus the sovereignty of the *Khalifah* was suppressed for that day.

AFTER this, *Kayim Beamrillah* was conveyed to *Haditha* (G); and being put in fetters, was left in custody with the governor of the town:

THE year following, *Bas̄asiri* sending for the great chan- Hej. 451.
cellor *Abu Abdallah Ebn Damīyān*, with the preachers and A. D.
princes of the family of *Has̄bem*, required from them security, 1059.
and an oath of fidelity to *Mos̄tanfir Billah*, lord of *Egypt*.

THE same year, 451, *Togrol Bek* marched against his brother *Ibrahim*, defeated, and having taken him prisoner, had *Ibrahim* him strangled with a bow-string (H). He likewise put to *defeated* death a great number of *Turkmāns*, who had joined with him.

HAVING thus re-established his power, he marched to *Baghdād* against *Bas̄asiri*, and sent the *Khalifah* his compliments, with 5000 crowns in gold, and 6,000 suits of cloaths for his wife. As he drew near the city, on the 11th of *Dhu'l-kādah*, *Mahras*, lord of *Haditha*, came to meet him, bringing *Kayim Beamrillah* (I) with him.

(G) There are two *Hadithas*, one on the *Euphrates*; the other here mentioned stands on the east side of the *Dijlāt* or *Tigris*, near the great *Zāb*, fourteen parasangs, or *Persian* leagues, of four *English* miles each, below *Musol*; from whence it has the name of *Haditha al Musol*. It was, for a time, the seat of the *Khalifas*. *Abū Isfeda*, in his description of *Irāk al Arab*.

(H) *Kondamir* differs from himself, as in the beginning, so in the event of this affair (1). In one place he says, *Togrol* made up matters with his brother *Ibrahim Nial*, and then returned to *Baghdād*, from whence *Bas̄asiri* was fled (2). In the other place he tells us, that he was assisted so seasonably by his nephew *Alp Arslān*, with the forces of *Khorasān*, that his uncle *Ibrahim* was easily vanquish-

ed; and being taken, was put to death (3). The historian adds, that, after this signal victory (as he calls it), *Togrol Bek* sent *Alp Arslān* back to *Khorasān*, and made himself a second journey to *Baghdād*; at what time he delivered the *Khalifah* from the persecution of *Bas̄asiri*, and replaced him on the throne a second time (4). This shews that the history, in both places before-mentioned, relates to the same person and transaction, tho' differently told, and differently dated.

(I) According to *Mirkond*, as soon as *Togrol Bek* entered *Baghdād*, he went to the prison, and set the *Khalifah* at liberty, *Mirkond*. ubi supr. But this seems to be a mistake; for he was then at *Haditha*, in custody.

(1) See before, p. 79.

(2) D'Herbelot. p. 241, art. *Caīm Beamrillah*.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 1027, art. *Togrolbek*.

(4) *Ibid* *ibid*.

and Baghdâd pil-laged.

As soon as he arrived at *Baghdâd*, his soldiers fell to pillaging it (K), especially that part called *Karkha*; and having collected a great quantity of tents, chariots, and other moveables, sent them all to the Khalifah, with his Wazir *Abdolmâlek Al Kanderi*, and *Aftad Abubekr*. Then a tent being set up, the Khalifah entered it; and, after two days rest, on the 25th of the same month, went into *Baghdâd*, from whence he had been absent a whole year, accompanied by *Togrol Bek*, who held the bridle of his mule till he had passed through the stone gate^u.

The Khalifah restored.

MIRKOND relates, that he conducted the Khalifah to the imperial palace on foot, sometimes holding the stirrup, sometimes the bridle, of his mule; and that, to gratify this respect of *Togrol*, he gave him the title of *Rokn oddîn*, in these words; *Erkeb ya Rokn oddîn: mount on horseback, you who are the most firm pillar, or support, of the religion*. After this, the Soltân told the Khalifah, that if *Malek al Rahîm* had no hand in the late tumult, he might safely come to him. *Malek*, trusting to *Togrol Bek's* promise, waited on him; but being seized and imprisoned, in him ended the dynasty of the *Buyahs*, which had continued 127 years^w.

Basafiri slain.

SOME time before this, *Basafiri* was gone to *Wafet*; and having gathered a large quantity of corn, sent it on board some barks: but when he heard what had happened at *Baghdâd*, he advanced to *Nomaniya* (L). The Soltân sent against him part of his army, under the command of *Hemarmakîn*, and other generals; following himself, with the rest of his forces, in the end of *Dhu'lkâdah* (M). *Basafiri* being killed in the battle, his head was brought to *Togrol Bek*, who ordered it to be carried on a pike through the streets of *Baghdâd*. Then proceeding to *Wafet*, he set matters to rights there, and returned to *Baghdâd* in the year 452; where the Khalifah made him rich presents, and received him with great honour. After this, he went to *Jabâl* (N), leaving his Wazir *Abdolmâlek*

Hej. 452.
A. D.
1060.

^u EBN AMID, p. 338, & seq.
art. Caïm Bemr,

^w D'HERB. p. 240, & seq.

(K) *Mirkond* says, this was done by the Soltân's order, because the people rose against the Turks; who grew very insolent, soon after they had entered the city. *Mirkond. ubi sup. p. 240.*

(L) A city between *Wafet* and *Baghdâd*. *D'Herbelot. p. 674.*

(M) The last month but one of the Mohammedan year.

(N) So the *Arâbick*: the Persian word is *Kûbêstân*; that is, the mountain country, the same with Persian *Irâk*, at least a part.

al Kanderi as his lieutenant; and having settled that country in peace, returned to *Baghdâd* the same year ^x.

THE above-mentioned battle was fought between *Waset His effects* and *Kufah*, according to the *Lebtarikh* ^y: but *Mirkond* relates *seized*, that *Basafiri* having been pursued by *Togrol Bek* as far as the last of those two cities, and being accompanied with no great force, some of his soldiers found an opportunity to kill him, and carried his head to the Soltân ^z. They likewise seized all the effects which he, and *Nuro'ddâwlat Dobays* (O), who accompanied *Basafiri* in his retreat, were carrying off: but *Dobays* made his escape; and submitting to *Togrol Bek* next year, was honourably received by him ^a.

HAVING related matters thus far from the historians of the *The Greek* east, it is time to look westward, and see what is to be met *account*. with farther, concerning the *Seljukian Turks*, in the *Greek* authors; whose want of that exactness found in the orientals, in marking the dates of actions, makes it difficult to range them in chronological order, or deliver them from the confusion in which they seem placed. We are told by *Cedrenus*, and *Nicephorus Bryennius*, that, after *Tagrolipix* found himself secure in the throne of *Persia*, he began to make war on the neighbouring princes; and marching against *Pissafirius* before-mentioned, after defeating him in several battles, slew him, and brought the country of the *Babylonians* (P) in subjection.

HE then sent his nephew *Kutlu Moses* (Q) against *Karme-Kutlu ses* (R), king of the *Arabians*: but being overthrown, he *Moses* *defeated*.

^x EBN AMID. p. 340. ^y P. 42. ^z D'HERB. p. 240,
art. Caïm Bemr. ^a ABU'LFARAJ. p. 226.

(O) He was an *Arab* prince, of the tribe of *Affâd*, and lord of *Hellab*, a city on the *Euphrates*; supposed, with good reason, to be built in or near the place where *Babylon* stood. In 425, A. D. 1033, *Basafiri* marched from *Baghdâd* to assist his brother *Abu Karwan Thabet*, who was at war with him. *Dobays* lived eighty years, and enjoyed his principality fifty-seven. He died in 474, and was famous for his virtue, and acts of goodness (1).

(P) That is, *Arabian Irâk*.

(Q) Called also *Kutbi Moses* by the *Greeks*; a corruption of *Kutlu Mîsh*, or *Kotolmîsh*.

(R) One would be apt to take this for *Karmath*, prince of the sectaries from him called *Karameth*, or *Karametha*; or else for some prince of that sect, which began at *Kutha*, in *Irâk Arabi*, if we had not known that it was suppressed in the tenth century. See D'Herb. art. Carmath.

(1) *Abu'lfaraj*, p. 225, 237, & 252.

took shelter in *Media* (S), and stopped at *Baas*, or *Baasprakan*. From thence he sent to *Stephen*, the *Roman* governor, to desire a passage (T); and being denied, routed his troops, and took him prisoner. Then marching to *Briscium*, on the borders of *Persia*, sold him there for a slave. When he returned to *Tagrolipix*, after excusing his ill success against the *Arabs*, he advised him to invade *Media*, which he said was inhabited by women (U): but that prince, highly offended at his defeat, would not hearken to him; but raising new forces, went against the *Arabs* in person, and was likewise put to the worst.

*Flies from
Tagrolipix;*

At his return he marched against *Kutlu Muses*, who, fearing the Soltan's displeasure, had fled with his followers; and taking refuge in *Pasar*, a city of the *Khorasmi*ans (W), revolted from him; while he, with part of his army, besieged *Pasar*, which, being strong, held out long. He sent another part, consisting of 20,000 men, under the command of *Affan* (X), surnamed the deaf, his brother's son, to subdue *Media*; where he committed dreadful ravages: but being, in the end, drawn into an ambush by the *Roman* generals, he was cut off, with his whole army,

*Arta burns
Artze.*

TAGROLIPIX, no way discouraged at this misfortune, sent a new army into *Media*, near 100,000 strong, commanded by *Abraham Alim* (Y), his half-brother; who laid waste the country without opposition, the *Romans* shutting themselves up in their strong holds; and then laid siege to *Artza* (Z), a place, on account of its great trade, esteemed the most wealthy in those parts; but not being able to master it, they reduced it to ashes. Of the inhabitants, 150,000 and upwards are said to have perished, either by the sword, or in the flames.

(S) It should rather be *Armenia*, to which *Baasprakan* or *Vaspurakan* belongs. The province lies betwixt the lake of *Wan* and the river *Aras*. Other circumstances shew, it ought to be *Armenia*, or *Persarmenia*, which might have been joined to *Media*, or *Adherbijan*, which the *Turks* conquered in 1050, as before related.

(T) These *Turks* are said to have been first known to the *Greeks* in the time of the emperor *Constantine Monomachus*, who began his reign in 1042; but

the year when this affair happened does not distinctly appear.

(U) Alluding to the weakness and effeminacy of the *Romans*.

(W) These are the inhabitants of *Karazm*, to the north of *Persia*, and too far out of the way.

(X) Perhaps *Hassan*.

(Y) This must be *Ibrahim Nial*.

(Z) *Artze* or *Arze*, near *Theodosiopolis* in *Armenia*, the present *Arzen al Rûm*, or *Arzerum*.

ABRA:

ABRAHAM, after this, hearing that the *Romans*, under Roman the command of *Liparites*, governor of *Iberia*, had taken the general field, he marched against them. The two armies engaging ^{taken.} with great fury, the victory continued long doubtful, but at length inclined to the *Romans*; although their general was taken prisoner, which hindered them to pursue the flying enemy.

HEREUPON the emperor dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents, and a large sum, to redeem *Liparites*, and conclude an alliance with *Tagrolipix*, who generously returned them, with the money, to *Liparites*, and set him at liberty without ransom; only requiring him, at his departure, no more to bear arms against the *Turks*.

NOT long after, the Soltân sent a *Sharif* (A), a person of ^{The empire} great authority, with the character of ambassador, to *Constantinople*; who, having arrogantly exhorted the emperor to submit to his master, and acknowledge himself his tributary, was, by *Monomachus*, dismissed with scorn, and driven out of the city.

TAGROLIPIX, offended at the reception of his ambassador, while the emperor was engaged in a war with the *Patzinace* (B), a *Scythian* nation, entered *Iberia*; and having laid the country waste, as far as *Koyma*, returned from thence into *Media*, and laid siege to *Mantzikhiert* (C), a place defended by a numerous garison, and fortified with a triple wall, and deep ditches. However, as it was situated in a plain and open country, he hoped to be master of it in a short time: but, after he had continued before it thirty days, was obliged to retire, pretending some urgent affairs had called him home.

NOT long after, discord arising between the Soltân and *Abraham* *Abraham Alim*, or *Halim*, whom he sought to destroy, *Abraham* fled (D) to his nephew *Kuthi Muses*, and joined in the *Shain* rebellion. The Soltân, meeting them not far from *Pasar* (E), defeated them in battle; and *Abraham* being taken, was put

(A) A *Scriph*, in *Cedrenus*: *Sharif* signifies noble, and denotes being of *Mohammed's* kindred.

(B) The invasion of the *Patzinace* was in (or about) the year 1050.

(C) *Mantzikhierta*, according to *Curepalata*, is in *Baasprakan*, or more properly *Vasprakan*.

The same author, in another place, calls it *Matzikier*. *Cedrenus* names it *Maurckitrgoa*.

(D) This was in the year 1058, which falls in the reign of *Constantine Ducas*.

(E) This must be *Hamadan*, or near it; and the action in 1059, as related before out of the oriental historians.

to death. *Kutlu Muses*, with his cousin *Malek*, son of *Abraham*, followed by 6000 men, fled to the borders of the Roman empire; from whence he sent for protection to the emperor *Monomachus*, a little before his death, which happened in 1054 (F). But while he waited for an answer, he marched into *Perfarmeria*, as far as the city *Karfe* (G), which he took, though not the castle. But hearing that *Tagrolipix* was advancing towards him, he fled to the *Arabs*, who were the Soltân's enemies.

Iberia
ravaged.

THE Soltân turning into *Iberia*, laid it waste, sparing neither sex nor age. But upon the approach of *Michael Acoluthus*, who was sent against him at the head of a considerable army, he retired to *Tauris* (H), leaving 30,000 men behind him under *Samûkh*, to infest the frontiers of the empire; which they did with great success, the borders being left unguarded, through the avarice of *Monomachus*, who about this time died. The *Turks* prepared to invade the empire on his death, but were prevented by the care of *Theodora* his successor. But being encouraged by the remissness of *Constantine Ducas*, who ascended the throne in 1059 (I), they extended their conquests on all sides ^b.

Jaffar Bek ^{diss.} THUS far the *Byzantine* historians. Let us now return to the oriental authors. According to them, in 453, *Jaffar* Hej. 453. *Beg*, *Togrol*'s brother, died in *Khorasân*, and left for his successor his son *Alp Arslân* (K), who was afterward heir also to A. D. his uncle, who died without children ^c. 1051.

^b CEDRENUS, NYCEPH. BRYENN. CUROPALAT. LEUNCLAV. hist. Musulm. p. 75. also univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 121, &c.

^c D'HERB. p. 1027. LEBTAR. p. 42.

(F) Others say in 1057; some in 1049; so uncertain is the latter Greek chronology. But if *Kutlu Muses* sent to this emperor after the death of *Ibrahim*, either *Monomachus* must have been alive in 1059, or the oriental authors date that event too early. 'Tis probable the *Greeks* have confounded things of different times together, in this instance, as they seem to have done in many others.

(G) Perhaps the same now called *Kars*, between the cities *Arzerûm* and *Erivân*.

(H) This circumstance shews that he was then master of *Adherbijân*, or *Media*, which having been subdued in the year of the *Hejrah* 446, or of *Christ* 1054, as before related, doubtless the invasion of the *Roman Media*, or rather *Perfarmeria*, and the siege of *Mantzikyert*, was about that time.

(I) Others say 1057.

(K) Written also *Olb Arslân*. According to the *Lebtarikh*, p. 42. he succeeded by the appointment of his uncle *Togrol Bek*.

THE

THE same year *Togrol Bek* demanded the daughter of *Kayim Togrol's* *Beamrillah* in marriage: but the Khalifah giving him a *de-marriage*, nial, it occasioned many messages and threatenings, on the part of Soltân; who next year, 1062, forbade the Khalifah's officers to meddle with the publick money (L). Hereupon they advised him to let the Soltân have the princess; which he at length consented to, though fore against his will (M). On this compliance, *Togrol Bek*, being greatly rejoiced, revoked the order he had given for seizing the Khalifah's treasures, and sent him very rich presents.

IN 455 the Khalifah's daughter was conducted to the Sol- and death. tân, who received her with great demonstrations of joy, and Hej. 455. bestowed gifts on all those who accompanied her: but six A. D. months after, in the same year, *Togrol Bek* died at *Ray*, or *Rey*, 1163. the capital of *Irâk* ^a (N).

THE author of the *Nighiariştân* is somewhat more particular than *Ebn Amid*, with regard to the marriage of the Khalifah's daughter, whom he calls *Seidab* (O). He tells us, that when *Amîd al Molk Konderi*, *Togrol's* Wazir or Vizier, had, by his address, obtained the princess for his master, he conducted her to *Tauris*, where the Soltân then was: that it was in this city where the marriage was concluded, and the contract signed: but that the nuptials and consummation of the marriage were to be performed at *Rey*, then the capital of *Persian Irâk*, and royal seat of *Togrol*: that this prince *Occasion of* repaired thither, to prepare things with proper magnificence: but that the season being excessive hot, he left the city, to take the air of *Rudbâr*, a most delicious place, where he had a very beautiful palace; and that here, in a few days, he was carried off by a bloody flux ^e: so that, as *Khondamîr*

^a *EBN AMID*, p. 340, & seq. *Thogrol Bek*.

^e *D'HERB.* p. 1028, art.

(L) His Wazir counselled him, by degrees, to retrench the Khalifah's revenues; which obliged him to consent, according to the *Nighiariştân*, ap. *D'Herb.* p. 1028.

(M) According to *Kondamîr*, in *D'Herbelot*, *Kayim* was so highly obliged to *Togrol Bek*, for re-establishing him the second time, that he judged he could not do less than give him his

daughter in return, though an honour too great for a *Turk* to expect (1).

(N) Called also *Al Jabâl* by the *Arabs*; and by the *Persians*, *Kûbeshân*; both signifying the mountain country.

(O) *Seidab* is the feminine of *Seid*, or *Seyd*, and the common term for the wife or daughter of a *Seid* or lord.

(1) *D'Herb.* p. 1027, art. *Thogrolbek*.

observes,

observes, when his wife arrived at Rey, she found him dead; and so returned as she came ¹.

AUTHORS generally agree, that this great prince died at Rey, in the year of the *Hejrah* 455 (P), and at the age of seventy: but the *Lebtarikh* makes his reign twenty-six years², which is one more than *Ebn Amîd* gives to it ³.

His character.

TOGROL BEK was a good-natured, wise, and politic prince; exceedingly feared and courted by the provincial lords, who often wrote to him ⁴. According to the *Lebtarikh*, he was the best of princes: he said the prayers, with his whole family, five times a day; and fasted every week on the fifth and second days. Whenever he was disposed to erect a palace, he first built a temple ⁵. As he had no children, he was succeeded by his nephew Alp Arslân.

SECTION V.

The Reign of Alp Arslân.

Second Soltân, Alp Arslân.

Hej. 455.
A. D.
1062.

THIS prince was the son of Dawûd, or Jaffar Beg (A), son of Michael, son of Seldjûk; and, by succeeding his uncle Togrol Bek, thus united in his person the two kingdoms of Khorasân (B) and Irâk, with their dependencies: so that, in the year of the *Hejrah* 455, when he began his reign, he was sole monarch of all the countries lying between the rivers Jibûn (C) or Amûi, and the Dîjlût or Tigris; that is, of all Irân or Persia, in its greatest extent; in the conquest of which he had a considerable share.

TOGROL BEK left him in full power at Baghdâd, where the Khalifah Kayim lived in dependence on the Seldjûkians, till the second year of Malek Shâh, when he died ⁶.

THE name which this Soltân took, after he had embraced His names, Mohammedism, was Mohammed, or Abu Shejah Mohammed;

¹ D'HERB. p. 1027.

² LEBTARIKH, p. 42.

³ EBN

AMID. p. 341.

⁴ Ibid. p. 342.

⁵ LEBTAR. p. 42.

⁶ KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 241.

(P) The *Lebtarikh* of Golmin has 453, and that of D'Herbelot 454; the 18th of Ramadân, which is the first month of the Mohammedan year.

(A) Abû Isfâ'aj calls him Dawûd (or David) Jagribeg. D'Herbelot speaks of authors who make Dawûd and Jaffar two different sons of Michael.

D'Herb. p. 101, art. Alp Arslân.

(B) According to Kondamir, he governed there as Togrol's lieutenant-general, for ten years before he ascended the throne. D'Herb. p. 104, art. Alp Arslân.

(C) The ancient Ouzi of the Greeks.

for

for he was before called *Israel*; and that of *Alp Arslân* (D), which signifies in *Turkish*, the *courageous lion*, is a surname. The *Khalifah Kaym Bamarillab*, on account of his own power and merit, as well as that of his predecessor, gave him the title of *Azzaddîn*, or *Adbadaddîn* (E), which signifies, the *protector of the religion*.

At the beginning of his reign he put to death *Kandari*, and *Wazîr* surnamed *Amîd al Molk* (F), *Wazîr* to *Togrul Bek*, for abuses committed by him in his office, during his uncle's life; and raised to that employment *Nathân al Molk* (G), who was the greatest man of his time, and administered the affairs of the kingdom, in the reign of this prince and his successor, with the greatest integrity and approbation^b.

ACCORDING to the *Vassaiya* (H), at the beginning of his Kotol-reign, *Alp Arslân* made war upon *Kotoknîsb*, son of *Israel*, his mish-cousin-german, who rebelled against him in the province of *Damagân* (I). But this revolt was soon quashed, by an unexpected accident: for *Kotoknîsb* advancing at the head of his troops, which were very fine ones, to give the *Sokân* battle, his horse of a sudden fell under him, and, throwing his rider, broke his neck; upon which his army submitted, and were pardoned^c.

^b KOND. ubi sup. p. 192, art. *Alp Arslân*. LEBTAR. p. 42.
^c D'HERB. p. 102.

(D) *Alp*, which is also pronounced *Ulp* and *Olup*, *Alb* and *Olb*, signifies, in the language of the *Turkmâns*, a *brave and valiant commander*. Hence it is often found in the names of eminent *Turks* or *Turkmâns*, as *Alp Tekân*, *Kay Alp*. The *Greeks* call this prince *Aspasalm*, and *Aspasmallarius*; but generally *Axan*; possibly corrupting the *Turkish* word *Ak Hân*, or *Ak Khân*, which signifies the *white king*; a name given possibly for a reason mentioned in a future note. Dr. Hyde observes, that *Alp Arslân* answers to the *Persian Ardshîr*. Reliq. vet. Pers. p. 197.

(E) *Ebn Amîd* has *Adad od-daulat*.

(F) At *Nîsa*, *Nesâ*, or *Nasay*,

in *Khorasân*, according to the *Lebtarikb*.

(G) The *Persians* say *Naxâm al Molk*; pronouncing the *Arabic dh* (which has the force of the *English th*, in the words *this*, *them*, &c.) like *x*; also *Nexâm*.

(H) Written by *Nexâm al Molk*, the famous *Wazîr* (or *Vizier*) of *Alp Arslân*, mentioned before in the text; in which he gives princes precepts and examples for governing well. D'Herbelot. p. 655.

(I) Or *Damavân*: it is the capital of the province of *Kîmes* (the *Komifene* of *Ptolomy*), which from thence may take the name of *Damagân*. It lies between *Tabrestân* and the north-east part of *Persian Irâk*, called *Kâbestân*.

THIS was the end of *Kotlomişb*, or *Kotolmîşb*, according to the oriental writers; but the *Greek* historians represent the issue of his rebellion quite otherwise: they tell us, that this prince, whom they call *Kutlu Moses*, or *Muses*, having rebelled in the time of *Tangrolîpîx*, was defeated by him, and fled into *Arabia*^a, where he remained till *Axan* (or *Alp Arslân*), came to the crown: that then, returning from thence, at the head of considerable forces, and advancing to *Re* (K), he laid claim to the sovereignty: but that, while the two armies were on the point of engaging, the Khalîf of *Babylon* of a sudden appeared, and, interposing his authority, which he still retained in spirituals, brought them to this agreement, that the Soltân should hold *Persia*, and that *Kutlu Moses*, and his children, who were five in number, should possess all the countries which they should take from the *Roman* empire; and that he should assist them with troops for that purpose: that, after this, the father and his five sons entered the *Roman* empire with their forces; and that *Kutlu Moses* actually commanded a body of *Turks*, which came to the assistance of *Botaniates*, when he usurped the empire*: whereas, according to the oriental historians, who could hardly be mistaken in a transaction that concerned one of their own princes, and happened among themselves, *Kotolmîşb* must have been dead eight or ten years before.

Greek
account
false.

THIS shews with what caution the *Greek* writers ought to be read, who were ignorant both of the name and person of the prince, who had pushed his conquests within a few days march of *Constantinople* itself; and had, even by their own account, been for some time personally present in their emperor's army. But to return to the eastern historians.

THE war with *Kotolmîşb* was no sooner finished, than *Ka-
ra Arslân* raised new disturbances in *Pârs* and *Kermân*. The Soltân, to suppress this rebel, employed *Fadhlovieh*, one of his most valiant commanders, who defeated him, and was rewarded for his service with the government of *Pârs*.

and of
Fadhlo-
vich.

BUT this ambitious governor, as soon as he saw the Soltân on his march to *Khorasân*, resolved to make himself absolute master of his province. In order to effect this, he fortified a castle, situated in a very advantageous place, where

^a See before, p. 104.
vol. xvii. p. 134.

* See CEDRENU'S, and univ. hist.

(K) By *Re* is here probably *Irâk*; and not *Ere*, or *Eres*, in the province of *Shîrwân*, as *Leun-
clavius* supposes.

he

he shut himself up, accompanied with very good troops, and a vast deal of money, which he had amassed by a thousand extortions in his government. *Nezâm al Molk* received orders from his prince to attack this castle, and bring him the traitor alive or dead. All who had a knowledge of the place advised against a siege, because they deemed it impregnable; but the Wazîr, resolving to gratify his master, invested the castle with his forces, and went himself round it to take a view.

DURING this tour, he did not observe so much as one *Fortress* man of the besieged upon the ramparts; which indicating *reduced by* the greatest confidence of their security, he was so chagrîn'd, that, but for shame, he would instantly have raised the siege. However, he resolved to do his utmost; and had already gotten together provisions and stores for a whole year's blockade: when one morning, at break of day, he was surprized to hear them beat the chamade, and that the governor desired to capitulate.

THE joy which this news gave him, made him grant them *an odd* honourable conditions; the chief of which were, that the *event.* governor should remain in the place, doing homage to the Soltân, and paying him a certain tribute annually, besides the usual presents. When matters were settled, the Wazîr, who was in pain to know what could have obliged *Fadhlovieh* to make such a sudden surrender, was informed by one of the besieged, that it was owing to the springs and cisterns, which were very numerous in the place, drying up all at once. This the *Mohammedan* author attributes as a miracle, wrought by providence, in regard to the justice of the Soltân's cause, and his own piety.

AN attempt having been made to dispossess the Soltân of *Desart of* the province of *Kermân*, he marched thither with his army; Nûbanand, being obliged to pass through the great desert of *Nû-dijân. bandijân*, which separates that province from *Khorasân*, and is destitute of all things necessary to support an army, his troops, who had entered it with great reluctance, perceiving their provisions to fail daily, began to murmur; and were on the point of revolting, when they came to an old ruined castle, which seemed to be the retreat of owls and wild beasts: but, in viewing it, they found corn enough to supply the whole army. Yet this plenty of victuals being of no use without drink, God, to complete the miracle (as our author will have it), sent so heavy a rain, that every body had water enough to serve his occasions.

Karazm
rebels.

Hej. 457.

A. D.

1064.

Assembly
of the
States.

In 457 the Soltân marched against *Khazan*, who had revolted in the country of *Khwarazm* (or *Karazm*); and having routed his army, consisting of 30,000 men, very few of whom escaped the slaughter, he gave the government of that province to *Malek Shâh*, his eldest son. In his return from this expedition through *Khorasân*, he paid a visit to the sepulchre of *Ali Rîza* (L), the eighth Imâm, who was buried at *Tûs* (thence called *Masbhad*), where there is continually a great resort of people, who go thither out of devotion.

AFTER he had performed this pilgrimage, he took the road of *Radakân*, where he encamped with his army in a most agreeable place. From hence he dispatched couriers through all the provinces of his empire, to summon the governors and great lords to a general assembly of the estates. Being all met together, he declared his son *Malek Shâh* for his successor, and only heir to his dominions. This done, he ordered his son to sit on a throne of gold, prepared for that purpose, and made all the officers of the empire take an oath of fidelity to him (M).

IMMEDIATELY after this, he acquainted all the chiefs and generals of his armies, that he designed to attempt the conquest of *Turkestan*, the country whence he drew his original; and where, as he pretended, his ancestors formerly reigned (N). But this expedition was not undertaken till several years after.

LET us now turn ourselves westward, and see what the *Turks* were doing on that side.

The *Turks*
invade

UPON the death of *Constantine Ducas*, which happened in the year 1065, the *Turks*, understanding that the *Roman* empire was governed by a woman, broke with great violence into *Mesopotamia*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, destroying all with fire and sword. The empress was no way in a condition to oppose them, the greater part of the army having been disbanded in her husband's life-time; and the troops which were still on foot being undisciplined, and altogether unfit for service. *Eudocia*, therefore, to secure at once the empire

the *Roman*
an empire.

* KOND. ap. D'HERB. art. Alp Arslân.

(L) So the *Persians*; the *Arabs* pronounce *Ridha*, sounding the *sh* like the *English th*, in *this*, *than*, &c. as has been observed a few notes before.

(M) *Ebn Amîd* relates this

to be done just before his death.

(N) Meaning, we presume, *Afrasiab*, and his successors, from whom the *Seljûks* derived their pedigree, as has been before related, p. 79.

from

from foreign, and herself from domestic, enemies, married *Romanus Diogenes*, who was thereupon proclaimed emperor. As he was a man of great activity, and experience in war, he no sooner saw himself vested with the sovereign power, than taking upon him the command of the army, he passed over into *Asia*; where, on his arrival, he was informed, that the *Turks*, having surprized and plundered the city of *Nicaesæ*, were retiring with a rich booty. The emperor following them, at the head of a chosen body of light-armed troops, came up with them the third day, killed a great number of them, and recovered the spoil. He then pursued his march to *Haleb* (O), which he retook, together with *Hierapolis*, where he built a strong castle ^b.

THE oriental historians place this *Syrian* expedition in the Roman year of the *Hejrah* 462, which answers to that of *Christ* defeats them. 1069. They relate, that he besieged the last city, which they call *Mambez* (P), for sixteen days, but do not say that he took it; only that afterwards the *Moslems*, or believers (so the *Mohammedans* call themselves), advancing with an army, he defeated them: but provisions failing in his camp, by which means great numbers of his soldiers perished, he returned to *Constantinople*.

IN his way back he defeated a numerous body of *Turks*, who attempted to cut off his retreat; after which the *Turks* abandoned several cities on his approach.

IN 463 *Alp Arslân* marched to *Ahlât* (Q), with 40,000 *Arabs* horse, to meet the *Romans*, who had a vast army; but they were defeated, and their general, who was a nobleman, being taken, the Soltân ordered his nose to be cut off ^c. Hej. 463.

THIS, by the circumstances of the history, must have been *Philaretus*, who had been left to guard the banks of the A. D. 1070.

^b CEDRENIUS: Univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 130. p. 343, & seq.

^c EBN AMID.

(O) *Aleppo*, the ancient *Berbecæ*, according to *Cedrenus* and others.

(P) The ancient *Bambyce*, called afterwards *Hierapolis*. In the present copies of *Pliny* it is said to be named *Magog* by the *Syrians*, instead of *Mahog*; which is a corruption of *Manbez*, or *Manbe*, and that of *Bambi*, or rather *Pambe*, the *Persian* word for *cotton*. See *Hyde*, in not. ad *Periplus*, itin. mund. p.

43. *Schultens* index geogr. ad vit. *Saledini*, art. *Manbejum*.

(Q) Called also *Kellât*, and *Kallât*; a city on the north side of the lake of *Wân*, three days journey to the north of *Baslis*, or *Bitlis*. It was formerly a very famous place, the seat of many princes, and capital of *Armenia*. *Cedrenus* and *Nicphorus Bryennius* write *Klcar*. It was then in the hands of the *Turks*.

Euphrates

Euphrates (R). The *Byzantine* historians farther relate, that the *Turks*, after this victory, advanced into *Cilicia*, and surprized *Ikonium*, the principal city of that province : but that hearing of the emperor's approach, they, after plundering it, retired in haste. However, the *Armenians* falling upon them in the plains of *Tarsus*, put them to flight, and stripped them of every thing.

The emperor
Dio-
genes

IN the spring following, the emperor marched anew into *Asia*, at the head of a considerable army, which he had raised and disciplined during the winter. But, contrary to the advice of *Nicephorus Bryennius*, who, commanding the left wing of his army, with others, would have had him wait for the *Turks* in *Cappadocia*, he marched to *Mazekerta* (S) ; and, dividing his army into two parts, sent one of them to *Kleat* (T), a small town belonging to the *Turks* : between whom and the *Romans* several skirmishes happened, in one of which, *Basilacius*, one of the emperor's chief officers, was killed ; a just reward for his wrong advice and false intelligence. At length *Romanus*, resolving to come to a general engagement, marched forwards with his army, in three bodies, of which he commanded the centre ^k. But as an account has been already given of the battle from the *Greek* historians ^l, we shall here confine ourselves to what the oriental authors have related on that occasion.

attacks the
Turks.

Ebn Amîd informs us in general, that the Soltân having met the *Roman* emperor on the 26th of the month *Dhûlkâda*, 463, in a place called *Zahra*, gave him battle on a *Friday*, and defeated his forces ; of which an incredible number were killed, and the emperor himself taken ^m. But the best account we have as yet from the oriental authors, of this remarkable battle, is that given by *Abû'lfaraj*. In the year above-mentioned (says this author), *Romanus* (U) *Diogenes*, the *Roman* emperor, marched with an army of 100,000 men to *Malâzkerd* (X), in the territory of *Khalât*. The Soltân, who was then at *Khûnaj*, in the province of *Adherbijân*, hear-

^k NICEPH. BRYEN. in *Const. c. v. § 5.*
xvii. p. 131, & seq.

^l Univ. hist. vol.

^m EBN AMID. p. 343.

(R) The *Lebtarikh* observes, that *Alp Arslân* was the first *Turkiß* Soltân who passed this river : but it does not appear when he did it, by either the eastern or western authors.

(S) The same with *Malâzkerd*.

(T) *Kellât*, or *Aklât*.

(U) This author writes *Romanus. Kondamir*, and the other orientals, *Ormanus*.

(X) This seems to be *Maxîkerta*, near *Kleat*, mentioned by *Nic. Bryen.* in the hist. of *Romanus*, cap. 5.

ing of this, made haste to meet him, though able to draw together no more than 15,000 horse (Y). When the armies were in sight, he sent to the emperor to desire peace; but his answer was, that he would make none with him, unless he surrendered up the city *Ray* (Z), or *Rey*. The Soltân, provoked at this, on Friday afternoon put up prayers to God, with tears in his eyes, before his army, who wept themselves to see their monarch weep.

BEFORE he engaged, he gave those leave to return who *The Soltân* had a mind. Then casting away his bow and arrows, he *tan's bra-* took his sword, and an iron sceptre, grasping his horse's *very* tail in his hand, as all his soldiers did after him. He dressed himself in white (A); and strewing on perfumes, *If I am slain* (B), said he, *this will serve me for a winding sheet*.

AFTER a bloody battle the *Greeks*, were put to flight, and *The empe-* a multitude of them killed: their emperor was taken prisoner, *ror taken* by a slave named *Shâdi* (C); and being discovered by the ambassador, *Shâdi*, lighting off his horse, paid him reverence, and then brought him to *Alp Arslân*. The Soltân, patting him three times with his hand, said, *Did not I send to you with proposals of peace, and you would not hearken to*

(Y) According to *Kondamîr* he had no more than 12,000, and the *Greeks* 300,000. But we prefer the account of *Ebn Amid*, which gives room to believe, that he had near 40,000: because, from the relation given of the battle by *Nicephorus Bryennius*, who commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, the *Turks* seem to have been as numerous as the *Romans*, who, before the battle, were divided into two parts; and one of them sent to besiege *Kleat* or *Kalât*. See *Nicéph. Bryen. hist. of Const. Ducas, & Romanus Diogenes*, cap. 5 & 6.

(Z) In *Persian Irâk*, and then the capital of his dominions.

(A) Perhaps from hence called *Ak Hân*, or the white prince, according to the *Greek* historians, who write *Axan*.

(B) Yet *Bryennius* speaks as if the Soltân did not expose him-

self to danger in the battle; but, leaving the whole conduct of it to *Tarang*, an eunuch, one of his generals, gave his orders at a distance.

(C) According to *Mirbond* and *Kondamîr*, the emperor was taken by *Javâher*, one of the Soltân's generals, who was sent to pursue the *Romans*. On this occasion historians relate, that the Soltân, reviewing his troops before the battle, had a mind to dismiss one of his soldiers, because he seemed to be very ill made: but an officer prevented it, by telling his majesty he was very brave; and that possibly that very man, whom he despised so much, might take the *Greek* emperor prisoner. As the officer foretold, so it happened; and the horseman, instead of being cashiered, was advanced to the highest posts in the army.

me? The emperor replied, *Do not reproach me, and do what you think fit*: then asked the Soltân, *What would you have done to me, if I had fallen into your hands? I should have inflicted some infamous kind of punishment on you*, answered the emperor. And what, said the Soltân, *do you think I shall do to you? Either put me to death, reply'd Romanus, carry me through your dominions for a spectacle to every body, or else (what is beyond my hopes) spare me, on payment of a ransom, and appoint me your deputy. Yet this last is the* *Soltân's gene- way*, said the Soltân, *that I intend to deal by you.* Accordingly he set him at liberty, on condition of paying a million of crowns in gold (D), and dismissing all the *Mohammedan* prisoners in his empire.

WHEN matters were thus concluded, the Soltân made the emperor sit in the throne with him: then had a tent set up for him, sending him 10,000 pieces of gold, for his subsistence. He likewise set free many *Roman* lords, presenting them, as well as the emperor, with vests, by way of honour. At parting, he sent an army to escort him to a place of safety, and accompanied him on his way the space of a league.

Emperor's WHEN *Romanus* arrived at the castle of *Dawkiya* (E), and *hard fate.* was told that *Michael* had ascended the throne, he put on a religious habit, and dispatched a courier to let the new emperor know what kind of peace he had made with the Soltân. Then collecting 200,000 crowns in gold, he sent them to the Soltân (F), solemnly protesting, that it was not in his power to do more. *Ebn Amid* adds, that, in his way back to *Constantinople*, the king of *Armenia* ordered him to be seized, and, having put out his eyes (G), sent advice thereof

(D) *Ebn Amid* says, 1,500,000, besides an annual tribute of 360,000, which the *Lebtarikk* swells to ten millions. *Kondamir* relates, that the emperor was obliged, by the treaty, to give his daughter in marriage to the Soltân's son; and that the condition was punctually performed.

(E) *Niceph. Bryennius* calls it *Dokia*: it was in *Armenia minor*, probably towards the borders of *Cilicia*.

(F) Also a precious stone, worth 90,000 gold crowns, according to *Ebn Amid*. This is possibly no other than the rich pearl called the *Orphan*, which was found in the emperor's tent after he was taken.

(G) The way of putting out the eyes, or blinding, with the *Greeks* and *Asiatics*; was not by pulling or cutting out the eyes, as some have imagined, but by drawing, or holding a red hot iron before them. This method is still in use in *Asia*.

to the Soltân^a. But this is contrary to the account of the Greeks, which has been already given in another place^o.

AFTER this great victory, *Alp Arslân*, according to the *Conquest of Lebtarikh*, marched into *Gurjestân*, or *Georgia*; which having conquered, he deprived the great lords of their liberty, and obliged them to wear iron rings in their ears, as a mark of their slavery (H): to avoid which ignominy, many of them turned *Mohammedans*. However, the country was not so thoroughly subdued, but that there remained a great number of strong holds in the mountains, which required much time to reduce; and as the Soltân was called away by other affairs, he left his son *Malek Shâh* to continue the war.

THE most famous siege undertaken by this prince, who, *Famous* to finish the conquest which his father began, had the fort-siege. resses of mount *Caucasus* to subdue, was that of a place called, in the *Persian*, *Mirâm Nisbîn*, that is, *the place, or dwelling, of Mary*; on account of a monastery and church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, situated in the middle of a lake. *Malek Shâh* chose for the attack the best of his troops, whom he put into boats, with ladders and grappling irons for scaling the walls: but just when they were going to make the assault, there arose so furious a storm on the lake, and the sky was darkened to such a degree, that nothing could be done. This storm was followed by so violent an earthquake, that both the besiegers and the besieged, the *Turks* and the *Christians*, expected to be swallowed up together. However, the latter suffered most by it; for part of their walls falling into the lake, when the elements were settled again, the *Turks*, without any difficulty, forced the place, and ruined the monastery, which was resorted to most of any in *Georgia*, on account of devotion P. *Dreadful storm and earthquake.*

THE affairs which called the Soltân away from *Georgia*, *The Soltân* as is before remarked, were his preparations for the conquest *forces* of *Turkeftân*: he set out, at length, with that view, in the year 465 (I), at the head of 200,000 men, towards *Mawa-Hej*. 465. *rd'lnahr*. When he came to the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, he laid a A. D. bridge over that river, for the passage of his army, which 1072.

^a ABU'LF. p. 227, & seq.

^o Univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 133.

^p VESSAIA, ap. D'Herb. p. 103. Art. Alp Arslân.

(H) According to the *Lebta-rikh*, instead of the iron ring which was the mark of slavery before, he ordered them to wear a horse-shoe in their ears.

(I) *Ebn Amîd* says he set out from *Baghdâd* in the month of *Safar*, of the year 464. Hist. Saracen. p. 344.

Berzem
castle.

being so numerous, took up twenty days. Here staying to take in certain castles, he first attacked that of *Berzem*, or *Barzam* (K), in which *Yusef Kothual*, an intrepid *Karazmian*, commanded (L). This governor defended the place vigorously for several days; but being at last taken by force, the Soltân ordered him to be brought into his presence, and gave him very injurious language, for daring to hold out so long against such an army as his. *Yusef*, who rather expected that the Soltân would have praised his valour, being provoked at such outrageous treatment, answered with a great deal of warmth, and at last lost all respect. Whereupon *Alp Arslân* ordered his hands and feet to be bound to four posts, that he might be put to a cruel death.

Is slain,

by the go-
vernor.

YUSEF, upon hearing his sentence pronounced, took out a knife, which he had in one of his boots; and threatening the Soltân, said, *O wicked man, is this the treatment which a person of my merit deserves?* and advancing at the same time to strike at the king, the guards would have fallen upon him: but that prince, who had not his equal either for strength, or shooting with the bow, hindered them from stopping him; and let fly an arrow (M) at *Yusef*, which missed him. *Yusef*, hereupon, full of fury, ran at the Soltân with all his force, and mortally wounded him (N); after which he defended himself a long time against that prince's guards, wounding several of them, till one of the pages (O) of the Soltân's chamber felled him with a club⁹. Another author relates, that, as *Yusef* sprang forward, the Soltân rose, in order to descend from the throne; but that, his foot slipping, he fell on his face: that then *Yusef*, leaping upon him, kept him down with his knee, and stabbed him in the flank: that the Soltân rising, went into another tent; and one of the pages knocked the murderer on the head¹.

His reflec-
tion there-
upon.

ALP Arslân lived for some hours after this misfortune: when, finding himself near his end, he said to those about

⁹ EBN AMID. p. 344. ABU'LFAR. p. 228. KOND. ap. D' Herb. p. 103, art. *Alp Arslân*.
¹ ABU'LFARAJ. hist. dynast. p. 228.

(K) In the *Lebtarikh*, *Barza*.

(L) *Ebn Amid* says, he had rebelled against the Soltân.

(M) Both *Ebn Amid* and the *Lebtarikh* say he shot three arrows at him.

(N) In the side, according to *Ebn Amid*.

(O) The *Lebtarikh* says he would have escaped, if *Gamsab* the page had not knocked him on the head with a stone. *Abu'lfaraj* says it was done with a hammer.

him, I now call to mind two pieces of advice which formerly were given to me by a wise old man, my master : the first was, Never to despise any person : the second, Never to have too great an opinion of one's self : nevertheless I have offended against these two important rules these two last days of my life : for yesterday beholding from an eminence the great number of my troops, I imagined that there was not any power on earth able to resist me ; nor any man who dared to attack me (P) : and to-day, forbidding my guards to stop that man who was making at me with the knife in his hand, I believed I had both strength and skill enough to defend myself. But I now perceive that no force nor address can withstand destiny*.

THIS prince reigned nine years (Q) six months and twelve His age, days, and lived forty-four years and three months ; for he was born in 421, and died in 465 (R). He was buried at Marū (S), one of the four cities of Khorasān, with this epitaph : All you, who have beheld the grandeur of Alp Arslān raised to the very heavens, come to Marū, and you will see him buried under the dust.

HE was very brave and liberal ; just, patient, witty, and ^{and cha-} sincere ; constant in prayer, and giving alms : he greatly fear-^{rafter.} ed God, and was a strenuous advocate for Mohammedism*. His shape and mien so very engaging (T), that he gained the respect and affection of all who approached him. He had very long whiskers, and wore commonly a very high turbān, made in form of a crown. His power was so very great in Asia, that there have been seen at the foot of his throne, no fewer than 12,000 princes, or sons of princes, paying their court to him^u.

* KOND. ap. D'Herb. ubi supra.

* EBN AMID. p. 345.

^u KOND. ubi supr. p. 104.

(P) Ebn Amid, who reports this passage with some small variation, makes him also say ; that he never undertook anything, excepting this time, without imploring the divine assistance.

(Q) The *Lebtarikh*, by some mistake, has two years.

(R) Ebn Amid says, it was

about the tenth of Rabiya prior ; the *Lebtarikh*, about the end of that month.

(S) Some write Marwa : 'tis Marū Shabjān, mentioned in a former note.

(T) The *Lebtarikh*, p. 42. says, that his aspect and huge size struck people with fear.

S E C T. VI.

The Reign of Malek Shâh.

^{3d} Soltân. **MALEK Shâh** succeeded his father *Alp Arslân*, according to his appointment before related, although he was not his eldest son. He was induced to declare him his successor by the counsel of his Wazir *Nezâm al Molk*. The name and furnames of this Soltân at length are *Moez-addîn Abu'feta'h Malek Shâh*. Instead of *Moez-addîn*, some put *Jalâl-addîn*, or *Jalâl-oddawlat* ^a; others, *Jalâloddîn* ^b.

ALP Arslân was no sooner dead, than he was acknowledged lawful heir and successor of his father, at the head of the armies which he had commanded (A). The Khalifah also sent him his confirmation of the title and power of Soltân; adding thereto even the quality of *Amîr al Momenîn*, that is, *commander of the faithful*, which, till then, the Khalifahs had reserved to themselves, without conferring it on any *Mohammedan* prince whatever.

He was likewise proclaimed throughout his dominions by the name of *Jalâl-oddawlat waoddîn*, that is, *the glory of the state and religion*. It was on account of this title *Jalâl*, that the reformation of the *Persian* calendar, which was made in his reign, was called *Tarîkh Jalâli*, that is, *the Jalâlean kalendar* ^c, of which an account will be given hereafter.

^{His uncles} ^{rebel.} As soon as *Marubîl*, son of *Dawd*, or *Jaffar Bek*, heard of *Alp Arslân*'s death, he set out from *Ray*, in order to obtain the crown: but *Malek Shâh* meeting him on the fourth day of *Shabân* (B), near *Hamadân*, his forces were defeated, and himself taken prisoner ^d. *Kaderd*, a son of *Jaffar Bek* also, another of his uncles, raised still a more dangerous rebellion against him. He was governor of the province of *Kermân* (C), and advanced with a considerable force even as far as *Kurj*, or *Gurj*. The Soltân sent the troops of *Khorasân*, which had always been victorious in his father's reign,

^a So EBN AMID. hist. Saracen. p. 345.
of the LEBTARIKH.

^b As the author
^c KOND. MIRK. NIGHIARIST. ap. D'Herb. p. 542, art. Malek Schah.

^d EBN AMID. p. 345.

(A) As soon as he ascended the throne, he went to *Marwa*, or *Marû*, and there buried his father. *Ebn Amid*. hist. Saracen. p. 345.

(B) The eighth month. So

that this action seems to have happened the same year.

(C) He was properly Soltân of *Kermân*; being the founder of the *Seljûk* dynasty reigning in that country: by some *Kaderd*.

to oppose him. The two armies, after harrassing each other for three days and nights, came to a general engagement; which proved one of the most bloody that ever happened in *Persia*. At length the victory fell to *Malek Shâh*; and *Ka-Kaderd*, being taken prisoner, was sent under a strong guard to ^{taken pri-} a castle in *Khorasân*. On this signal success, which established ^{soner.} the new Soltân's authority, the troops grew so insolent, that their principal commanders insisted on having their pay doubled, threatening otherwise to set *Kaderd* on the throne.

MALEK Shâh, perceiving that the name of a competitor ^{His is poi-} was sufficient to give occasion to his troops to revolt, had ^{soned.} *Kaderd* poisoned the same night, in prison. Next morning, when the officers of the army came to know the Soltân's answer, the Wazîr, who probably had a hand in what was done, told them; that he had not been able as yet to present their petition to the Soltân, because he found him overwhelmed with grief the night before, on the unexpected death of his uncle, who, driven to despair, had taken poison, which he carried in one of his rings. This answer stopped the mouths of the officers and the whole army all at once: for they talked no more of the augmentation of pay, when they found the person was dead who only could have favoured their mutiny^e.

In 468, *Aksîs*, the *Karazmian* (D), one of *Malek Shâh's* ^{Aksîs sub-} generals, marched to *Damaskus*; and, besieging it, constrained ^{dues Syria.} the inhabitants, by famine, to capitulate. He likewise reduced ^{Hej. 468.} most part of *Syria* (E), and caused the oration to be made, in ^{A. D.} the name of *Al Moktâdi*, Khalîfah of *Bagdid* (F): although ^{1075.} afterwards that honour reverted to the Khalîfahs of *Egypt*^f. Next year he marched into *Egypt*; which so frightened ^{A. D.} *Al Moftanfir Billa*, the Khalîfah, that he resolved to fly. But ^{1076.}

^e KOND. &c, ubi supr.

^f AAULF. p. 237.

(D) *Ebn Amîd* calls him *Isfâr*, surnamed *Afsîs*.

(E) According to *Kondamîr*, *Malek Shâh* sent his cousin *Soleymân*, son of *Kotelmîsh*, the year before, with an army to subdue all *Syria*; which he did, in a short time, as far as *Antioch*, then a considerable city (1). But this is rendered improbable, not only by this expedition of *Afsîs*, or *Aksîs*, but also by the

history afterwards, which puts that country in other hands. Besides, we are told by the same author, that *Malek Shâh* gave *Asia minor* to *Soleymân*; and find, from other quarters, that the latter did not enter *Syria* till the year 477 of the *Hejrah*.

(F) He succeeded *Al Kayîm Bemrillab*, who died the year before; after a reign of forty-four years and half.

(1) D'Herb. p. 542, art. *Malek Shâh*.

the citizens of *Al Kahera* (or *Kayro*) and *Sawâh* advancing against him, defeated his troops, though much superior in number. In his way back to *Damaskus*, he put great numbers to the sword at *Ramla* (G) and *Jerusalem*.

Tatafsh
sent ibi-
ther.

A. D.
1077.

MALEK Shâh, suspecting that *Aksîs* had been slain in his Egyptian expedition, wrote to his brother *Taj oddawlat Tatafsh* (H), in 470, to go and conquer Syria. When *Taj* arrived at *Diyârbekr*, he found *Aksîs*, lord of *Damaskus*, was alive: who, hearing that the other was advancing against him, offered to pay an annual tribute. *Malek Shâh*, accepting thereof, wrote to his brother to depart from *Manbej* (I). He did so, and went from thence to *Halep*, then possessed by *Sabak al Amin Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Nasr Ebn Mardas*: but, not being able to take the place, returned by *Harrân* (K) to *Diyârbekr*; which put *Moslem Ebn Korais*, lord of *Nasibîn* and *Senjâr*, upon his guard.

Mawa-
râ'lnahr
conquered.
Hej. 471

A. D.
1078.

IN 471, *Malek Shâh* undertook the conquest of the country beyond the river *Jihûn* or *Amû*; whose Khân, called *Soleymân*, he took prisoner, after defeating his army; and sent him guarded to *Ispâhân*, then the capital of his dominions. In this war, *Nezâm al Molk* (L) gave the watermen, who had ferried the Soltân's forces over the *Jihûn*, for their trouble, an assignment, instead of money, on the revenues of the city of *Antiokh*. The men having made their complaint to *Malek Shâh*, he asked the *Wazîr*, why he had appointed a fund at such a distance for paying off those poor people? "It is not, replied that minister, to delay the payment, but to make posterity admire at the largeness and extent of the dominions which you possess, when they shall hear of money received at *Antiokh* for payment of Sailors belonging to the *Caspian* sea, and of water-

§ EBN AMID, p. 349.

(G) The antient *Ruma* in *Kanaan*.

(H) In the copies of *Erpenius* and *Vatier* it is *Nisus*; instead of *Tatafsh*; occasioned, doubtless, by the wrong pointing of the letters; a thing very common with the Arab copists. The three letters, of which the name consists, are pointed three different ways in *Abûlfaraj* (1). But, as the Greek writers call this prince *Tutus*,

we make no doubt but *Tatafsh*, *Tetesh*, or *Totofsh* (for it may be read those three ways), is the true word.

(I) Named *Hierapolis* and *Bambyce* by the Greeks.

(K) The antient *Harân* and *Karræ* in *Mesopotamia*.

(L) *Nazâm*, or *Noxâm*, as the Persians, but *Nedbâm*, *Nadbâm*, or *Nodâm*, as the Arabs pronounce it. It signifies, ornament of the state.

(1) P. 366 & 376.

men

men who plied on the *Jibîn*." This fancy pleased *Malek Shâh* exceedingly; especially, when he saw that the *Wazir* paid off the notes immediately.

THAT same year the *Soltân* married *Turkân* or *Tarkân* *Malek Khatûn*, daughter of *Tangaj Khân* (M), son of *Bagra Khân*; *Shâh's* who, in 479, brought him a son, called *Sanjâr* (N), from a marriage with a little city of that name in *Khorasân*, where he was born¹.

On the return of *Ibrâhîm Ebn Massûd* (ninth *Soltân* of the *Gaznah* race) from *India*, where he had made considerable conquests, *Malek Shâh* made great preparations to invade him (O): but was prevailed on by his ambassadors to desist, and make an alliance, by marrying his daughter to *Massûd*, *Ibrâhîm's* son; who succeeded him (P) in 481¹.

In 472, the army of *Mesr*, or *Egypt*, coming to besiege *Afsîs* *Damaskus*, *Afsîs* sent for help to *Taj oddawlat*; on whose approach the *Egyptians* retired. Hereupon *Afsîs*, coming to visit him, was seized, and slain, by his order. Then, taking the city, he became master of all his riches and effects. After this, the inhabitants, who had fled into *Persia*, to avoid the tyranny of *Afsîs*, returned, to enjoy the protection of the *Seljukians* (Q).

Hej. 472.
A. D.
1079:

THE same year, *Sharf oddawlat Ebn Mustem Ebn Korais*, *Affairs of* lord of *Musol*, having obtained leave of *Malek Shâh*, to subdue *Halep*, on condition of paying him 300,000 gold crowns annually, marched against that city; and, after besieging it for some time, it was, with the castle, delivered up to him; paying to *Sabak al Amin* 20,000 crowns every year.

¹ KOND. &c. ap. D'Herb. p. 542. ¹ TEIXEIRA, hist. Pers. p. 302. D'Herb. p. 480, art. *Ibrâhîm Ben Massoud*.

(M) *Ebn Amîd*, p. 356. calls him *Terakh*, king of the *Turks*, or descendant of *Afrasiab*.

(N) It ought to be *Mahmûd*; whom he wanted to be her husband's successor. For *Sanjâr* was by another venter, as will appear hereafter.

(O) As neither of our authors mention the date of this transaction, we choose to refer it to this time, when we find *Malek Shâh* marching northward.

(P) D'Herbelot, p. 480. puts his death in 492, or 1098: but

as he makes him reign forty-two years; those joined to 445, when *Abdal Raschid* was slain, amount to but 487 of the *Hejrah*, or of *Christ* 1094.

(Q) *Moskâfa Haji Khalîfah* makes a fourth dynasty of *Seljukians*, which began this year in *Halep*, and other places of *Syria*, founded by *Tataish* above-mentioned. It lasted about forty years, ending in the year 511, on the death of *Soltân Mahammed*. D'Herb. p. 801, art. *Seljukian*.

NEXT

and NEXT year, *Sedîd oddawlat Abû'l-hassan Ali Ebn Mankâd Shayzâr*. took the castle of *Shayzâr* (R) from the Romans, with a great army; and it continued in the possession of his family till it was taken by *Mahmûd al Adel Nur oddîn Ebn Zika* (S), after an earthquake, which had destroyed the place. *Sedîd oddawlat*, who was an excellent prince, and eminent poet, dying in 475, his son, *Abû'l-merhaf al Nafr*, surnamed *Malek oddawlat*, succeeded him, at *Shayzâr*.

Rebellion of Taksh. IN 477, *Malek Shâh* sent his general *Kastakar* (T) to *Baghdâd*, as his lieutenant there; at which time his Wazîr's son was in that city. The same year, his brother *Takaf* (U) rebelled against him; and, having taken *Marwa*, gave his army leave to plunder it for three days, while he and his associates lay with the women, and drank wine in the great temple, in the month of *Ramadhân* (W). *Malek Shâh* marching against him, he retired into the castle of *Berjes*; which being taken, he was imprisoned elsewhere.

Soleymân Shâh slain. THE same year, *Sharf oddawlat Ebn Korays*, lord of *Halep* and *Musol*, marched to attack *Antiokh*, then in possession of *Soleymân Ebn Kotolmîsh* (X); who put his forces to flight, and he died of his wounds. *Soltân Taj oddawlat*, hearing of his death, marched towards *Halep* the next year, accompanied by *Ortok*, the *Turkmân*, who had subdued *Holwân* (Y) and *Habela*. Both these agreeing to invade *Soleymân*, prince of *Antiokh*, they fought several battles with him, under the walls of *Halep*; in the last of which *Soleymân* was slain, and his forces routed. By this means *Halep* (Z) fell into the hands of *Taj oddawlat*, who became master of all Syria^k.

THE Greek historians say, that the Great Soltân, being informed of the success of *Tutus* (A) (as they call *Taj oddawlat*), and fearing he should grow too powerful, to strengthen himself, sent to propose an alliance of marriage

^k EBN AMID, p. 350, & seq.

(R) This place, which is situated on the river *Aff*, or *Orontes*, is the same called by the writers of the holy war *Cæsaria*.

(S) Rather *Zengbi*.

(T) In *Vatier's* copy *Akshakar*, or *Extakar*, as he writes it.

(U) It is *Nifus* in the copies of *Erpenius* and *Vatier*, doubtless, by a mistake in writing or pointing the letters. For he could not have two brothers of

the same name: *Taj oddawlat* being called *Nifus* also.

(W) Which is their *Lent*.

(X) Both the MSS. of *Erpenius* and *Vatier* have *Ptolemy*.

(Y) *Holwân* is a city in the northern border of *Arabian Irâk*, near that of *Persian Irâk*.

(Z) It should seem rather *Antiokh*, or both cities.

(A) Rather *Tataf*, according to *Abû'lsaraj*.

between

between a son of his and a daughter of the emperor *Alexis*¹: the success of which shall be related, in the history of the *Seljuks of Râm*, or *Asia minor*.

IN 483, the *Bathaniyah* (B), that is, *Bathanians*, or *Baris* of the *tanists*, began to subdue castles in *Persian Irâk* and *Dilem. assassins*. The first they took was in this last province, and called *Rudbâr*. Hej. 483. It belonged to *Kamak*, a subject to *Malek Shâh*; and was delivered to *Hassan Ebn Masbak*, for 1200 crowns, by the governor, who turned *Batani*. This *Hassan* was a native of *Marwa*, and had been secretary to *Abdolrezak*, at *Haram*. Afterwards going to *Egypt*, he met with a *Batani*, who brought him over to their persuasion; and, by consent of the people, made him grand master, and head of the sect. He had many followers; and, growing considerable, *Malek Shâh* sent him a threatening message, requiring his obedience.

A. D.
1090.

THE ambassador being brought before him, he sent for *Their in-* a company of his people, and commanded one of them, a *trepidity*. young man, to kill himself; which he did, without hesitation. He ordered another to throw himself headlong from the top of the castle; which he performed that instant, and broke his neck. After this, he told the envoy, that he had no other answer to send the Soltân, than that he had 70,000 men at his command, who obeyed him in the manner which he had seen. The Soltân was surprized when these things were reported to him; and, having other affairs on his hands, let the *Batani*s alone. They afterwards took several other castles; and, among the rest, that of *Al Mût* (C); which was their strongest hold, and royal seat^m.

THESE bravoës quickly grew famous for their daring murders: one of which was perpetrated soon after, on the person of *Nezâm al Molk*, Wazîr to *Malek Shâh*, one of the greatest personages among the *Mohammedans*, who had been deposed a little while before.

THE occasion of this Wazîr's disgrace is somewhat differently related by authors; though all agree, that it was of the *Wazîr*, *Disgrace*.

¹ ANN. COMN. ALEX. l. vi. c. 8. ^m EBN. AMID, p. 353.

(B) These are the followers of *Hassan Sabab*, who founded the dynasty called *The Ismaelians* of *Persia*, in the year and place mentioned in the text. The *Barbanians* were absolutely devoted to the service of their prince; by whose order they either slew themselves, or any person whom they had a mind

to destroy. They are known in our histories chiefly by the name of assassins. For a farther account of them, and their several dynasties, see *D'Herbelot*, art. *Bathania*, *Ismaelians*, and *Hassan Sabab*.

(C) Or *Al Marut*; which signifies *death*.

owing to some imprudent or unguarded expressions of his, in answer to the Soltân's message to him, concerning the insolent behaviour of one or more of his sons; of whom we are told he had twelve. *Kondamir* writes, that it was brought about by the Soltâna; who, incensed against him, for opposing her design of getting her youngest son (D) declared *Malek Shâh's* successor, accused him of absolutely disposing of all places in the government, and dividing them among his sons.

Nezam
al Molk.

THE Soltân, offended that he should act in such manner without consulting him, sent to tell him, that *if he did not alter his conduct, he would oblige him to resign the cap and ink-stand*; which were the marks of his dignity and power. *Nezam*, nettled at this menace, answered, that *the cap which he wore, and the post he possessed, were so united to the crown and throne by the eternal decree of providence, that those four things could not subsist without each other*. This answer, tho' bold, will admit of a good meaning: but it was altered by the messenger, who was in the Soltâna's interest, in such a manner, that *Malek Shâh*, exasperated to the last degree, deprived the Wazîr of his employment that instant, and gave it to *Taj al Molk Kami*, chief of the Soltâna's counsellors; with a commission to examine into the mismanagements of his predecessor.

The cause
of it.

ACCORDING to *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed*, author of the *Nighiariştân*, the cause of the Wazîr's disgrace was his son *Mowîad al Molk*, who had been made secretary of state, turning out *Adib*, the first clerk in the office, an excellent writer, though put in by the Soltân's order; and answering, when *Malek Shâh* sent to have him restored, that *he had sworn never to employ that man; and believed the Soltân would not have him be guilty of perjury*. The Soltân replied, in anger, *if Mowîad has sworn not to employ Adib, I have made no such oath: much less have I sworn to continue Mowîad in his employment*: and at the same time ordered *Adib* to be made secretary in his room. *Mowîad*, after that, having commenced a violent prosecution against one of *Malek Shâh's* chief officers, that prince sent the Wazîr word, that *he could no longer bear the insolence of his sons; and that, unless a stop was put to it, he should be obliged to take the government of the state out of his hands*. It was on this occasion

▪ KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 543, art. Malek Schâh.

(D) *Kondamir* calls him *San-jâr*; but it must be a mistake for *Mahmûd*, whom the Soltâna

set up, on the death of her husband.

that

that *Nezam Al Molk* made the answer before related, which brought on his sudden remove°.

ABU'L-FARAJ writes, that the Wazîr's disgrace was the consequence of a very insolent answer (E) which he sent the Soltân; who repented the ill treatment given by his grandson (son of the governor of *Marwa*) to one of his principal slaves P.

WHATEVER the cause was, *Nezam al Molk*, after his remove, followed the court, which just at that time set out ^{He is assassinated.} for *Baghdâd*; and, being gotten as far as *Nabawând*, a boy of the *Batânist* sect, approaching him under pretence of begging, or otherwise, stabbed him with a knife, by the procurement of *Taj Ebn Molk Kami* (F), who succeeded him in the Wazîrship; of which wound he died soon after, in the year 485; aged 93 years (G). His corps was carried back to *Ispâhân*, where it was buried with pomp. A. D. 1092.

MIRKOND writes, that *Nezam al Molk* (H), when but ^{His teacher.} twelve years old, knew all the *Korân*; and, when very young, acquired so great a knowledge of the civil law, according to the principles of *Shafey* (I), that he gained the admiration of every body. As he was very learned, he no sooner got into authority than he took men of letters under his patronage; founding houses and colleges for them in the cities of *Baghdâd*, *Basrah*, *Herat*, and *Ispâhân*. But the most grand monument left by him is the famous college of *Baghdâd*, called, after him, *Medrafsat annezamiyat*; which hath produced some of the most learned men of their time.

As an instance to what a high pitch of dignity, authority, ^{Honours} and esteem, *Nezam al Molk* was risen, the same author relates; ^{paid him} that when *Malek Shâh* went to *Baghdâd*, to be crowned by the Khalîfah *Al Râdhi*, to render the ceremony more solemn, he summoned all the doctors of the law, and other learned men, within the *Mohammedan* dominions, to be present at it. Being assembled, he ordered them to go on foot

• D'HERB. p. 654, art. *Nazham Al Molk*. P. 237. P ABU'LF.

(E) To the purpose of that already recited, but more bold. after he had served the Soltâns thirty years.

(F) According to the *Leb-tarikh*, it was done by the command of *Hassan Sâbab*, who as the *Arabs* pronounce it, signifies the ornament of the state.

(I) One of the doctors, or heads of the principal sects among the *Mohammedans*.

(G) *Abulfaraj* says, p. 77.

from

by the
Khalîfah.

from his palace in the western part of the city, to pay their compliments in a body to the Khalîfah, whose imperial palace was in the eastern part. *Al Râdhi*, being informed, that this learned troop was coming to salute him, with *Nezâm al Molk* at their head, sent his officers to meet them; and ordered, that the Wazîr alone should advance on horse-back. When they appeared before the Khalîfah, he commanded a seat to be placed for the Wazîr, and made him sit down, while all the other doctors stood, on his right and left: but what still more surprized them was, that he honoured *Nezâm* with a vest (K), and conferred on him the title of *learned, just, and director of the dominions of Râdhi, Khalîfah of the Moslems*: for, till then, those spiritual monarchs never gave any title or dignity, which belonged to themselves, to any of their ministers.

His liberality.

THE liberality which this great man exercised, vastly enhanced his other rare qualities: for, in the first progress which *Mâlek Shâh* made through his dominions, he distributed among the poor, out of his own coffers, no less than 280,000 crowns⁹.

His origin.

As to the original of *Nodham* or *Nezâm al Molk*, whose name was *Hassan*, 'tis said, he was the son of a peasant, near *Tûsb* (or *Masbhad*), who learned the *Arabik*, and was secretary to *Bajer*, lord of *Bâlkh*: but that prince using him ill, he fled to *Jagri Beg* (L) *Dawd al Mawa*; who made him preceptor to his son *Olb Arslân*. His way was, when any great men, either in church or state, came to visit him, to rise, and then sit down again; but, a certain poor man of learning coming one day, he rose to meet him, and placed him in his seat. Being afterwards asked, why he made that difference? he answered, *that the great folks, of both kinds, when they come, praise him for excellencies which did not belong to him; and this feeds his vanity and pride: whereas the other person puts him in mind of his faults, and whatever he did amiss; which made him humble, and reflect on many failings he was subject to.* His hard fate was lamented by many of the poets of that time.

Malek
Shâh's
death.

AFTER the assassination of *Nezâm al Molk, Malek Shâh* proceeded to *Baghdâd*; where being arrived, he went a hunting on the third of *Sharwal*; and, eating some of the flesh of the game, returned sick. A vein being opened, but little blood came out; which increased his illness to a burning

⁹ MIRK. ap. D'Herb. p. 543, & seq. art. Malek Shâh.

(K) Called *Kusîân*.

(L) Or, as others, *Jaffer Beg*,
fever;

fever; so that he died about the middle of the same month^r, no more than eighteen days after *Nezâm al Molk*, oppressed with vexations¹. He lived thirty-seven years and five months; of which he reigned twenty, and some months over^t.

THE Greek historians relate, that this Soltân, whom yet Greek ac- they do not name, was assassinated. They tell us, that *Tutus count false*. (or *Taj oddawlat Tatafb*), his brother, having slain *Amir Soleymân* (as above related), and his son-in-law, resolved to slay the Soltân also, before he should strengthen himself by an alliance with the Roman emperor: that, for this purpose, he hired twelve *Kassians*, being certain assassins, so called by the *Persians*; who, going to the palace, found that prince in liquor, and, pretending they had something to say to him from his brother, as soon as the guards were withdrawn, stabbed him with their poniards: that they were all put to cruel deaths; which, on such occasions, this kind of people glory in^u. 'Tis easy to see, that the murder of the Wazîr is here applied to the Soltân. Possibly there was such a rumour at first; and that prince's death happening so near the time of his minister's, might favour the mistake.

HOWEVER that be, *Hamdallah Mestûfi* has committed a *Blunder of* greater blunder than this. He tells a formal story here, that *Mestûfi*. the Soltân, in his second progress round his dominions, falling into an ambuscade of *Greeks*, was carried to the emperor, who had advanced to the borders with a powerful army: that, not being known to those who took him, *Nezâm al Molk*, on notice thereof, immediately feigned an embassy to the emperor; who, at his departure, made him a present of the prisoners, as he expected^v: that, afterwards, the two armies coming to a battle, the emperor was taken prisoner; but presently restored to his liberty, without ransom: lastly, that, dying soon after, *Malek Shâh* subdued part of his dominions, and gave the government thereof to his cousin *Soley-mân*, son of *Kotokmîsb*^w. 'Tis plain, that the emperor here intended was *Romanus Diogenes*: for we read of no other *Greek* emperor who was taken by the *Seljûk* Soltâns; and, consequently, the author has confounded *Malek Shâh* with his predecessor *Alp Arslân*.

SOLTÂN *Malek Shâh*, as to his person, was very hand-Malek some, both in shape and features, besides being exceeding Shâh's genteel in his behaviour^x. To give his due character; he *character*.

^r ABU'LF. p. 238, & seq.

^s D'HERB. p. 544, ubi sup.

^t EBN AMID, p. 354.

^u ANN. COMNEN. in Alex. l. vi.

c. 11.

^w HAMD. MESTUFI. TARIKH GHUZIDEH. ap.

D'Herb. p. 543.

^x D'HERB. p. 544.

was an excellent prince, wise, liberal, courageous; had fine parts; was remarkable for his sincerity and piety. He reduced the taxes, and put a stop to other vexations; repaired bridges, high roads, and canals; erected the temple of *Baghdâd*, called *the Masjid of the Soltân*; also the *Hanifan college* (M), near the chapel of the prelate *Abû Hanifah*, in the quarter of the city called *Resâfa*, and endowed it nobly. He likewise built markets and towns. He made great conquests; reducing under his power all the country from the borders of *Turkestan* to the *Holy Land*, and *Yamman* (N). He made the roads secure, and every thing plenty in all places. He was a terror to bad men, and a support to the innocent, the widow, and the poor; who had always justice done them in his courts.

*Travels
and pil-
grimage.*

THIS Soltân took great delight in travelling; and 'tis reported, that he made the tour of his dominions, though so very extensive, as hath been related, no fewer than ten times². *Hamd'illah Meftâfi*, before cited, relates, that *Malek Shâh* made the pilgrimage to *Mekka* in 481 (O), with an incredible expence: for, besides abolishing the usual tribute which the pilgrims paid, he laid out very great sums in building towns in the desert; where he ordered a great number wells and cisterns to be made, and water to be conveyed to them from all sides. He likewise commanded plenty of provisions to be carried, for subsistence of the pilgrims; and distributed immense sums among the poor, with an unparalleled liberality².

*Fond of
hunting.*

BUT *Malek Shâh's* greatest passion was for hunting. He kept 47,000 horses for his ordinary guard, and the chase (P); in which he spent a good deal of time. 'Tis said, that for every beast which he killed himself, he gave a piece of gold to the poor: and it happened sometimes that he slew a great

¹ EBN AMID, p. 354.
² D'Herb. p. 542.

² KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 542.

(M) *Kondamîr* says, he ordered colleges, hospitals, and houses of pleasure, to be built in several parts of his dominions. D'Herb. p. 544.

(N) *Yamman* is the country we call *Arabia fœlix*. *Kondamîr* says, his dominions extended from *Antiokh* to *Urkend* (or *Ux-kend*), a city of *Turkestan*. D'Herb. p. 542.

(O) According to the *Leb-tarikh*, he performed the pilgrimage in *Hijrah* 479.

(P) According to the *Leb-tarikh*, he kept a standing army of 48,000 horse always on foot; who had lands allotted them for their maintenance, that they might not be burthen some to the people.

many. In short, *Malek Shâh* is acknowledged to have been the greatest prince among the *Seljukians*; whether we consider his conquests, the extent of his dominions, or his magnificence, liberality, and other virtues.

His ambition seems to have been very moderate: for he *Provinces* disposed of great part of his dominions, in his life-time, among *given* his relations and domestics. He gave to his cousin *Soleymân*, *away* son of *Kotalmish*, the country of *Râm*, or what he had taken from the Greek emperor, extending from the *Euphrates* a great way into *Asia minor*; of which part *Azzerâm* was then the capital. He established, or restored, *Soltân Shâh*, son of *by* *Malek* his uncle *Kaderd*, before-mentioned, in *Kermân*, or the *Per-Shâh*. *fian Caramania*; of which he was the second *Seljuk* Soltân. He gave part of *Syria* to his brother *Tebis* (Q); *Karazm* to *Tâsbtekkîn*; the country of *Halep*, or *Aleppo*, to *Aksanker*; that of *Musol* to *Chaghirmish* (R); and *Mârdîn* to *Katmûr*.

SOME of the above-mentioned states became reunited in time to the dominions of the family of *Malek Shâh*, and others remained in the families of those to whom he gave them^b.

WE must not conclude this reign, without giving some account of the *Tawarik al Jalâli*, or the *Jalâlean* *kalendar*, already *kalendar*, mentioned; which is a correction of the *Persian* *kalendar*, first made by order of *Malek Shâh*, and afterwards by Soltân *Jalal-addin Mankberni*, son of *Mohammed Karazm Shâh*.

THE *Malekean* epocha begins, according to some, on Sunday the fifth day of *Shebân*, or the eighth month, in the year of the *Hegrah* 464 (answering to that of *Christ* 1071) (S); according to others, on Friday the tenth of *Ramadhân* (or the ninth month) in 471 (or of *Christ* 1078) (T). So that there is a difference of 1097 days. The cause of this difference was unknown to our author *Ulugh Beg*. According to the second, and most received, opinion, the year which is solar begins on that day in which, at noon, the sun enters *Aries*, and the months are reckoned from the passage of the sun *account* through the several signs: however, they consist of no more of it. than thirty days each; but five are added to the last month, and a day intercalated every four years. But when the in-

^b D'HERB. P. 544.

(Q) This is, doubtless, a mistake in the copy for *Tatash*, by misplacing the diacritical points. *Tataju*, or *Tutus*, as the *Greeks* write, is the same with *Taj oddawlat*.

(R) Or *Jagarmish*.
(S) Beginning *Wednesday*, 28 of *September*.
(T) Beginning *Saturday*, *July* 13.

tercalation comes to be made six or seven times, the leap-year is put off to the fifth year. The *Jaldlean* year consists of 365 days, 5 hours, 49'. 15". 0''' . 48''; and is truly tropical, most exactly corresponding with the motion of the sun: for the sixth, and sometimes the seventh, leap-year being transferred to the fifth year, the equinoxes and solstices become constantly fixed to the same days of the month. This form of the year was contrived that the *Newrâz*, or new-year's-day, might always fall on the same day^c.

^c ULUG. BEIGH. epoch celebr. p. 38. BEVERIDGE instit. chronol. p. 45.

S E C T. VII.

The reign of Barkiarok.

4th Soltân **M** A L E K Shâh left four sons, *Barkiarok*, *Mohammad*, *Sanjâr*, and *Mahmûd*; which last he appointed for his successor, though but five years (A) and ten months old. This was done by the management of his wife *Turkân Khatûn*, and the *Wazîr Tajo'l Mokk*; who, concealing the Soltân's death, carried his corps out of *Baghdâd*; and, by distributing money, got the army to take the oath to her son. The *Khalifah* also ordered his name to be published in the pulpits; and, sending him the ensigns of investiture, he was clothed with the Soltân's *Kaftân*, or vest, the crown put on his head, and the sword girt to his side. On this occasion it is observed, that never prince so young behaved with better grace; and that, after the *Kalifah's* *Wazîr*, who performed the ceremony, had made him his master's compliments, he returned thanks for the favours received in a very handsome manner. As soon as the ceremony was over, the Soltânâ went to *Nabrawân* and encamped^a.

proclaimed *at Isfâhân.* WHILE *Mahmûd* was crowned at *Baghdâd*, *Abu'l Modhaffer Kâssef*, called *Barkiarok*, was acknowledged for legal successor at *Isfâhân*, where he then was: with whom many joined, as being the eldest son of *Malek Shâh*, and because he was thought more capable of governing the state than a child and a woman.

HEREUPON *Turkân Khatûn*, who was a woman of great spirit as well as understanding, marched thither from *Nabrawân*, with such diligence that she surprized him in that city, which she took: but some domestics of the late *Nezâm al*

^a ABU'LF. p. 239. EBN AMID, p. 355. & seq.

^c (A) *Abû'l Faraj* says but four years old.

Molk found means for him to escape out of his mother-in-Law's hands, and retire to *Shirâz*; where resided *Takâsh* escapes. *Tekîn*, who had been made *Atabek*, that is, lieutenant-general of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, by *Malek Shâh* ^b.

THAT grateful prince not only gave him protection, but *Proclaim*-conducted him to *Ray*, one of the capitals of *Irâk*; where he *ed* at *Ray*. had him acknowledged the rightful successor. At the same time the Soltâna caused her son *Mahmûd* to be crowned at *Ispâhân*, the other capital, and sent troops to pursue *Barkiarok*: but many of them going over to his side, he defeated the rest. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion was *Tajol Molk Kiamî*; who, being brought to the Soltân, the friends of his predecessor slew him. He was a *Persian*, endowed with many virtues, and excellencies of every kind: but all his good qualities were defaced by the murder of *Nadhâm* ^c.

AFTER this *Barkiarok* marched to *Ispâhân*, and besieged *Mahmûd* his brother, with an army of 20,000 men. *Turkân Khatûn*, *refugee*, finding the people ready to revolt from her, came to an accommodation: by which *Mahmûd* and she were left in possession of *Ispâhân*, and its dependencies, on condition he divided with *Barkiarok* the treasure of his father, which was in that city. ^d

THE Soltân, having received for his share 500,000 dinars *His bro*-in gold, raised the siege, and turned his arms towards *Ha-thirs remadân*, where one of his uncles, named *Ismael*, commanded; *bel*. who, allured by the Soltâna, with hopes of marriage, had made war upon his nephew. The two armies, which were pretty equal, met, in 486, near that city; where, after an *Hej*. 486. obstinate battle, *Ismael* was defeated; and, being taken by A. D. the enemy, slain by them. The same year *Takâsh Shâh*, son 1093. of *Arslân Shâh*, another of *Barkiarok*'s uncles, declared war against him; and, having a much greater force, obliged him to retire towards *Ispâhân*, where he was very kindly received by his brother Soltân *Mahmûd*, whose mother was then dead.

BUT those of *Mahmûd*'s party, judging the opportunity of *Seized*; advancing his affairs ought not to be slipped, seized his bro-*but escapes*. ther; and, 'tis said, orders were actually given to deprive him of sight, when *Mahmûd*, being taken with the small pox, died in a few days. Hereupon *Barkiarok* was set at liberty, and saluted emperor, by the very people who just before would have ruined him. Being by this unexpected accident seated a second time on the throne, he chose for his *Mowîad* *Wazîr*, or prime minister, *Mowîad al Molk* (son of *Nezâm* made *Wazîr*.

^b KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 185, art. *Barkiarok*.
ubi supr. p. 188. ABULF. p. 239. & seq.

^c KOND.

al Molk), mentioned in the former reign : but, in a little time, through some distrust, the Soltân turned him out, and put his brother *Takr al Molk* in his place ^d.

Crowned at Baghdâd. IN 487 *Turkân Khatûn* died (B), and *Barkiarok* marching to Baghdâd, had his name mentioned in the pulpits, and the title of *Rokno'ddîn* given to him by the Khalîfah^e : he also

Hej. 487. assumed that of *Amir al Momenin*, which no prince before A. D. *Malek Shâh* had been honoured with. Having settled his affairs, he applied himself intirely to war. His first expedition

1094. was against *Takâsb* his cousin-german, who some time before had driven him to the extremes above-mentioned ; and, after several battles fought between them, *Takâsb* was at length

Rebel under slain. slain (C). After this he marched into *Khorasân*, where *Arslân Shâh*, father of *Takâsb*, who commanded there, had considerable troops : but he was delivered from his enemy by

Hej. 490. another of his sons (D), who committed that parricide, in A. D. order to seize his father's government : yet was disappointed ; for *Barkiarok*, being thus become master of it, gave it to his brother *Sanjâr*, and returned to *Irâk* ^f.

Tatafsh aspires, *BAR K I A R O K* had still another uncle to vanquish before he could be at rest ; and that was *Taj oddawlat Tatafsh*, sovereign or king of *Damaskus*, and most part of *Syria*. This aspiring prince, as soon as he heard of his brother *Malek Shâh*'s death, ordered the *Kotbah* to be made in his name ; and sent to *Moktadi*, to desire that the same might be done at *Baghdâd* ; but the Khalîfah refusing, he marched to *Rahaba* (or *Rabba*), on the *Euphrates*, and took it. Hereupon *Kafmar oddawlat* (or *Ak Sankar*) (E), (whom *Malek*

^d KOND. ubi sup. p. 187, 188.

^e EBN AMID, p. 357.

ABU'LF. p. 240.

^f KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 185 & 544, art. *Barkiarok & Malek Schâh*.

(B) *Ebn Amid* makes her die before *Mahmûd* : saying, that, on her death, the army deserted from him to *Barkiarok* ; and that, on his approach, he quit-
ted *Baghdâd*.

(C) *Abû'lfaraj*, p. 240, says, he was smothered under water, and one of his sons slain at the same time. He also makes him the uncle of *Barkiarok*. If so, he must be the same *Takâsb*, who, according to *Ebn Amid*, rebelled against his brother *Malek Shâh* ten years before, as

hath been related. If not, *Abû'lfaraj* must have ascribed to the son both the name and death which belonged to the father.

(D) According to *Abû'lfaraj*, Soltân *Arslân Argûn* (as he calls him) was slain by one of his domestics, in 490, to free mankind from his injustice.

(E) This must be the same with *Ik Sankar*, or *Ak Sankar*, hereafter-mentioned, to whom *Malek Shâh* gave the city.

Shâh had made governor of *Halep*, after he had taken it from his brother *Taj oddawlat*), submitted to this latter *. But, in 486, going over to *Barkiarok*'s side, *Taj oddawlat* fought several battles with him; who at length was slain.

By this means *Tataf* becoming lord of *Halep*, he prepared to march into *Irâk*. Accordingly, in 488, *Barkiarok* met him near *Ray*; where a bloody battle was fought, in which his rebellious uncle was slain. *Taj oddawlat*, before the engagement, had sent *Yusef*, son of *Ortok*, the *Turkmân*, before-mentioned, to get him proclaimed Soltân at *Baghdâd*; but *Yusef*, hearing of his master's death, fled back to *Halep* ^h. The *Greek* historians mention the death of *Tataf*, or *Tutus*, as they call him. They say, that *Pusan*, who had been sent by the Soltân against *Apel Kassein* (or *Abu'l Kassein*) at *Nice*, as soon as he heard of his master's death, marched towards *Khorasân*, against *Tutus*, and was slain in battle: That, after this, *Tutus* expected to be acknowledged Soltân; but, being met by *Barkiarok*, the late Soltân's son, was routed, and slain ⁱ. According to this account *Putân* should be *Kasmar oddawlat Ak Sanker*, or *Ik Sanker*.

BARKIAROK, whose reign was a series of rebellions, was no sooner freed from one, but another arose. *Mowlad*, from the time of his being turned out of the *Wazîrship*, did his utmost to revenge his disgrace, by fomenting new troubles. He began by spiriting-up *Anzâr*, who was formerly slave to *Malek Shâh*, and had a great influence in the province of *Irâk*. He enabled him to set a considerable army on foot; and *Anzâr* might have given the Soltân much trouble, if he had not been taken off by an assassin, in the city of *Sawa*; where he was already advanced to give his sovereign battle. *Mowlad*, after this, applied himself to *Mohammed*, brother of *Barkiarok* (who had given him but a small share of his father's dominions, in the province of *Adherbijân*), and never ceased urging him till he had taken up arms against his brother *. *Mohammed* (surnamed *Gayathoddîn*) and *Sanjer* were *Malek Shâh*'s children, by the same venter. *Mohammed*, after his father's death, followed the interest of his brother *Mahmûd*; and, after the battle, which the latter lost, obtained, from *Barkiarok*, *Hâmikha* (F), and its dependencies, for his support: to which place he retired ^l.

THIS

* EBN AMID, p. 356. ^h EBN AMID, p. 360. AEU'LF. p. 241. ⁱ ANN. COMNEN. in Alex. l. 6. c. 11. ^k KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 186, art. *Barkiarok*. ^l EBN AMID, p. 364.

(F) We know no such place. According to *Kondamîr*, *Mohammed*

Barkiarok flies. **Hej. 492.** **A. D. 1098.** THIS prince set forward in 492 to dispute the sovereignty with his brother; and, although he had only a small army at first, yet it soon became formidable, by the great credit and influence which *Mowiad* had in that province. At this time the lords of the court, being incensed against *Mojared al Molk Kiami*, superintendant of the finances, by whose frugal management they found their salaries curtailed, attacked his house, and obliged him to fly for refuge to the Soltân. The Soltân refusing to deliver him up to them, they took the palace by assault; and, cutting *Kiami* in pieces, would have treated *Barkiarok* in the same manner, if he had not escaped by a back-door; abandoning *Irâk* to his brother.

Assisted by Ayyaz, **Hej. 493.** **A. D. 1099.** **MOHAMMED**, thus possessed of a great dominion without striking a stroke (G), made *Mowiad al Molk* his Wazîr^m; and sent an ambassador to *Baghdâd*, to get his name mentioned in the *Kotbah*, or oration, made in the pulpits on *Fridays*: but, in 493, *Barkiarok*, repairing thither, had it suppressed. Then, assembling a great army, marched to meet *Mohammed*; who, at *Mahdân*, defeated him; *Barkiarok* escaping with only fifty horseⁿ. Hereupon, quitting *Ray*, he fled to *Khâzestân*; where *Ayyâz*, formerly slave to *Malek Shâh*, ruled with almost an absolute sway^o: by whose assistance the Soltân found himself soon at the head of a powerful army; with which, in 494, he defeated *Mohammed's* forces in several engagements.

defeats his brothers. **Hej. 495.** **A. D. 1101.** IN 495 they had another battle: but, as *Barkiarok* had 50,000 troops, and *Mohammed* only 15,000, the latter was put to flight. Hereupon, taking his way to *Khorasân*, to seek aid of king *Senjar*, he stopped at *Jerjân*. Here *Senjar* coming to him with his forces, they went to *Damagân*; where the army laid waste the country to such a degree, that the inhabitants, for want of dogs and dead animals, eat one another^p. After this, marching against *Barkiarok*, they were put to flight; and their mother being made captive, was exchanged for the prisoners taken before by *Senjar*.

Hej. 496. **A. D. 1102.** NEXT year Soltân *Barkiarok* besieged *Mohammed* in *Isfâhân*; but was obliged soon to depart, for want of forage and pro-

^m KOND. ubi supr. p. 186, & seq.

^o EBN AKIN, p. 364.

^p KOND. ubi supr.

^q ABU'LF. p. 243.

bammed resided commonly at *Gambeh*, a city of *Arrân*, part of *Adverbijân*, near the river *Kûr*, and the borders of *Geor-*
gia.

(G) *Ebn Apîd* says, *Barkiarok* sent forces against him; but that they went over to him, instead of fighting.

visique.

victims. *Mohammad* hereupon raised troops, and met his brother: but, being defeated, was obliged to fly into *Armenia*¹.

It is observable, that the *Kotba* was interchangeably made at *Baghdad*, in the names of those two Soltâns, as often as they had the advantage one of the other. Of so great importance was that ceremony thought to be by the *Mohammedan* princes, so long as the race of the *Khalifahs* subsisted; though, at this time, they were no more than shadows of what they had been formerly.

Our readers, doubtless, will be curious to know what be-^{The trait-} came of *Mowlad*, the author of these troubles. We shall ^{for Mo-} therefore inform them. In one of the battles above-men-^{wiad} tioned, in which *Barkiarok* had the advantage, he happened to be taken prisoner: but, instead of being punished, as he deserved, he, by his address, so gained the principal lords of the court, that the good-natured Soltân, at their intercession, pardoned him, and afterwards made him his prime Wazir. ^{made prime} However, he did not long enjoy that post: for one day ^{Wazir.} *Barkiarok*, retiring to rest, overheard one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, who thought him asleep, saying to another, *These Seljukian princes are of a nature very different from that of most other princes. They neither know how to make themselves feared, nor to revenge the injuries done to them: for instance, added he, this Mowlad, who has been the cause of so many evils, is promoted by the Soltân to the employment of Wazir, as a reward for all treasorts.*

BARKIAROK, touched to the quick with these reflec-^{Put to} tions on his conduct, not long after, sent for the Wazir, and ^{death.} ordered him to sit down. Then, without saying any thing farther, with one stroke of the scymitar, which he held in his hand, he cut off his head, with so much dexterity, that it remained on his shoulders till the body fell. This done, he said to his courtiers, *See now if the princes of my house do not know how to make themselves feared, and take vengeance on their enemies.*

WHILE this tragedy was acting at court, the armies of the ^{The empire} Soltân and his brother often skirmished, without coming to ^{divided.} a general engagement. At length, in 498 (H), a treaty was Hej. 498. concluded; whereby *Mohammed* remained master of the pro- A. D. vinces of *Shâm*, or *Syria*; *Diyârbekr al Jazireh*, or *Mesopotamia*. 1104.

¹ *IBN ARAB*, p. 364, & seq.

(H) *Abulfaraj* says, in 497. the countries yielded to *Mohammed*. He likewise omits *Adherbijân*, *Armenia*, and *Georgia*, among

tamia; *Musol*, *Adberbijân*, *Armenia*, and *Georgia*. The rest of the empire; viz. *Pârs*, *Irâk*, *Kermân*, *Khorasân*, *Mawara'lnahr*, and part of *Hindowstân*, were to be possessed by *Barkiarok*. It was also agreed, that *Barkiarok* should not go to meet *Mohammed* with drums, nor be named in the pulpits along with him in the countries which were ceded to him.

THE civil wars, which for so many years together had afflicted the *Seljûkian* dominions, being thus at length brought to an end, by a partition of the empire between the brothers, let us now turn our eyes towards *Syria*, and see what was doing there, and in the neighbouring countries, during that interval.

Affairs of Syria.

As soon as the news of the death of *Taj oddawlat*, king of *Syria* (who was slain in the battle against *Barkiarok*, as hath been before related), came to the ears of his son *Redwân*, at *Damaskus*, he repaired immediately to *Halep*, and took possession of it, with the title of *Tabro'l Molk* (H). His brother *Dekâk Shems al Molk* (I) following him from *Di-yârbekr*, with part of his own and his father's army, there staid with him. Soon after, receiving letters from *Sûbtekkîn al Hadîm*, *Taj oddawlat*'s lieutenant of the castle of *Damaskus*, he slipped away, without *Redwân*'s knowledge; and, though hotly pursued, got thither, and took possession of the city. *Dekâk* made *Sûbtekkîn* his lieutenant, to govern his state; but soon after set in his place *Atabek* (K) *Tegtekkîn*, who had been governor before both of it and *Miyasferkîn* under *Taj oddawlat*, and preceptor to *Dekâk* himself. He was taken prisoner at the battle wherein that prince lost his life; and, escaping back, was received with great honour, and promoted by his quondam pupil, as hath been related; which *Sûbtekkîn* (L) resented so highly, that *Dekâk* put him to death.

Sons of Tatâsh.

IN 489, *Dekâk* marching with his troops towards the sea coast, his brother *Redwân*, who longed to recover *Damaskus*, hastened with a great army, to surprize it in his absence.

A. D.

1095.

KOND. ubi sup. p. 187.

ABU'LF. p. 243.

(H) That is, *the glory of the kingdom*.

(I) *The sun of the kingdom*.

(K) In the copies made use of by *Erpenius* and *D'Herbelot*, *Atabek*. *Atâbek* signifies, in Turkish, father of the prince. A title given to several lords, who

had the government and direction of the *Seljûkian* princes.

They grew so powerful at last as to found four races, or dynasties, in *Irâk*, *Adberbijân*, *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*; and *Levân*.

(L) By some written *Sûbtekkîn*.

The

The citizens shutting the gates against him, he besieged the place; but *Dehák* returning, he was obliged to retire. Upon this he wrote to *Mosta Ali*, Khalifah of *Egypt*, promising to have his name published in the pulpits of *Halep*, provided he would assist him to take *Damaskus*; which *Mosta Ali* agreeing to, the *Kotbah* was accordingly made in his name: but failing to send him troops, he soon lost that honour again.

SYRIA was thus scarce reduced under the power of the *The crus- Seljékian Turks*, who took it from the *Arabs*, when she found herself invaded by an army of *Franks* (L) or *Europeans*, gathered from the farthest west. This was the famous crusade, or war of the crosses, more commonly called the holy war; wherein almost all the Christian princes, influenced by a mad zeal for devotion, excited in them by the artifices of the pope (more with a view to carry on his own ambitious designs (M), than to serve the interests of religion, which was the pretence), entered into a league of confederacy to rescue the sepulchre of Christ at *Jerusalem* from the *Mohammedans*, and drive them out of the *Holy Land*.

In prosecution of this extravagant undertaking, which may *Franks* justly be termed a religious frenzy, or piece of knight-errantry, take *An-* a vast army of *Franks*, with king *Baldwin* at the head of them, *tiokh*. entered *Syria* in the year 491, and sitting down before *An- Hej. 491: tiokh*, took that city. We shall say nothing of this siege A. D. from the Christian writers, an account thereof having been 1097. already given elsewhere¹; but shall, for the most part, confine ourselves to what we find related in the oriental historians concerning this war.

As soon as *Kawâm oddawulat Kodburka* (N), who was in *Blocked Mesopotamia*, heard that *Antioch* was taken by the *Christians*,^{up there.} he raised forces, and, coming into *Syria*, laid siege to it, with a design to recover it. There were then in the city five Christian princes; namely, *Bardawil*, or *Baldwin*, *Sanjil*, *Gonofri*, *Kumes* the prince of *Roha* (O), and *Bâymund* prince of *Antioch* (P). These falling in want of provisions,

¹ *EBN AMID*. p. 360, & seq.

² *Univ. hist.* vol. xvii. p. 149.

(L) Rather *Franji*; so the orientals call the *Italians*, and thence the *Europeans* in general.

(M) *Purchas* has set forth those designs, in his collection of travels, vol. ii. p. 1245.

(N) The western historians of the crusade call him *Corbamaq*, and *Corbagash*.

(O) The Count of *Roha* was taken after by *Jagarmish*, and released by *Al Jâweli Sakawa*. *Abû'lf.* p. 248.

(P) These are *Baldwin*, the count of *St. Giles*, *Godfrey* of *Butlin*, the count of *Edeffa*, and *Boemond*.

feat

Raise the
Siege.

sent to *Kodubak*, offering to surrender the town, on condition that he would suffer them to depart: but he refused, saying, *they should escape no otherwise than by making their way with the sword*. While they were in this distress, a monk of theirs tells them, that the staff of *St. Peter*, strengthened with iron at the end (Q), was buried in the church of the priests; and that, if they found it, they should overcome their enemies in battle; if not, they should all perish. After three days fasting and praying, they dug and found the staff. Encouraged by this good omen of victory, they began to march out of the city, five or six at a time. *Kodubak's* officers advised, that their soldiers might stand at the gates, and kill all who came forth; but he said it was better to let them all come out first, and then to put them to the sword. When they were all come out to the last man, they formed a great army, which put the *Moslems* to flight. The last who fled was *Sokmân Ebn Ortek*. Many thousands of them were killed: and the *Franks* seizing their camp, got provisions, riches, horses, and arms *.

Take Jerusalem. THEIR affairs being thus restored, they went and took *Mozarro'momân*, slaying its lords. Thence they proceeded to *Ramla*, or *Rama*, and took it. In 492, perceiving the weakness of the *Egyptian Turks*, they went and besieged *Beyst al A. D.* *Makdes*, that is, *Jerusalem*; where *Sokmân* and *Ilgâzi*, sons of *Ortek the Turkman*, with their uncle *Simej*, were shut up. But the *Franks* playing above fourscore engines against the place, it was surrendered upon terms; *Sokmân* and his followers having leave to depart: but the *Egyptians* put in his room one *Efteharo'ddawlat*. Wherefore the *Franks* having erected two towers against the city, they took it on the north side (R), and put the people to the sword. They continued to kill the *Moslems* in the country round for several weeks together: they assembled all the *Jews* into their temple, and burned them in it (S): they killed more than 70,000 *Mos-*

* ABU'LF. p. 242.

(Q) The western historians say it was the lance which pierced the side of *Christ*. But *Fulcher Carnotensis*, who was in the expedition, represents it as a cheat. He says, many, with the bishop of *Podium*, suspected it; and that the man who found it, in passing through the fire to prove his integrity, was so burnt, that he died in twelve days after.

(R) *De la Croix* ascribes the loss of *Jerusalem*, and other places, to the disorders which happened on the death of *Malik Shâh*. Hist. *Genghis Khân*, p. 130.

(S) The historians of the west say 10,000 *Saracens* were slain in it.

lems

lens (T), and took an immense treasure; among the rest, more than 140 silver lamps, weighing each 3600 drachms (U); a furnace weighing forty pounds (X); and above twenty lamps of gold.

In 494 the Franks took Hama (Y) by assault, and Arsf Farther by composition; making themselves masters of most of the *successes* maritime places. Next year they besieged Tripoli, whose lord Fakro'malek, son of Amar, sending to Shamso'ddawlat De-
 kt, prince of Damascus, and Huseyn Hama'ddawlat, lord of Hama, they sent him troops, but were routed by the Franks. These victories of an enemy in the heart of Syria, did not hinder its princes from pursuing their private views, or revenge. Huseyn, who had hitherto been of Fakro'malek Redwan's party, quitted it in 496, to go over to Dehák; whereupon Redwan got three *Batantles* to assassinate him in the great Masjid, or temple.

WHEN this news was brought to Atabek Tegtekin, sur-Turkish named Fabiro'ddin, and Dehák, they marched to Hama, which, with the castle, was surrendered to them. This happened just at the time when the Franks arrived at Rustán (Z), with a design to attack Hama: but on advice that Dehák was there, they returned. The year following, Sami al Molk Dehák died. Some say that his mother, who was married to the Atabek Tegtekin, sent him a servant maid, who poisoned him, by pricking a grape with an invetioned needle, which he plucked and eat. However that be, after his death Tegtekin made himself master of the kingdom of Damascus, and its dependencies.

In 497 the Franks took Akra (A). Baldwin, who had made himself master of Jerusalem, came there with his troops, accompanied by the *Crusade* Franks, in sixty ships; and having seized all the neighbouring country, both by sea and land, took the city by storm. Zakro'ddawlat al Hama's

7 Abu'lt. p. 243. BEN AMID. p. 363.

(T) *Abu'lfaraj* says, that number was slain in *Al Akfa*, or the farther Chapel only. The account given by the crusade historians themselves who were present, is shocking to human nature: the *Christian* soldiers thirsted after *Mohammedan* blood, and seemed to delight in murder and cruelty.

(U) That is, thirty-seven marks and an half.

(X) Or sixty marks.

(Y) Called *Cayphas*, by the crusade writers. It stands at the mouth of the bay of Akra, or Ptolemais, on the south side.

(Z) A town on the river *Asi*, or *Orontes*, between Hama and Hama.

(A) Called by the crusaders Akra; the ancient Ptolemais.

governor

governor for the Khalifah of *Kaherah*, abandoning it, fled first to *Damaskus*, and thence to *Egypt* ².

Barkiarok dies. It is time now to return to *Persia*, whither the course of our history calls us, to conclude the reign of *Barkiarok*.

That prince, after the agreement made with his brother *Mohammed*, in 498, as before-mentioned, advanced towards

A. D. 1104. *Baghdád*, to visit his great benefactor *Ayyáz*, who had a sovereign authority in that city. But being afflicted both with

a consumption and the piles together, he died by the way at *Isfáhan*, in the thirty-fifth year of his age (B), and thirteenth of his reign; appointing for his successor his son *Malek Sháh*, then but four years and eight months (C) old. He had him clothed with a *Kaftán*, or vest, and appointed *Amyr Ayyáz* his *Atabek*, or governor, in the presence of his great officers, who all promised to obey his commands ².

Appoints a successor. THE first thing which was done in favour of the infant prince, was to get the *Kotba* made at *Baghdád* in his name; to which was added the surname of *Jalal-o-ddawlat*, that is, the ornament of the state.

Hej. 499. A. D. 1105. ABOUT the time that *Barkiarok* was on his way towards *Baghdád*, Soltán *Mohammed* marched from *Adherbiján*, to take *Músol* from *Jagarmísh*. The people of the country, on his approach, rose in their prince's defence, and killed the Soltán a great many men: but when the siege had lasted three months, *Jagarmísh*, hearing of *Barkiarok's* death, sent to offer obedience to *Mohammed*, who received him with embraces ^b.

S E C T. VIII.

The Reigns of Mohammed and Sanjar.

Fifth Soltán, Mohammed.

AFTER this, the Soltán, who already possessed one part of the *Seljúktan* empire, prepared to wrest the other part from his nephew *Malek Sháh*, and unite it to his own. According to *Ebn Amid*, he, on the news of his brother's death, repaired without delay to *Baghdád*; where *Ayyáz*, or *Ayyáz*, had gathered 25,000 horse to oppose him: but that an accommodation taking place, *Mohammed* entered that city, and took possession of the Soltánat; the Khalifah

² *EBN AMID*. p. 364, & seq.

ABU'LF. p. 244. *EBN AMID*. p. 366.

^a *KOND.* ubi supr. p. 187.

^b *ABU'LF.* p. 244.

(B) He was but twenty-five years old, according to *Kandamir* in *D'Herbelot*.

(C) *Ebn Amid* has fourteen years.

Mezdâkher Billah presenting him with the *Kaftan*, and delivering into his hands the command of the palace. Yet when his affairs were settled, he seized *Ayyâdh*, and put him to death.

THE author or authors made use of by *D'Herbelot*, gives a *Opposes his* very different account of this affair; viz. that *Ayyâz* and *Se-nepherw*. *dekias*, the tutors of the young prince, having assembled powerful forces to oppose Soltân *Mohammed*, the two armies met in 501: but that, while they faced each other, expecting the Hej. 501. signal for battle, there appeared in the sky a cloud, in form A. D. of a dragon, which cast down so much fire upon the troops 1107. of *Malek Shâh*, that the soldiers, terrified with so strange an event, threw down their arms, and begged quarter of *Mohammed*; who, by this means, became master of the persons both of his nephew and his two generals, whom he sent prisoners to the castle of *Lehed*.

AFTER this unexpected victory, without a blow, he march- *Obtains* ed to *Baghdâd*; where he obtained the title of *Gâyâth*, or *the empire*. *Mogayâth-o'dîn* (A); and in his patents was dignified with that of *Amir al-Momenîn*, or *commander of the faithful*; by which, in effect, the temporal power of the Khalifah over the *Moslems* was conferred on him.

THE same year the Soltân marched against *Sayfo'ddin Sâdka* (B), prince of *Hella*, who was slain, and his forces routed, after he had enjoyed his state twenty-two years, and lived fifty-six.

MOHAMMED having finished this small expedition, re- *A false* turned to *Baghdâd*. During his stay there, he was informed, *prophet* that one *Ahmed*, surnamed *Atthâsh*, a pretended prophet, *rebels.* had not only gained over a great number of followers by his impostures, but also seized the fortrefs of *Dizghodeh*, after corrupting the minds of the garrison with his impious tenets. This important place had been built by *Malek Shâh*, near *Isfâhân*, to awe the inhabitants, who were very subject to revolt. On this advice the Soltân hastened thither, and formed the blockade of the castle, which was so strong, both by situation and art, that there was no reducing it but by famine.

THE place not having been furnished with provisions, *At-Corrupts* *thâsh* soon found himself obliged to send a man to inform *the Wa-* *xir.*

* BEN AMID. p. 367.

(A) That is, *the propagator of* (B) Son of *Danis* (*Dobays*), *the religion*: he is called also son of *Ali*, son of *Yezid al* *Garâib'dîn Abûshriab Moham-* *Asâdi.* *med.*

Saad al Malk, surnamed *Awji*, the Soltân's Wazîr, whom he had also infected with his opinions, that he could not hold out above two or three days longer. The Wazîr answered, that he only desired him to stand his ground eight or ten days more, for that, within such time, he would find means to rid him of *that dog*, meaning the Soltân.

THIS prince, who was of a very sanguine complexion, and usually fell into great disorders occasioned by excess of blood, was accustomed to lose some every month. *Awji* hereupon went to the surgeon, who, for the reward of a thousand chekins, and a purple vest, promised to make use of a poisoned lancet the first time he bled the Soltân.

His treason detected.

THE plot happening to come to the knowledge of one of the grooms of the prince's chamber, he discovered it to his wife, and she to her gallant, who communicated it to the Soltân himself. As soon as he was apprized of it, he pretended he wanted to be let blood; and accordingly the surgeon was sent for; who, having bound up the Soltân's arm, took out the fatal instrument: but while he was going to perform the operation, *Mohammed* cast so terrible a look at him, that the wretched phlebotomist, being seized all over with a trembling, which made the lancet drop out of his hand, fell at his sovereign's feet; and confessing his wicked design, declared who was the author of it. The Wazîr was immediately seized, and punished as he deserved: the surgeon was only sentenced to be bled with the same instrument which he had prepared to bleed the Soltân.

The rebels punished.

THE rebels finding that their treason was discovered, and being no longer able to resist, surrendered at discretion. *At-tash* their chief was conducted to *Isfâhân*, tied neck and heels upon a camel: there, after the prophet had been exposed for some days as a laughing-stock to the people, he was put to a cruel death: after which his body was burned, with a great number of his disciples, who had joined in the revolt. It is reported, that this impostor, who was well versed in astrology and geomancy, finding himself hard pressed by the besiegers, wrote to the Soltân, that he had found by his horoscope, that, in a few days, he should be surrounded with a great number of stars in the midst of *Isfâhân*, even in the presence of the Soltân: and when he was led through the city, accompanied with great crowds of spectators, to the place of execution, being asked concerning the accomplishment of his prediction, he answered, that nothing could be a clearer verification than the condition he then was in; but that he found the great number of stars, which he hoped to see, were not to
serve,

serve, as he had believed, to do him honour, but to cover him with shame and confusion.

SOLTAN Mohammed having settled his dominions in peace, *Conquests* marched into *Hindoustan*, and made considerable conquests in India. there. The author of the *Tarikh Ghuzideh* relates, that this prince, who was very zealous for religion, having found, in one of the temples which he had demolished, an image of stone, weighing 400 kintals, he ordered it to be removed, as an object of idolatry. The *Indians* offered its weight in precious stones, and other things for its ransom; but Mohammed rejecting their proposal, said to his officers, *I would not have it reported hereafter that Azâr (C) was a maker of images, and Mohammed was a merchant of them.* At the same time he ordered that great heap of stone to be transported to *Isfahan*; where, after having been shewn as a trophy of his victory, it was condemned to serve for the threshold of the great gate belonging to the stately college which he erected there, and which contained his sepulchre^b.

AUTHORS having furnished us with no farther transactions of this Soltan's reign, in the east part of his empire, let *success* us look westward, and see what is doing on that side.

IN 500, the year after *Jagarmish*, prince of *Musol*, had Hej. 500. submitted to Mohammed, as hath been before related, *Al Jâ- A. D. wali Sakawwa*, lord of *Roha*, or *Orfâ*, marched against him 1106. with 1000 men; and rushing into the middle of his troops, though double the number, put them to flight; none remaining behind but *Jagarmish* himself, who, not able to ride for a paralytical disorder, was carried in a litter. The news of his being taken coming to the citizens, they gave the command to his son *Zenghi*. Afterwards *Al Jâweli*, besieging *Musol*, had *Jagarmish* shewed to the people daily on a mule, offering to set him at liberty, in case they would surrender the city to him. On their non-compliance he imprisoned him in a place under-ground, where one morning they found him dead.

HEREUPON his subjects wrote to *Kilej Arslân*, son of *Sô-Soltân leymân*, son of *Kotolmish*, prince of *Kaniya* (D) and *Akâra*, of *Arslan* fering to deliver the city to him; on whose approach *Al Jâweli* broke up the siege. *Kilej Arslân*, after honouring *Zenghi* and his attendants with *Kaftâns*, ordered the name of Sol-

^b D'HERB. p. 605, & seq. art Mohammed ben Malek Shâh.

(C) So they call *Terah*, the *Pût-tirash*, that is, the cutter or father of *Abram*. The *Per-* carver of images.
sians give him the surname of (D) *Ronium*, in *Asia minor*.

tān Mohammedi to be suppressed in the pulpits, and his own mentioned instead of it. This done, he marched against *Al Jaweli*, who was at *Roha* (E), but was defeated at the river *Khābūr*; into which the Soltān entering, defended himself with his bow against the enemy; but his horse carrying him out of his depth, he was drowned. His body appearing some days after, he was buried at *Shemsania*. *Al Jaweli*, on this success, went back, and took *Musol*. But, in

Hej. 502.

A. D. 502, *Maūdūd*, son of *Altān Takāsh* (F), with the army of Soltān *Mohammed*, recovered it; and took possession.

1108.

Franks

take Tri-
poli,

THE same year the *Franks* took *Tripoli* by capitulation, after a siege of seven years continuance; the inhabitants having been destroyed by famine and the sword. It was a great city, full of *Mohammedāns* and learned men.

NEXT year *Tangri al Franji* (*Tankred*) lord of *Antioch*, took *Tarsūs* and *Adenā*, in the borders of *Syria*, and *Hefnā Akraā* (G) surrendered to him. Others say, the forts of *Akad* and *Minattar* were reduced; but that *Mesafas* and *Akkād* bought their peace, by agreeing to pay tribute; yet soon revolted. The *Franks* likewise subdued *Beyrūt*, or *Bētus*, after a long siege; the ambassadors of the *Egyptian* Khalifah making a vigorous defence. The same year died *Korāja*, prince of *Hems*, and was succeeded by his son *Sam* *Sam Herohān*.

Sidon

taken.

Hej. 504.

A. D.

1110.

IN 504 the *Franks* took *Sayda*, or *Sidon*, and *Rardā*, with all the coast of *Syria*. At the beginning of the year 506, *Amir Maūdūd*, lord of *Musol*, encamped near *Roba*, whose corn-fields were devoured by his army. From thence he removed to *Sarūj* (H), where they did the same: not once thinking of the *Franks*, till *Jūstin* (I), lord of *Tel Bāsher* (K), came on him suddenly, while the horses were dispersed over the pastures, of which he took many, and killed a good number of his men.

NEXT year, the *Moslems* uniting their forces, invaded the acquisitions of the *Franks*, who were defeated near *Tiberias*.

* ABU'LF. p. 244, & seq.

† EBN AMID. p. 367.

* ABU'LF. p. 245.

† EBN AMID. p. 367.

(E) Or *Orfa*, formerly *E-
deffa*. journey eastward of *Bir*, near *Harrān*, and *Roba*, or *Orfa*.

(F) *Alias Takin*, or *Tatkin*. (I) *Josseline*.

(G) That is, the castle of the *Kürds*. (K) A very strong castle, two days journey to the north of

(H) A small town, a day's *Halap*, or *Aleppo*.

AFTER

AFTER the battle, *Maidûd*, who was one of the allied Franks princes (L), gave leave to his troops to return and refresh themselves till the spring following; and went himself to *Damaskus*, to spend the season with *Tegtakkîn*, lord of that city: but one day as he was going into the *Masjed*, a *Bataniſt* approaching him, under pretence of begging alms, stabbed him four times with a knife, of which wounds he died the same day, and the assassin was put to death 8.

THE same year died *Fahrô'ddawlat Redwân*, son of *Taj'oddawlat Tataſb*, prince of *Halep*, and was succeeded by his son *Tajo'ddawlat*, surnamed *Ahrâs*: who being slain the year following, the city and castle of *Halep* fell into the hands of *Lûlû*, page to *Tajo'rrûs*, son of *Jalâla*, who afterwards resigned them to *Soltân Shâh*, son of *Redwân*.

IN 509 *Dhaherô'ddin Atabek Tegtakkîn*, prince of *Damaf-Affairs of kus*, went to *Baghdâd*, and offered his service to *Mostadir Syria*. *Billah*, and *Gayathô'ddin Mohammed*, who received him with great honour. Next year he returned; and *Lûlû*, prince of *Halep*, was killed near *Balîs* (M), in going to the castle of *Jaffar*. Thereupon *Abu Meali Ebn Malki*, secretary of war, succeeded in the command of the fortrefs of *Halep*; which, the year following, fell into the hands of *Amîr Bulgari Ebn Arîk*, who held it five years ^h.

THE year 511 was fatal to *Soltân Gayathô'ddin Mohammed*, who died in the last month of it, after he had lived thirty-six years, and reigned thirteen (N). When he perceived death approaching, he sent for his son *Mahmûd Abu'l Kassem*, but fourteen years old, whom he had declared his successor, kissed him, and wept: then ordered him to go and sit in the throne: but the young prince declined it, saying, it was an unlucky day. The Soltân answered, *You say true; but it is so to your father, not to you, who gain an empire*. Then mounting the throne, he was there adorned with the crown and bracelets ¹.

⁸ ABU'LF. p. 246. ^b EBN AMID. p. 368. ¹ D'HERB. ubi supr. p. 607. EBN AMID. p. 368. ABU'LF. p. 246.

(L) *Ebn Amîd* says, he was sent against the Franks by *Soltân Mohammed*, in 504; and that he was killed by the *Bataniſts*, near *Damaskus*, in 505. But we choose to follow *Abû'lfaraj* as to the dates.

(M) A town on the *Euphrates*, between *Halep* and *Rakka*.

(N) According to the *Lebtarikb* he was born in 474, reigned 13 years, lived 24, and died in 501. But these two last numbers must be mistakes, for 37 and 511.

His character.

SOLTAN Mohammed was eminent for gravity, justice, and clemency; was strong, and could talk well*. He left in the treasury eleven millions of gold, besides as much in furniture, and other effects. Historians do not tell us what methods he made use of to fill his coffers: but by the following story, related in the *Nighiaristân*, it may be judged, that that they were not more equitable than those which other princes have employed for the same purpose.

The Wazîr is taught

DHIA al Molk, son of the famous *Nezâm al Molk*, assassinated in the reign of *Malek Shâh*, apprehending himself injured by some ill officers of *Alao'ddawlat*, prince of *Hamadân*, who assumed the title of *Saïd* or *Sëid* (O), which word, signifying *lord*, is appropriated to the race of *Mohammed*; to be revenged on him, told the Soltân, that if he would permit him to call *Alao'ddawlat* to an account, he would engage to bring 500,000 crowns of gold into the treasury. The Soltân granted his request. But as the *Saïd*, who had many friends at court, was quickly informed of what was doing against him, he made such haste, that he was at *Ispâhân* before the Wazîr knew any-thing of the matter: and finding means to throw himself at the Soltân's feet, represented, the injustice he would commit in giving up a prince of the house of his prophet into the hands of an infidel and heretic, as was the Wazîr. He added, that, if the desire of so much money was what had induced him to consent to his minister's injurious proposal, he would pay down 800,000 crowns, which were 300,000 more than the malicious Wazîr had offered, provided his majesty would deliver *Dhia al Molk* into his hands; with leave to oblige him to render as exact and rigorous an account as he should require of him.

in his own snare.

Instance of firmness,

THIS proposal being accepted of (P), the *Saïd* returned, along with a person who was commissioned to receive the money. Being arrived at *Hamadân*, the officer, who expected that the prince would lodge him in his palace, and do him many other honours, was given to understand, that he must repair to the public *Karawansaray*, or inn, and live at his own expence, till the sum could be raised; and that then notice should be given him to come and take it away. The officer, offended at this treatment, began with complaints; and finding them of no avail, proceeded to menaces.

* ABU'LF. p. 246. Lebtarikh. p. 43. EBN AMID. p. 368.

(O) Or *Seyd*: the Spaniards from thence have made their *Cid*. frequently practised by the late Muley Ismael, emperor of *Morocco*.

(P) This sort of traffick was

But the *Saïd*, assuming an air of authority, told him, *If you and noble do not be easy, I will order you to be hanged up instantly, be-spirit. fore the house where you lodge; after which I have only to add 100,000 crowns more to the sum which I have promised the Soltân; for with that money he might buy a thousand slaves, the worst of whom would be better than you.* The officer, who was in fact one of the Soltân's slaves, hearing the *Saïd* talk in that manner, thought it best to bear all patiently, and waited at the inn forty days; in which time *Alao'd-dawlat* raised the sum in question, without either borrowing money on interest, or selling any of his effects.

ON the cash being paid into the royal treasury, the *Wazîr Unparal-* was delivered into the hands of the *Saïd*, to do with him *elled ge-* just as he should think fit: but that prince set, on this oc- *nerosity.* casion, an example of virtue, the most eminent and rare to be found among men; for, instead of taking vengeance on his enemy, or even of making him pay the sum which he had been obliged to give the Soltân, he treated him with so much honour and generosity (Q), that *Dhia al Mulk* became his best friend ¹.

AFTER the death of *Mohammed* was known, *Sanjar* (R), *Sixth Sol-* son of *Malek Shâh*, who had governed the great province of *ân*, *San-* *Khorasân* for twenty years, under the two preceding reigns *jar.* of his brothers, raised a puissant army; and marched (S) into the province of *Persian Irâk*, where his nephew *Mahmûd Abu'l-kassim*, surnamed *Mogayatho'ddin*, had taken the title of Soltân: but the latter being defeated, after a bloody battle fought between them, he retired to the castle of *Saveh*, a place of great strength and importance.

MAHMUD, finding his affairs intirely ruined, was obliged *Divides* to sue for peace to his uncle, and sent to him his *Wazîr Ke-* *the empire;* *malo'ddin Ali*, a very eloquent person, who, by his address, brought about an accommodation. Hereupon *Mahmûd* went to visit *Sanjar*; and was so well received, that he obtained of him the investiture of the province of *Irâk* (T), with the following

¹ NIGHIARIST. ap. D'Herb. p. 606, & seq.

(Q) This is agreeable to a precept of the *Koran*, *Do good to him who does you harm.*

(R) Pronounced also *Sanjer*, and *Senjar*.

(S) According to *Abu'l-faraj*, and the *Lebtarikh*, this war be-

gan in the year of the *Hjrah* 513, of *Christ* 1119.

(T) In another place of *De Herbelot*, p. 537, art. *Mahmûd*, it is said that he was made *Sanjar's* governor, and lieutenant-general, in both the *Irâks*; and p. 185.

following conditions : that the name of *Sanjar* should always be mentioned in the public prayers before that of *Mahmûd* ; that this latter should not have the fourth veil, or curtain (U), in his apartments ; that the trumpet should not sound when he went in or out of his palace ; and lastly, that he should retain the officers whom his uncle had established in his province.

with his
nephew.

MAHMUD, according to *Kondâmîr*, was obliged to receive these conditions with thanks, and resolved to spend his time in hunting, without meddling with any affairs. However that may be, this seems, from the course of the history, to have been an actual partition of empire, which took place soon after, if not from the time, when the agreement was made ; by virtue whereof *Mahmûd* and his descendants were to enjoy the share allotted to him, with the title of *Soltân*, in as absolute a manner as *Sanjar* enjoyed his. Accordingly we find that *Mahmûd* was succeeded in his dominions by four or five princes, who claimed under him, during the reign of *Sanjar* * in *Khorasân* : nor does it appear that he gave any opposition to their succession ; or that they applied to him for his consent. At the same time it must be confessed, that the histories and extracts which have come to us relating to these *Soltâns*, are very defective ; and, to add to the misfortune, that of *Ebn Amîd*, which was one of our chief funds, descends no lower than the reign of *Soltân Mohammed*, *Sanjar*'s predecessor^m.

Death of
Kothb-
o'ddîn.

THIS *Soltân* is called * *Moazo'ddîn Abu'lhareth*, and *Moazo'ddîn Borhan* (X). The first thing remarkable that we meet with in his reign is the death of *Kothbo'ddîn*, founder of a new monarchy, in the year 521. His father *Bustekkin* was slave to *Balkatekkîn*, or *Malkatekkîn*, who was one of *Malek Shâh*'s principal slaves, and possessed the employment of *Teshtdâr*, that is, great butler, or cup-bearer ; on whose death the *Soltân* gave it to *Bustekkin* : and, because the revenues of *Karazm*, a country on the east side of the *Caspian* sea, were annexed to that office, he easily obtained the government of

* *KOND. ap. D'HERB. p. 755, & seq. art. Sangiar.*

* *DE*

HERB. art. Seljûkian.

* *Lebtar. p. 43.*

p. 185, art. *Barkiarok*, the title of lieutenant-general is given him as the signification of *Atabek*. The *Lebtarikb* says, that *Sanjar* restored to him *Irâk*, as far as the borders of the *Roman* empire and *Syria*.

(U) Hung before the door of a room for state.

(X) This is the same mentioned by *R. Benjamin*, the lying Jew, in his travels, who calls him *Senigar Shâb*, son of *Shâb* (1), that is, *Malek Shâb*.

(1) *Benj. Tudel. edit. Conf. l'emp. p. 87.*

that

that province. His son *Kothbo'ddîn* succeeded him in all his places. As he was a man of spirit and valour, his credit grew so much during the reigns of *Barkiarok* and *Sanjar*, that he obtained the title of *Karâzm Shâh*, that is, king of *Karâzm*, which descended to all his posterity, in that great monarchy of which he was the founder, and which proved at length the ruin of the *Seljukian* dynasty of *Irân*, to which they owed their rise. However *Kothbo'ddîn*, though very powerful, never departed from his obedience to the Soltâns; and, for thirty years, he did his duty of cup-bearer at court every second year, being relieved every other year by his son *Atsiz* °.

In the year 524, *Sanjar* passed the *Jihân*, into *Maward'eh*. *Revolters* *nahr*, to reduce *Ahmed ebn Soleymân*, governor of *Samarkand*, who refused to pay the usual tribute. Being obliged to surrender after a vigorous siege, the Soltân spared his life, only depriving him of the government, which he gave to one of his slaves: but *Ahmed*, finding means to get into *Sanjar's* favour, was in a little time restored. After this *Bahrâm Shâh*, Soltân of the *Gazni* family, whose kingdom extended from the province of *Gazna*, to the east of *Khorâsân*, a great way into *Hindowstân*, had a mind also to shake off the yoke of the *Seljukians*. Hereupon, in 530, the Soltân entered his dominions with a large army: but *Bahrâm*, not being able to resist so great a force, sent ambassadors to pay the tribute, and do homage for his crown, by which means he diverted the storm ¶.

UPON the death of *Kothbo'ddîn* before-mentioned, his son *Atsiz* *Kâsîz*, called also *Takaşîz*, succeeded, both in his employments and the title of *Karâzm Shâh*, though no more, in reality, than governor of that province, like his father. He grew in great credit with *Sanjar* by his services, especially in coming up seasonably to rescue him out of the hands of an ambuscade, laid for him by *Ahmed*, governor of *Samarkand*, before-mentioned. But afterwards growing out of favour at court, he got leave to retire to his government, where the people were inclined to revolt. The Soltân, at his departure, saying to those about him, *I see the back of a man, whose face it is likely I never shall see again*. They advised to have him arrested: but *Sanjar* would not consent; alleging, *that he should violate the acknowledgements due both to him and his father for their services, if he should do any thing to offend him on a bare suspicion*.

° D'HERB. p. 176, art. Cothbeddin.
p. 756, art. Sangiar.

¶ KONR. ap. D'Herb.

rebels with
success.

ATSIZ verified the Soltân's prognostic; for he no sooner arrived in *Karazm*, than he put himself at the head of the rebels: so that *Sanjar* was obliged to reduce by force an enemy, whom he had suffered to escape, by having more regard to the maxims of amity than those of policy. However, the expedition did not give him much trouble; for advancing in 533, with superior forces, he put the rebels to flight: and *Il Kilij*, son of *Atsiz*, being taken, was put to death. The troubles in *Karazm* being thus effectually suppressed, *Sanjar* gave the government of it to his nephew *Soleymân Shâh*. But as he left him only a few forces, he was soon obliged to quit it to *Atsiz*; who advancing with a considerable army, re-entered *Karazm*. And this year is reckoned for the commencement of the dynasty of the *Karazm Shâhs*, or sovereigns in a proper sense.

Another
rebellion
quashed.

Hej. 535.
A. D.
1140.

Two years after, *Samarkand* rebelled again, in opposition to the governor; who, being afflicted with the palsy, was not able to act. The Soltân marched against them; and, after a siege of six months, the city surrendered: but *Sanjar* spared the inhabitants, according to his usual clemency; and displacing the feeble father, gave the government of the place to his son.

Tartarian
war.

DURING the Soltân's stay at *Samarkand*, he was solicited by some lords of his court to bend his arms against *Gurjash*, king of *Karakatay* (Y); alleging the glory that would arise from the conquest of a country deemed in a manner inaccessible. *Sanjar*, prevailed on by their instances, marched on that side (Z); but *Gurjash* advancing with his forces, cut in pieces 30,000 of the Soltân's troops, and seized his camp, where was all his equipage, and *Haram*, or women; among whom was *Tarkhân Khatûn*, his principal queen. *Sanjar*, in this distress, picked out 300 of his bravest men, and made his way through the middle of his enemies, in order to reach *Termed* (A), where he arrived with only twelve or fifteen followers. The rest of his scattered troops repairing thither by degrees, he passed with them into *Khorasân*, quite ashamed

1 KOND. Lebtar. & Nighiar. ap. D'Herb. p. 146, art. *Atsiz*.

(Y) See an account of this country before. p. 57. 65, & seq. *D'Herbelot*, or his author *Kondamîr*, says, it is called *black Katay*, because of the thickness of its forests, and deepness of its valleys, which render it dark and gloomy.

(Z) The *Lebtarîkh* places this expedition in the year 536, of *Christ* 1141, and says, the consequence of his defeat was the loss of *Mawâra'lnahr*.

(A) A city on the *Tibûn*, to the north of *Balkh*.

of

of his expedition; which convinced his people that he was not invincible, as before they thought him to be.

ATSIZ continuing more and more to encroach on the *Atsiz's* Soltân's authority, he found himself obliged, a second time, ^{attempt} to take the field against him; and, in 538, having reduced ^{against} several passes and strong places in the way, came and besieged him in his capital city. *Atsiz* finding himself reduced to the last extremity, sent very rich presents to *Sanjar*, intreating pardon, which was granted by the generous Soltân: who, on his taking a new oath of fidelity, left him in possession of his government. But all this clemency had no effect on the ambitious mind of *Atsiz*; *Sanjar* receiving advice, from several parts, that he was raising forces, and paid no regard to his orders, sent *Adibfâber*, one of his great lords, to inform himself of the conduct of *Atsiz*; who, on his arrival in *Karazm*, set guards over him, and sent assassins to *Marâ* to kill the ^{the Sol-} Soltân. But *Adib* coming to the knowlege hereof, gave no- ^{tân's life.} tice to *Sanjar*; so that the braves were discovered, and put to death. *Atsiz* concluding that the intelligence came from that lord, had him thrown headlong from the top of his castle into the *Jihûn*, or *Amâ*.

In 542, the Soltân undertook once more to punish the ^{Submits at} treason of *Atsiz*; and invested *Hazar Asb*, the strongest place ^{last.} in *Karazm*, where *Atsiz* shut himself up; and, after making ^{Hej. 542.} a vigorous defence, had the good luck to escape; the city ^{A. D.} having been taken at length by storm. *Sanjar* followed him ^{1147.} to the city of *Karazm*, which he might soon have taken; but whether weary of the fatigues attending the camp, or through his aversion to shed blood, he listened to proposals of peace, negotiated by a *Darwîsh*, or religious man; by whose management *Atsiz* was obliged only to repair to the side of the *Jihûn*, opposite to the Soltân's camp, and there prostrating himself, kiss the earth. *Atsiz* came to the place appointed; but, without alighting off his horse, only stooped forward, and bowed his head to salute the Soltân; who, for all this arrogance, sent him the pardon he had promised: after which all hostilities ceased between them, till the time of the death of *Atsiz*, which happened in 551, the year before that of the Soltân.

ONE of the most remarkable events in this Soltân's reign, *Gaurmade* is the signal victory which, in 554, he obtained over *Hussayn tributary.* *Jehânsûz*, Soltân of the dynasty of *Gaur*, a country lying be- ^{Hej. 544.} tween that of *Gazna* and *Kôorasân*. *Hussayn* having entered ^{A. D.} ^{1149.}

* KOND. ubi supr. p. 756, art. Sangiar.
& seq. art. Atsiz.

* Ibid. p. 146.

this last province with a great army, in order to conquer it, *Sanjar* marched his troops, and, defeating them, took both him and *Ali Cheteri*, his general, prisoners. As *Ali* was born in the dominions of *Sanjar*, and had formerly been loaded with favours by him, that prince put him to death for his ingratitude; but soon after sent home *Hussey*n to govern *Gaur* under his authority.

The Soltân taken by the Turkmâns. In 548 the Soltân was led, against his inclination, to chastise the *Turkmâns*, who refused to pay the usual tribute of sheep (B); when his army was defeated, and himself taken prisoner by that rabble, to the great dishonour of the house of *Seljûk*; which was so much revered by all the *Turkish* nation (C). These *Turkmâns*, not knowing what to do with the person of so great a prince, placed him in the day-time on a throne, and shut him up at night in an iron cage. He spent four years in this confinement; till the Soltâna *Tarkhan Khatûn*, who governed in his absence, happening to die in 551, he resolved to deliver himself out of the hands of the *Turkmâns*.

Hej. 551. A D. 1156.
Escapes by stratagem. To bring this about, he employed *Amîr Elias*, one of his confidants, who carrying on a correspondence with *Amîr Ahmed Komaj*, governor of *Termed*, got him to provide boats ready in the river, against the Soltân passed by in hunting. This stratagem succeeded to *Sanjar's* wishes; and the governor, after entertaining him magnificently at his castle, gathered what troops he could, who conducted him to *Marrû*, then the capital of *Khorasân*, where he usually resided. But the Soltân found that city, and all the country through which he passed, in so bad a condition, on account of the incursions which the *Turkmâns* had made during his absence,

(B) The cause of this war is represented somewhat differently in the *Lebtarikb*: according to this author, the *Gâz*, or *Turkmâns*, crossing the *Jibûn* towards the end of *Sanjar's* reign, suffered great misery: yet the king resolved to march against them. The *Gâz* begged peace in the most suppliant manner; each family offering a piece of silver, with which the Soltân was content: but the grandees obstructing the treaty, the *Gâz* were attacked.

(C) This event, in the article of *Atîz*, is placed in the beginning of *Sanjar's* reign; but on whose authority does not appear: for though *D'Herbelot* quotes *Kondamir*, it is along with other authors, at the end of the whole article, and not at the particular facts or paragraphs, as he does in other articles. It is there said that *Atîz* governed the state, in conjunction with *Mahmûd*, *Sanjar's* nephew, during the Soltân's captivity.

that

that he fell into a deep melancholy, and afterwards into a Hej. 552.
distemper (D) of which he died in the year 552¹. A. D.

ACCORDING to the *Lebtarikh*, this Soltân lived seventy-¹¹⁵⁷
two years, and reigned sixty-two, in which must be under-^{His death.}
stood to be included the twenty years, which, the same au-
thor says, he reigned in *Khorasân*, before the death of *Mo-*
ammed his predecessor.

HE extended his empire from *Katay* and *Kotan* (†), to the *Extensive*
end of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and from the sea of *Kbozâr*, or the *dominions.*
Caspian, to *Yamman*, or *Arabia felix*.

HE fought nineteen battles, of which he gained seventeen :
was much feared by all ; famous for liberality and clemency
to his subjects. He was diligent in matters of government, *His cha-*
but hated kingly pride ; wearing a coat made of skins *. Yet *rather.*
the *Karazm Shâh's* serving the office of cup-bearer to him, is
produced as an argument of the magnificence with which he
lived.

ALL the oriental historians praise this prince for his va-^{Greatly}
lour and justice, magnanimity and goodness. As a proof of ^{beloved.}
this, they write, that he was so well beloved by his subjects,
that they continued to publish his name in the temples for
a whole year after his death, as if he had been still alive, and
on the throne. They gave him also the surname of *Eskander*
Tbani, that is, *Alexander the second* : and his name of *San-*
jar has passed for that of *Alexander* among his posterity *.

IT is remarked that this Soltân established *Saïd Ebn Zen-Atabek*
ghi (E), who had been his governor, lieutenant-general of *dynasties.*
all his dominions, under the title of *Atabek* ; which title sig-
nifying, *father of the prince* (F), and given to the tutors or
governors of the *Seljukian* princes, became afterwards a title
of dignity.

* KOND. ubi supr. p. 756, & seq. art Sangiar. * *Lebta-*
rikh, p. 43. * KOND. ubi supr. p. 757, art. Sangiar.

(D) According to the *Nigbi-*
aristân (1) and *Abû'Isaraj*, it was
the cholick, attended with a loose-
ness and vomiting.

(†) This is straining things
too far ; for, instead of con-
quering, he was defeated by
the *Karakitayans*, as before re-
lated.

(E) This must have been *Oma-*
d'adin Zengbi, the first *Atabek* of
Irâk, in 521, or *Modhaffero'dîn*

Mosbaker, first *Atabek* of *Pârs*,
or proper *Persia*, in 543, both
being established during *Sanjar's*
reign. He seems to have been
the first ; but *D'Herbelot* is very
confused on this head. See the
articles *Atabek*, *Saad ben Mo-*
zaffer, and *Salgar Shâh*.

(F) *Dr. Pocock* renders it, *ad-*
ministrato regni. *Abû'Isaraj.*
hist. dynast. p. 250. So does
D'Herbelot in some places,

(1) *D'Herb.* p. 757. *Abû'Is.* p. 258.

AFTER

Reign of
the Sel-
jûks,

AFTER *Sanjar's* death, *Mahmûd*, his sister's son, by *Mohammed Khân*, descended from *Bagra Khân*, succeeded in *Khorasân*. But at the end of five years, one of his lords (G) revolted from him, and, after several battles, seized his dominions, and deprived him of sight. The Soltân of *Karazm*, whose dynasty rose during the reign of *Sanjar*, taking advantage of these divisions in *Khorasân*, made himself master of one part of that great province, while the other remained in possession of the rebels (H). So that the *Seljûkian* Soltâns, who still reigned in both the *Irâks*, no longer had any footing in *Khorasân*.*

extinct in
Khora-
sân.

WE must now turn back to these Soltâns; the first of whom, *Magayatho'dîn Mahmûd Ebn Mohammed*, though beginning his reign at the same time with his uncle *Sanjar*, and dying twenty-seven years before him (I), is yet reckoned his successor: *Mahmûd*, *Sanjar's* sister's son, before-mentioned, not being put in the list of Soltâns.

SECT IX.

The Reigns of Mahmûd, Togrol, and Massûd.

Seventh
Soltân,
Mahmûd.

IT hath been observed before, in the reign of *Sanjar*, that *Mahmûd*, son of his brother *Mohammed*, surnamed *Magayatho'dîn Abu'l-kassim*, by the agreement made between them in 513 (A), was left in possession of the *Persian* and *Arabian Irâks*, with the countries westward, whereof, tho' according to *Kondamîr* he was only *Sanjar's* governor and lieutenant-general, yet he seems to have acted independently of him: nor does it appear that his uncle exercised any power within his dominions. It is true, none of the authors before us give any account of this Soltân's transactions, after

* MIRKOND ap. D'Herb. p. 537, art. Mahmûd Khân..

(G) The *Lebtarâkh*, which calls him *Moyedabia*, says, that he had been one of *Sanjar's* slaves.

(H) The *Lebtarâkh* says, the Soltâns of *Gaur* had also a part.

(I) Here we must take notice of a great mistake in *Kondamîr*, or his extractor *D'Herbelot*, who, in the article of *Mahmûd*, son of *Mohammed*, p. 537. says, he reigned fourteen years in *Irâk*, as

governor under *Sanjar*; but that, on the Soltân's death, he was proclaimed by the people for his fine qualities; yet in the same page (article *Mohammed Khân*), makes *Mahmûd* the son of this latter, to succeed him, twenty-six years after.

(A) Yet the beginning of his reign is reckoned from the death of his father.

his

his agreement with *Sanjar*. D'Herbelot's extracts from *Kht-Defet of Amír*, and other oriental authors, end there*. *Ferreira* was authors. in such haste to finish his abstract of *Mirkond*, that he would scarce allow himself to look into the history of the *Seljukian* Soltáns, or even to know their names. The *Lebtarikh* only says, that *Mahmúd* married two of *Sanjar's* daughters, and fought two battles with his brother *Massúd*, whom he defeated both times. In short, the particulars collected by *Abúlfaraj*, relate almost solely to the affairs of *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*; which, in effect, are all the materials we have towards the history of this Soltán's reign.

THAT author informs us, agreeable to the account given *Death of* by the western historians, that, in the year 512, as *Baldwin*, *Baldwin*. king of *Jerusalem*, was swimming in the *Nile* at *Balbays*, in *Hej. 512.* *Egypt*, a wound, which he formerly had received, opened; *A. D.* whereupon returning to *Jerusalem*, he there died, after hav- *1118.* ing recommended the care of his kingdom to *Al Comes* (B), lord of *Roba*.

IN 514 the *Gorj*, or *Korj*, who are the same with the *Kho-* *The Gorj,* *zars*, the *Kasjaks*, and other nations, invading the *Moham-* *or Kho-* *medan* countries, *Al Amír Ilgazi*, lord of *Mardín*, *Dobays ebn* *zars,* *Sadeha*, lord of *Hellah*, and king *Togrol* (C), to whom be- *A. D.* *1120.* longed *Arrán* and *Nakhjaván*, advanced to meet them as far as *Teflis*, with 30,000 men. The armies being drawn up to battle, there came forth 200 *Kasjaks*, who, as the *Moslems* thought, intended to surrender themselves: instead of that, they attacked their front so vigorously with arrows, as put *invade the* them into disorder; which those in the rear taking for a *Seljuks.* flight, fled with such precipitation, that they stumbled over one another. The *Gorj* pursuing for twelve *Persian* leagues, slew most of them, and took 4000 prisoners: but king *Togrol*, *Ilgazi*, and *Dobays*, escaped. The *Gorj* returning, be- sieged *Teflis*; and, after harassing the inhabitants, took that city next year by storm.

IN 515 *Soleyman*, son of *Ilgazi*, being just turned of twen- *Affairs of* *Syria,* ty, rebelled against his father; but the latter coming upon him unexpectedly, seized those who had set him on, and punished them. Among the rest he ordered one *Nafr*, a commander brought up by his father *Ortok*, to have his eyes plucked out, and tongue cut off. He condemned another,

* Bibl. orient. art. Sangiar & Mahmoud, fils de Mohammed.

(B) For *Comes*; so they call *Jagarmish*, and set free by *Já-* the count of *Roba*, or *Edessa*, *weli*, before-mentioned. who had been taken prisoner by (C) A brother of *Mahmúd*.

whom he had made governor of *Halep*, first to be deprived of sight, and then to have his hands and feet chopped off, which occasioned his death.

SOLEYMAN was brought before him drunk; but he was restrained from killing him by natural affection. After this he fled to *Damaskus*; and *Ilgâzi* made *Soleymân*, son of his brother *Abd'ljabbar*, governor of *Halep*, and named him *Badro'ddawlat*; after which he returned to *Mardin*.

and Meso- THE same year the Soltân (D) gave *Mayaferkin* to the *Amir*
potamia. *Ilgâzi ibn Ortok*; and the cities of *Musol*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Senjar*, to the *Amir Kojaym o'ddawlat Okfenkar al Borsâki*.

Hej. 516. NEXT year *Ilgâzi* died at *Mayaferkin*; on which his son

A. D. *Hafamo'ddin Tamartasb* seized the castle of *Mardin*, and his

1122. son *Soleymân Mayaferkin*; *Badro'ddawlat Soleymân* continu-

A. D. ing at *Halep*. But, in 517, *Balak*, son of *Bahrâm ibn Or-*

1123. *tok*, finding his cousin *Soleymân* not able to defend his coun-

try, came and closely besieged *Halep*, which was at last sur-

A. D. rendered to him. Next year he took *Manbej*, but was slain

1124. by an arrow (E) in attacking the castle. Hereupon his army

dispersed; and *Okfenkar al Borsâki* took *Halep*, as the *Franks* did *Sâr*, or *Tyre*.

Okfenkar TOWARDS the end of the year 520, *Okfenkar*, lord of *Mu-*
assaf- *sol*, was assassinated in the royal temple of that city by the
snated. *Batânists*, and his son *Ezzo'ddin Massûd* took possession with-
A. D. out opposition. The historian wonders how *Ezzo'ddin* should
1126. be informed of his father's death by the lord of *Antioch* (F),
before a courier brought him the news: But *Abd'lfaraj* ob-
serves, that it was sooner known to the *Franks*, by the care
they took to learn the state affairs among the *Moslems* ^b.

Atabeks THE year 521 is remarkable for being the first of the dy-
of Irak. nasty of the *Atabeks* of *Irâk*, founded by *Omado'ddin Zengbi*

Hej. 521. (G), son of *Okfankar*, or *Akfankar*, who was established in
A. D. the government of the city of *Baghdâd*, by Soltân *Mahmûd*.

1127. His brother *Ezzo'ddin Massûd* dying the same year, *Omado'd-*

^b ABU'LF. p. 248, & seq.

(D) A question may here arise, whether Soltân *Sanjar*, or Soltân *Mahmûd*, is to be understood?

(E) *Fulcher Carnotens.* says, *Balak* was slain in battle against *Josceline*; that 3000 men were slain, and his head sent to *Antioch*.

(F) *Baldwin*, king of *Jersalem*, was at this time in possession of *Antioch*, though he restored it to *Boamond the younger* the same year.

(G) He is, by the historians of the crusade, called *Sanguin*, which is a corruption of *Zengbi*.

dîn became possessed of *Musol*, and its dependencies. Next year he took *Halep*, with its castle; and the year following the city of *Hamah* ^c.

IN 524 *Al Amîr Beahkâmillah Abuali*, lord of *Egypt* (H), Egyptian was assassinated by the *Batânists*, as he returned from taking *Khalifah* a walk. The same year there were seen at *Baghdâd* *scor-assassinated* pions with wings, and a double sting.

THE next year proved fatal to Soltân *Mahmûd*, who died *The Sol-* at *Hamadân*, in *Shawal*, or the tenth month, having lived *tân dies*. about twenty-seven years (I), and reigned thirteen ^d.

HE was a handsome personage, and very generous; but *His cha-* the love of women, and hunting, by degrees, impaired his *rather* character. It is reported, that his hunting-equipage was so *Hej. 525:* magnificent, that he kept 400 greyhounds and blood-hounds, *A. D.* each of which wore a collar set with jewels, and a covering *1130.* edged with gold and pearls. He laid out so much in this expence, that he often wanted money to pay his troops, and for other occasions ^e. Yet he did not fleece his subjects to recruit his coffers: he likewise restrained his favourites from doing them any injury. He was merciful, good-natured, and prudent. He forbore to punish those who spoke ill of him. No prince ever studied the art of reigning more. He was skilled in grammar, poetry, and chronology (K); was very eloquent, and wrote a fine hand ^f.

^c *ABU'LF.* p. 250. *D'HERB.* p. 141, art. Atabek.

^d *ABU'LF.* p. 251.

^e *KOND.* ap. *D'Herb.* p. 537, & 756, art. Mahmûd & Sanjar.

Lebtar. p. 43.

^f *Lebtar.* p. 43.

(H) He was the tenth *Khalifah* of *Egypt*, of the family of *Fatemah*. They are called lords of *Egypt*, by the historians who lived within the dominions of the princes subject to the *Khalifah* of *Baghdâd*, because they acknowledged no other *Khalifah*.

(I) Our authors differ here: *D'Herbelot*, who quotes *Kondamîr*, says, he either governed or reigned alone twenty-seven years: the *Lebtarîkh*, that he lived but twenty-five years, yet puts his birth in 487, which extends his life to thirty-eight

years: perhaps it should be 497, and that will bring it to twenty-eight. The numbers in this author are very incorrect; and *D'Herbelot* seems to make use of them sometimes, without quoting him; and even to substitute them for those of *Kondamîr*. In this uncertainty we must make *Abû'Isfaj* our guide, since *Ebn Amîd* has failed us.

(K) We were unwilling to sully so good a character, by inserting in the text, that he made a collection of the interpretations of dreams.

MAHMUD

*Eighth
Soltân,
Togrol.*

MAHMUD left for his successor his brother *Togrol*, furnamed *Rokno'ddîn* (L) : but his brother *Massûd* disputed the crown with him ; and several battles were fought between them, in the space of three or four years, which he reigned. According to *Kondamîr*, he was the second Soltân of a branch of the *Seljûkiâns* who reigned in *Persian* and *Arabian Irâk* : which confirms our remark, that the agreement made between *Sanjar* and *Mahmûd* contained a division of the *Seljûkian* empire of *Irâk*, or *Persia* at large. However, it does not appear that oriental historians consider them as two separate monarchies, but as one and the same ; making *Mahmûd*, the predecessor of *Togrol* ; the successor of *Sanjar* ; though both died some years before him, as hath been already observed †.

*His reign
short.*

THIS Soltân, according to *Abû'lfaraj*, before he came to the throne, possessed the province of *Arrân* and *Natchjawân* (M). But the authors before us give no account of the transactions of his reign, excepting *Abû'lfaraj* ; whose memoirs, as in the preceding reign, are confined to *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*.

Hej. 526.

THIS annalist informs us, that, in the year 526, Soltân

A. D. *Senjar* wrote (N) to *Omâdo'ddîn Zenghi* (*Atabek of Irâk Arabi*)

1131.

*The Atabek
Zenghi*

and *Dobays Ebn Sadekah* (lord of *Hellah*), commanding them to march into *Irâk*, against the *Khalîfah Al Mostarsbed*. Accordingly they went, and encamped in a place called *Manârîyah*, which belongs to *Dojayl* (O). The *Khalîfah Al Mostarsbed*, passing over to the west side (of the *Tigris*), pitched his tents in *Al Abhasiya*. The armies met in *Hadra al Barâmakeh* (P) ; when *Zenghi* attacking the right wing of the *Khalîfah*,

† KOND. p. 1030, art. *Thogrul*, fil. de *Mohammed*.

(L) According to the *Lebtarîkb*, his name is *Rokno'ddîn Abû'l Motafer Togrol Bek*. We are the more exact in giving the several names, because some authors mention only one, some another ; which frequently confounds readers.

(M) Commonly called *Nakb-juwân*, *Nakbchuwân*, and *Nakb-firwân*, in *Armenia*.

(N) If the name of *Sanjar* be not put here by mistake for

that of *Togrol*, then the Soltâns of *Irâk* must have been dependent on him ; and his successor *Massûd*, as well as his predecessor *Mahmûd*, must have done every thing they did by his orders or consent.

(O) In another copy *Dokbayl*. It is the country along the *Tigris*, for some space, to the north of *Baghdâd*.

(P) The villa of the family of *Barâmakeh*. We mention the great

Khalifah, where was *Jamâl oddawlat Akbal*, put them to flight: at the same time the Khalifah, supported by *Nasr al Khadem* (the eunuch), who commanded his left wing, fell on *Khalifah*, the right wing of *Omâdo'ddîn* and *Dobays*; and, after a sharp conflict, put them to flight; killing and taking many of their men². The same year the *Atabek al Shahîd* recovered *Moarrâh Al Nomân*, in Syria, from the *Franks*^h.

NEXT year the Khalifah sent a pretty sharp message to *Zenghi*, by *Sheykh Bahao'ddîn Abu'l Fotûh*; who, relying on the Khalifah's power, and his own character as legatè, added several reproaches of his own. Hereupon *Zenghi*, arresting him, treated him very ill. *Al Mostarbed*, incensed hereat, departed from *Baghdâd* with 30,000 men; and, approaching *Musol*, *Zenghi* marched out of the city with part of his forces, leaving the rest under the command of his deputy *Nasiro'ddîn*, whom the Khalifah besieged; and, while he pressed the place closely without, a gang of gypsies within agreed to betray it to him: but being discovered, and executed, he retired, after three months leaguer to little purpose; and, next year, a peace was concluded between him and the *Atabek*ⁱ.

SOLTÂN *Togrol* died at *Hamadân*, in the first month of *Togrol* the year 529; lived twenty-five years, and reigned three^{dies}. He was just and valiant, good-natured and liberal. He understood the art of governing, and did nothing unbecoming a prince^k. Hej. 529: A. D. 1134.

MASSUD (P), surnamed *Gayatho'ddîn Abû'lfetah*, was *Ninth Soltân* at *Baghdâd* when his brother *Togrol* died: and while his friends sent a courier to hasten him up to *Hamadân*, then the capital of the *Seljukians* of *Irâk*, the court party dispatched another to *Dawd*, son of *Togrol*, with the same view: but the uncle happening to get the start of the nephew, *Massûd* was unanimously saluted Soltân by the grandees, and *Dawd* no more thought of^l.

HE was scarce seated on the throne, before he found himself obliged to make war on *Al Mostarbed*, twenty-ninth

² ABU'LF. p. 251. ^h EBN AMID. p. 363. ⁱ ABU'LF. p. 251. ^k KOND. ubi supr. p. 1030. Lebtar. p. 44. ^l KOND. ubi supr. p. 563, art. Massoud.

great cities and the small, according to our original proposal, that the geography of these countries may be known to our readers.

(P) *Massûd*, or *Massâid*; the

last *a* being the *Ayn*, which is a guttural, but melted down into the *u*, so as scarce to be heard in the pronunciation; or it may be said to serve only to give the *u* a guttural sound.

Khalifah

Khalifah of *Baghdâd*, of the family of *Al Abbâs*. It seems, that, in the reign of *Togrol*, *Dobays Ebn Sadekah*, who was governor-general of *Irâk Arabi* for the Khalifah, plotted with that Soltân to surprize him in *Baghdâd*. But *Togrol* falling ill of a burning fever, hindered the execution : *Al Mostarsbed*'s army also got the better. This war lasted till *Massûd* came to the crown ; when the Khalifah, at the instance of some court lords, had his name suppressed in the public prayers, and even deprived him of the title of Soltân.

who is
defeated,

MASSUD, being informed of this injury, set out instantly from *Ray*, where he resided, at the head of a powerful army, for the *Arabian Irâk* ; from whence the Khalifah advanced, accompanied by a great number of his grandees. The two armies came to a battle in the seventh month of the year 529 ; when the Khalifah's left wing deserting to the Soltân, he was surrounded and taken, while his right wing, after a slight opposition, fled. After this defeat, *Baghdâd* opened its gates to *Massûd*, without opposition. The Soltân having had another war in his head, carried *Mostarsbed* with him into the province of *Adherbijân*. Being arrived at *Marâgha*, the Khalifah was confined in a tent, at a distance from the army, near the gate of that city : where messengers passed between him and the Soltân, relating to peace. At length it was agreed, that *Al Mostarsbed*, besides paying yearly 400,000 crowns in gold, should remain in *Baghdâd*, and not raise any other troops besides his ordinary guards.

and assassinated.

AFTER this agreement that prelate was suffered to ride on horseback with the covering of a saddle (Q) carried before him, in token of honour. In short, he was ready to return to *Baghdâd*, when news being brought that an ambassador was arrived from Soltân *Sanjar*, the people followed *Massûd* to meet him, and among the rest some of those who had the care of the Khalifah. Twenty-four *Batanists* took this opportunity to get into his tent, and murder him, by giving him above twenty wounds ; then cutting off his nose and ears, left him naked, where he remained till the citizens of *Marâgha* buried him. Many believe, with good reason, says *Kondamîr*, that *Massûd* was at the bottom of this murder ; and talked of an agreement with him, on the terms above-mentioned, only to cover his design.

Dobays
slain.

NOT long after this, as *Dobays ebn Sadekah* was stooping, with his fingers on the ground, before his tent, near the city of *Khunej*, a young *Armenian*, employed by the Soltân, cut

(Q) The harness of a horse.

off his head : For *Massûd* was jealous of his power, and had only made use of him as an instrument to oppose *Al Mo-
stârshed*™.

THE year following, the kings and lords of the provinces *The pro-
assembling at Baghdâd*, threw off their obedience to *Soltân* *vinces re-
Massûd*. On this *Dawd* (or *David*), son of *Soltân Mahmûd* *volt.*
(R), marched from *Adherbijân*, followed by *Omâdo'ddîn Zen-* *Hej. 530.*
gbi, from *Musol* to *Baghdâd*, where he was prayed for in *A. D.*
the pulpits (S). The *Soltân* on this news hastens to that *1135.*
city, and besieges it : but finding, after fifty days leaguer,
that he could do nothing against it, resolved to return to
Hamadân. He was actually on the road, when *Tarentây*,
lord of *Waset*, arriving with a great number of *Barks*, he
returned to the siege. At the same time, the princes who
had assembled at *Baghdâd* falling out among themselves,
king *Dawd* returned home, and the rest dispersed. The
Khalifah Al Râshed, with a few followers, passed over to
Zenghi, who was on the west side (of the river), and re-
tired with him to *Musol*.

HEREUPON *Soltân Massûd*, entering *Baghdâd*, fixed his *Massûd*
seat there : then, assembling the judges, witnesses, and those *enters*
learned in the laws, he laid before them the oath which *Al* *Baghdâd.*
Râshed had made to him, in his own hand-writing : *I, in*
case I shall assemble forces, march out, or put to the sword
any of Soltân Massûd's adherents, depose myself from the em-
pire. Accordingly he was, by their sentence, deposed ; and his *Deposes the*
name suppressed every-where in the pulpits, before he had *Khalifah.*
reigned twelve months. Then the *Soltân* called another
council, who, after declaring *Al Râshed* unworthy of the
Khalifat, elected *Al Moktafi Beamrillah*, son of *Al Mostadher*
(or *Al Mostadhaher*), who was his friend. The deposed
Khalifah, leaving *Musol*, in 531, went to *Hamadân*, where *Hej. 531.*
king *Dawd* then was ; and from thence to *Isfâhân*, where he *A. D.*
1136.

™ KOND. & EBN SHOHNAH, ap. D'Herb. p. 634, art. Mostâr-
shed. ABU'LF. p. 252.

(R) *Kondamîr*, in *D'Herbelot*, occasioned by the *Soltân* send-
calls him the son of *Mohammed*. ing to demand of *Al Râshed* the
For all this disagreement, he is sum which his father had pro-
is doubtless the *Dawd* who is said mised to pay yearly. *D'Herb.*
before to have been a son of *To- p. 710, art. Rasched.*
grol, and whom a court party
would have advanced, in oppo- (S) And, according to *Kon-
sition to Massûd*. According to *damîr*, had the title of *Soltân*
the same author, this war was given him by the *Khalifah*.

was slain by some of his domestics (T), at noon, while he took a nap, after his recovery from a fit of sickness; being forty years of age. He was buried at *Shâhrestân*, without *Isfâhân* ⁿ.

A good minister. MASSUD, understanding that the governor of *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), made some difficulty to acknowledge *Moktafi* the new Khalifah, he sent his brother *Seljûk Shâh*, with the *Atabek Karasankar*, to bring him to his duty. But the *Atabek* had no sooner made one day's march, than he sent the Soltân word, he would proceed no farther, unless he sent him *Pir Mohammed Khâzen*, his prime Wazîr, whose death he made a sacrifice. This Wazîr managed state affairs very well; but disgusted the courtiers by too firm and haughty a carriage. *Massûd* could not consent at first to so unreasonable a demand; but, as *Karasankar* had all his forces at his devotion, he was obliged at last to send him the Wazîr's head.

THE Atabek being satisfied, returned to his duty; but did not long enjoy the fruit of his revenge; for he died a few days after he had gotten rid of his enemy. The Soltân gave his command to *Ildighîz*, with the almost absolute government of *Adherbijân* (of which he was the first Atabek (U), and that of *Kurdestân*. He likewise gave him in marriage his sister-in-law, who had been promised formerly to Soltân *Togrol*, his brother and predecessor. Soon after this, *Abbâs*, governor of the city *Ray*, with some other conspirators, rose, in favour of *Soleymân Shâh*, brother of *Massûd*, and set him on the throne. But this plot was soon quashed: after which the Soltân remained in peaceable possession till his death ^o.

The Atabek Zenghi As this is all we find in our authors relating to the remainder of his reign, we shall supply the defect with the actions of the Atabeks of *Irâk*, who resided at *Musol*, or *Mosul*, and are called lords of that city, and of *Syria*.

Hëj. 532. IN the year 532, the Atabek *Omâdo'ddin Zenghi* made a progress into *Syria*; and, on his arrival at *Hamâh*, sent to *A. D. 1137.* *Shchab-o'ddin*, lord of *Damaskus*, desiring that he might marry his mother *Zamorrod Khatûn*, daughter of *Al Jaweli*; the same lady who built the college out of *Damaskus*, near the river *Barada*. By this means *Hems*, and its castle, came into his possession. His motive to the marriage was, that as the affairs of *Damaskus* seemed to be under her direction, he was

^a ABU'LF. p. 253.

^o KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 563, art. Massoud.

(T) *Kondamîr*, in *D'Herbelot*, (U) This dynasty commenced says, he was slain by the *Bata-* in 555, and ended in 622. *nists*.

in hopes thereby to gain the country : but, when he found himself disappointed in his expectations, he went away, and left her behind.

NEXT year, he took *Baalbek* (X) (in *Syria*) ; and, the year following, *Shahrazūr*, with its territory. In 539, he rescued *Roha* (or *Edeffa*) out of the hands of the *Franks* (Y) ; and laid siege to the strong castle of *Bīr* (Z) : but when he had near taken it, an express arriving, with an account that *Nasīro'ddīn*, his deputy in *Musol*, was slain, he departed. However, the *Franks*, fearing his return, sent for *Nejmo'ddīn* (A), lord of *Mārdīn*, and delivered it up to him. Next year, while he was besieging the castle of *Jabar* (B), certain slaves slew him (C), in the night, and fled to the castle. The besieged on this, rejoicing, called out to let the army know their commander was slain ; accordingly, entering his tent, they found him breathing his last. He was more than sixty years old when he died ; behaved with great gravity both towards his army and his subjects ; and was perfectly skilled in the art of governing. The city of *Musol* (D), before he took it, was, for the most part, destroyed ; and the adjacent country, which now abounds with fruits and odoriferous plants, was the most barren in the world.

NURO'DDIN (E) *Mahmūd*, who was in the camp when his father was slain, drawing the ring off his finger, went strait to *Halep* ; and, taking possession of it, remained there ; while his brother *Sayfo'ddīn Gāzi*, hastening from *Shahrazūr*, which had been assigned him, entered *Musol* ; and thus became lord of that city, with *Al Jazīreh* (or *Mesopotamia*). He died there, after he had reigned three years, and was succeeded by his brother *Kotho'ddīn Maūdūd*. His elder brother, *Nuro'ddīn Mahmūd*, who possessed *Halep* and *Hamāh*, in *Syria*, marching into *Al Jazīreh*, took *Senjār*, without any opposi-

(X) And gave the command of it to *Nejmo'ddīn Jyub*, or *Jeb*, father of the famous *Salabo'ddīn*, or *Salāḍīn*, who recovered *Syria* from the *Christians*. *Abū'lf.* p. 263, & seq.

(Y) *William of Tyre* says, it was by mining ; and that *Josceline* soon recovered, but could not hold it.

(Z) Or *Al Bīr*, on the *Euphrates*. Lat. observed, 37° 10'.

(A) He was successor to *Hasmo'ddīn Tamartāḡ ibn Ilgāxi*,

who, in 532, took the castle of *Al Hetakk* from the last of the *Merwān* family.

(B) *William of Tyre* calls it *Calogenbar* : it stands on the *Euphrates*, between *Bīr* and *Rakkab*.

(C) *William of Tyre* says, he was drunk when he was slain.

(D) *Mausel*, or *Mosul*, as tis variously written.

(E) He is called *Norandīn*, and *Nuro'dīn*, by the historians of the crusade.

tion, from *Kotbo'ddin* : but peace afterwards being concluded between them, *Nûro'ddin* resigned *Senjâr*, and took in lieu of it *Hems* and *Rahaba* (F), in *Syria*. The same year, he invaded the *Franks* about *Antiokh*, and defeated them, after a bloody battle, in which the prince of that city was slain (G). His son *Baymond* (*Boamund*) succeeding, who being but an infant, his mother governed the kingdom during his minority.

Defeated by Joscelin. IN 546, *Nûro'ddin* invaded the territories of *Jûslin* (or *Joscelin*) (H), which lay to the north of *Halep*; and being met by that wise and valiant knight (I), was defeated, after a fierce battle, and his armour-bearer taken; whom *Jûslin* sent with *Nûro'ddin's* arms to king *Massûd Ebn Kelj Arslân*, lord of *Koniya* and *Aksara*; saying, *This is your son-in-law's armour-bearer: after him, something more will come to you.*

Hej. 546.
A. D.
1151.

Nûro'ddin, greatly incensed at this conduct of *Jûslin*, resolved to be revenged on him. Accordingly, sending for some of the chiefs of the *Turkmâns*, he, by large gifts, engaged them to seize *Jûslin*, knowing he was not able to cope with him in battle. The *Turkmâns* therefore keeping a watchful eye upon him, surprized him one day as he was hunting, and brought him bound to *Nûro'ddin* (K); who immediately thereupon went and took the castles of *Ayn tâb*, *Azâz*, *Kûres*, *Al Râwandân*, *Borjôl-resâs* (L), *Dolûk*, *Marasb*, *Nahro't Jawr*, and others belonging to *Jûslin* ^P.

Gets him seized.

Massûd dies.

THE year following, viz. 547, *Soltân Massûd* died at *Hamadân*, after he had lived forty-five years, and reigned eighteen, with six months over ⁹.

His character.

THIS prince was a great lover of pious and learned men; humble and affable: but, for religion, clemency, justice, and bravery, superior to all the *Seljûkians*. He often defeated armies at the first onset, and killed lions with one stroke. He frequently, when a boy, was in battles, and fought himself.

^P ABU'LF. p. 255, & seq.
foud. Lebtar. p. 44.

^I D'HERB. p. 563, art. Mas-

(F) Or *Rabba*, on the *Euphrates*.

(G) This was *Raymond*, who succeeded *Boamond*, slain in 1130.

(H) He was called earl of *Edessa*, and resided at *Telbajjar*, named *Terbexel*, and *Turbessel*, by the historians of the crusade.

(I) Yet *William of Tyre* gives him the character of a voluptuous and dissolute man, and one who rejoiced at the loss of *Antiokh*.

(K) *William of Tyre* only says, he was taken by the enemy, and died in the castle of *Halapai*, or *Halep*.

(L) That is, *the tower of lead*.

He always came off victor in the wars with his brothers. The people lived in great ease during his reign^r. He disregarded treasures, giving them among his courtiers; which was the reason that he almost always wanted money, and left none in the treasury.

MASSUD was the last of these Soltâns who had any Seljûk *do-* power in the *Arabian Irâk*: for, upon his demise, *Moktafi*, *minions*. thirty-first Khalifah of *Baghdâd*, of the family of *Abbâs*, deprived the *Seljûkians* of all authority in that city. For this reason *Ebn Shohnah* makes this dynasty to end in the year 547; which was also fatal to the race of *Gazni Soltâns*^s.

IN the time of *Massûd* also a new dynasty of Atabeks *Atabeks of* arose, which carried away part of his dominions: for the *Pârs*. *Salgarians*, or family of *Salgar*, invading *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, assumed the title of kings. They began to reign in the year 543, fixing their residence at *Shîzâz*, in that province^t. Hej. 543. A. D. 1148.

WE should rob this reign of one of its greatest ornaments, should we omit to mention the famous *Mowîd'eddin abû Is-mâil ebn Ali*, surnamed *Togray*, who was reckoned the most excellent writer of his time (M), both in verse & prose. A celebrated poem of his, called *Lamîyat al Ajem* (because the last consonant of each rhyme is a *Lam*, or *L*), has been published by Dr. *Pocock*, with a *Latin* translation, under the title of *Carmen Togray*. According to *Ebn Shohnah*, he was *The fa-* first employed at court by *Soltân Malek Shâh*, and *Massûd* *mous To-* made him his Wazîr (N): but being taken prisoner in the *gray*. battle which that prince had with his brother *Mahmûd*, in 513, he lost his head; the Soltân alleging, that *he knew him to be an infidel, and a wicked man*^u. But *Ebn Khalikan* says, he was put to death by *Mahmûd's* Wazîr (or Vizier) *for no other cause, but that they feared him on account of his excellent virtues*^x.

^r D'Herb. p. 563, art. Massoud. Lebtar. p. 44. ^s Id. ibid. ^t Lebtar. p. 44. D'HERB. p. 748, art. Salgar. ^u EBN SHOHNAN apud D'Herb. p. 1027, art. Thogrul. ^x Pocock, notæ in carm. Tograi. p. 3, & seq.

(M) Or the *phœnix* of the age, as *Pocock* has it.

(N) In the city of *Maufal*, or *Musol*, according to *Pocock*.

S E C T. X.

The reigns of Malek Shâh II. Mohammed Soleymân Shâh, Arslân, and Togrol, in whom the dynasty ended.

*Tenth
Soltân,
Malek
Shâh II.*

MALEK Shâh II. surnamed *Mogayako'ddin* (A) was, according to *Kondamir*, the son of *Mohammed*, son of *Malek Shâh I.* But *Abû'Isfaraj* and the *Lebtarikh*^a say, that he was the son of *Mahmud*, son of *Mohammed*, and, consequently, great grandson of the first *Malek Shâh*. He succeeded his uncle *Massûd*: but his reign was of no long continuance, as having been wholly unworthy of the crown; for he minded nothing but indulging his appetite (B), and left affairs intirely to his ministers.

Is deposed

NOTWITHSTANDING his incapacity, he grew jealous of the authority of *Khasf'ek*, surnamed *Belingeri*, who had been in great esteem with *Majjûd*, and passed for one of the most valiant men of his time. *Malek Shâh* wanted to have him arrested: but as the whole court thought such a proceeding unjust, *Hassan Kandar*, who was one of *Khasf'ek*'s best friends, resolved to prevent the blow; and, under pretence of giving the Soltân a grand entertainment, kept him three days in a continual debauch, in the midst of which he seized his person, and shut him up in the castle of *Hamadân*. After which they sent for his brother *Mohammed*, who was then in *Khuzestân*, and set him in his place. Some time after, *Malek Shâh*, finding means to escape out of prison, fled to the province from whence his brother had been called to the throne; where he remained till the death of *Mohammed*, in the end of the year 554: when, hastening to *Ispâhân*, he re-ascended the throne; but enjoyed it only a few days, dying in the beginning of the year 555, at the age of thirty-two^b. According to the *Lebtarikh*, he reigned the first time four months, and the second no more than nine days.

by Kasbek.

*Khalifah
shakes off*

IT is proper to take notice here, that as the *Khalifah Moktâfi* owed his elevation to the credit and authority of *Massûd*, he had no share in the government of his state during the life of that Soltân; but, after his death, he resumed the authority, and quite excluded that of the *Sel-*

^a ABU'LF. p. 247. *Lebtar.* p. 44. ^b KOND. apud D'Herb. p. 544, art. *Malek Shâh*, fil. de *Mohammed*.

(A) The *Lebtarikh* subjoins
Abû'Isfah.

(B) Diversions and music:
Lebtarikh.

jûkians;

jûkians ; for he would not allow *Malek Shâb* to have any power or command in the sultânât of *Baghdâd* ; but remained sole master in his dominions, which comprehended *Babylonish Irâk* (C), and *Arabia* : in short, it was under this Khalifah that the power of the *Seljûkians*, who had been masters of all the forces and possessions of the Khalifahs, began to decline, and, by degrees, became extinct. On this occasion *Abû'lfaraj* observes, that *Al Moktafi* was the first who reigned in *Irâk Arabi* without a Soltân, and governed his armies, as well as subjects, according to his own will (D), since the time that the *Mamlûks*, or slaves (E), first usurped power over the Khalifahs, under *Al Mostansir* ^d (F).

As *Khasbek*, who was the chief instrument of the advancement of *Mohammed*, surnamed *Gayathoddîn*, would needs have the intire government of the state at his own disposal ; and as that lord's credit, as well as riches, rendered him powerful, *Mohammed* soon perceived that he could never reign with authority, so long as such a person was alive. For this reason he resolved to get rid of him, according to the advice of one of his ministers ; who, alluding to the youth of the prince, and age of *Khasbek*, told him, that *no new branches shot from the foot of the vine, till the old ones were cut away*.

UPON his death (G) the Soltân became possessed of all the wealth which he had amassed, during the time that he had the management of the treasury. It is remarked, as a thing extraordinary, that he had in his wardrobe an infinite number of very precious moveables (H), among which were 13,000 scarlet and purple vests.

HOWEVER, the death of *Khasbek* had like to have been the ruin of *Mohammed* : for that great lord had made powerful friends at court, who were resolved to revenge it. With

^c D'HERB. p. 592, art. Moktafi.

^d ABU'LF. p. 258.

(C) Called also *Arabian Irâk*, containing the antient *Khaldea*.

(D) He reigned twenty-four years ; dying in *Hejrab* 535.

(E) Meaning the *Turks*.

(F) It should be *Al Montasir*, who was the eleventh Khalifah of the *Abbâs* family ; under whom the *Turkish* militia began to usurp authority over the Khalifahs.

(G) *Abû'lfaraj* represents

Khasbek as seizing *Malek Shâb* without provocation, and sending for *Mohammed* only with design to destroy him : but that *Mohammed*, seeing into his villainy, slew both him and his armour-bearer two days after, as they came into his presence ; and cast out their heads to be eaten by dogs. *Abû'lf.* p. 247.

(H) The *Tarikh Khozidâ* gives a list of them all.

Flies for fear.

that intent the Atabek *Idighîz* (I), and *Aksankor*, lord of *Marâgha*, having revolted, deposed *Mohammed*, and proclaimed his uncle *Soleymân Shâh*, son of *Mohammed* I. The young unexperienced Soltân was so frightened at this news, that not knowing whether to fight or accommodate matters, he fled to *Isfâhân*, while *Soleymân Shâh* took peaceable possession of his capital *Hamadân*,

Soleymân Shâh advanced.

THE new prince might have preserved the crown with as much ease as he obtained it, if he had not been intirely destitute of counsel, and very unhappy in his conduct. Among other indiscrete actions, he took the employment of the great chamberlain from *Mohammed Karazm Shâh* (K), and gave it to *Alp Argûn*: he likewise turned out his *Wazîr Fakro'ddîn Kasbi*, and put *Abû Inejib* in his place. These two great officers, to revenge their disgrace, plotted to restore *Mohammed*: but as that could not be done without deposing *Soleymân Shâh*, and the militia seemed to be attached to him, they contrived a stratagem, which succeeded to a wonder.

Flies in his turn.

MOHAMMED Karazm Shâh tells his sister, who was the Soltân's wife, as a great secret, that there was a plot on foot to bring back his nephew, and that her husband's person was to be seized that very night. The too credulous and fearful Soltân, without staying to enquire the least into the matter, immediately mounted horse, with a few of his intimates; and took the road to *Mazanderân*, a province on the *Caspian* sea.

Mohammed returns.

NEXT day every body was strangely surprized to hear of the Soltân's flight. The soldiers immediately mutinied, and running to the palace, plundered it. *Mohammed* no sooner received advice of his uncle's flight, which was so like his own, than he made haste to *Hamadân*, and re-ascended the vacant throne.

Defeats his uncle.

SOLEYMAN Shâh, perceiving too late that he had been duped, resolved to attempt the recovery of his dominions, by the assistance of his friends. The *Khalifah Moktafi*, and the Atabek *Idighîz*, joined their troops to those which he gathered in *Mazanderân*: but being met by his nephew on the banks of the river *Arras*, or *Araxes*, was overthrown, and obliged to retire to *Musal*. *Mohammed*, after this victory, was inclined to have attacked the *Khalifah*, who gave protection to his uncle: but considering that he had another enemy, his brother *Malck Shâh*, to fear, he was obliged to

(I) Who became afterwards first Atabek of *Aderbijân*.

(K) *D'Herbelot*, or his au-

thor, must be mistaken here; for it cannot be *Mohammed*, but

Atsiz.

make

make up matters with *Moktafi*, who gave him his own daughter in marriage.

THIS prince, named *Kermân Khatûn*, set forward with a *His death*. splendid equipage, and the Soltân went to meet her; but an hectic fever which attended him put an end to his life, on the road to *Hamadân*, in the year 554 (L), after a seven years reign, aged no more than thirty-two.

THIS Soltân has always passed for a most accomplished *His cha-* prince, who possessed all the virtues military and civil. *Herazer*, was a great patron of men of learning, piety and merit: in which, say the historians, he was the very reverse of his brother *Malek Shâh*.

IT is said that this prince quitted life with much reluctance; that, before he expired, he ordered his troops, his court, and all his treasures, to pass before him, as it were in review; and that, after he had considered all these things, he said, *How is it possible that a power as great as mine is not able to lessen the weight of my disorder one single grain, nor to prolong my life but for a moment?*

HE left his dominions to his brother *Malek Shâh*, who survived him only a few days, as hath been said before. He *succes-* was succeeded by his uncle *Soleymân Shâh*, the other competitor of *Mohammed*.

SOLEYMAN Shâh, surnamed *Moazo'ddîn Kassim* (M), *Twelfth* was the son of *Soltân Mohammed*, son of *Malek Shah I. Soltân*, This prince being at *Musol* when his two predecessors died, *Soleymân* the great lords, after some debate among themselves, sent for *Shâh*, him, and placed him on the throne. But as he gave himself up intirely to voluptuousness, and the company of women, without minding the affairs of the kingdom, they seized and imprisoned him, at the end of six months; advancing, in his room, his nephew *Arslân*, in the year 555. Setting aside *Hej. 555.* his bad conduct, for which he was deposed, he did not want *A. D.* some good qualities: he was very familiar with those about *1160.* him; and excelled as to his behaviour, person, and eloquence. *is soon* He died in the second month of the year 556, at the age of *deposed.* forty-five. This is all the account we have of *Soleymân's* short reign, and taken from the *Lebtarîkh*; for *D'Herbelot* says nothing of it. As for *Abû'lfaraj*, he does not mention

* KOND. TARIKH BENAKITI, TARIKH KHOZEDAH, apud De Herb. p. 608, & seq. art. Mohammed, fil. de Mohammed.

† *Lebtarîkh*, p. 45.

(L) In *Dbû'lhajjab* (which is the last month), according to the *Lebtarîkh*.

(M) The *Lebtarîkh* calls him Soltân *Moazo'ddîn Abû'lbarêth Soleymân Shâh*.

the Soltâns of *Persian Irâk*, after the death of *Mohammed II.* when the Khalifah threw off the *Seljûk* yoke, and resumed the dominion in *Irâk Arabi*.

Thirtieth Soltân, Arslân. *ARSLAN* was the son of *Togrol*, son of *Mohammed*, son of *Ma'ek Shâh I.* and surnamed *Abû'l Modhaffer Zeyno'ddîn*, according to *Kondamîr*; but the *Lehtarikh* styles him *Rokno'd-dawlat*. He is commonly called by historians *Malek Arslân*. He was proclaimed Soltân in *Hamadan*, by the influence of the Atabek *Ildighîz* (N): but from the beginning of his reign, *Kimar*, governor of *Isfâhân*, and *Enbanej*, or *Inanj*, governor of *Ray*, revolted against him; setting up for Soltân one of his cousins, named *Mohammed Seljûk Shâh*; with whom, at the head of a great army, they advanced to *Hamadân*. *Arslân* went to meet them as far as *Kazvîn*, where he got the victory; for the new Soltân was killed in the battle, and his two supporters fled to *Ray*, and from thence to *Mazanderân*.

Suppresses a rebellion.

Defeats the Abkhâz.

ARSLAN had no sooner put an end to this war, but he found himself engaged in another; for the prince of the *Abkhâz*, situated between *Georgia* and *Cherkassia*, who was a Christian, entering *Adherbijân*, ravaged that province as far as *Kazvîn*. The Soltân, turning his victorious arms on that side, defeated him near the strong castle of *Kâk*, which he had taken and fortified; but, being afterwards forced by the *Seljûk* troops, was demolished.

TOWARDS the end of the year 559, Soltân *Arslân* made a progress to *Isfâhân*: the Atabek *Zenghi Salgari*, who commanded in that city, went out to meet him, and took the oath of allegiance. The Soltân confirmed him in his government, of which he extended the bounds as far as the province of *Fârs*, or *Pârs*.

Enbanej submits. *Enbanej* (O), who still stood out in *Mazanderân*, in 561 made alliance with the *Karazm Shâh*, by whom being assisted with a great body of troops, he entered *Persian Irâk*, and ravaged the country about *Abber* and *Kazvîn*: but *Arslân*, accompanied with the Atabek *Ildighîz*, coming on him by surprize, obliged him to fly to his old retreat. Two years after, the same rebel, invading the country about *Ray*, defeated *Mohammed*, the son of *Ildighîz*, who was sent against him. Hereupon *Ildighîz* himself marched; and, being come to that city, made several propositions to *Enbanej*, who thereupon agreed to go with him, and make his submission to

Hej. 561.
A. D.
1165.

(N) First Atabek of *Adherbijân*; where he began to reign the same year in which the Soltân *Arslân* began his, viz. of the *Hejrah* 555.
(O) Or *Inanj*.

the

the Soltân: but the night before this ceremony was to be performed, *Enbanej* was killed in his lodgings. The Soltân, on this news, gave the government of *Ray* to the son of *Ildighiz*, who soon after married the only daughter of *Enbanej*; the fruit of which was *Kutluk* (P), surnamed *Enbanej*.

IN 568 the mother of the Soltân, a princess of great virtue, died in the house of *Ildighiz*; and this great man followed her not long after. The Soltân himself, afflicted at two such great losses, fell sick of a languishing illness, which yet held him till the year 571, when he died; after he had lived about forty-three years, and reigned about fifteen (Q).

HE was a prince not only valiant and generous, but also patient, and good-natured to such a degree, that he would not suffer any-body to be spoken ill of in his presence; nor ever treated any of his domestics with severity or contempt; being eminent for modesty and clemency. He never denied any-thing to a man of good address and parts. He was very nice in his diet and apparel; for he had very rich vests, of every kind and colour, wrought with gold, such as no king before him ever wore. His conversation was familiar, and perfectly sincere.

TÖGRÖL, son of Soltân *Arslân*, called also *Rokno'ddin Kâsem* (R), was the last Soltân of the *Seljuk* dynasty of *Irân*, or rather *Persian Irâk*, which ended in him. He succeeded, and governed his dominions happily enough, under the direction of his maternal uncle the valiant *Mohammed* (S), son of the Atabek *Ildighiz*.

AT the beginning of his reign *Badanjar* attacked the province of *Adherbijân*; and *Mohammed*, son of Soltân *Togrol ebn Mohammed*, that of *Persian Irâk*: but *Mohammed ebn Ildighiz*,

* KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 129, art. *Arslân ben Thogrul*.
 * Lebtar. p. 45.

(P) He is called *Kiligh*, in *D'Herbelot*, p. 836. who, p. 277, art. *Cotluk*, gives him the surname of *Fakro'ddin*.

(Q) According to the *Nigârîstân*, fifteen years eight months and fifteen days. The *Lebtarîk* of *Golmin* has but eleven years; yet places the beginning and end of his reign as in the text.

(R) He is named, in the *Lebtarîk*, Soltân *Mogayatho'ddin Togrol*.

(S) *Abû'Isfârâj* calls him the *Pablavian Mohammed ebn Ildegar*, and says he was lord of *Al Jebâl*, or *Kûhestân*, part of *Persian Irâk*; of *Ray*, *Isfâhân*, *Adherbijân*, and *Arrân*, which last is part of *Armenia*. *Abû'Isf.* p. 272, & seq.

with

with his brother *Kizil Arslân* (T), marching against them at the head of a great army, soon obliged them to sue for peace.

Grandcon- IN the tenth year of his reign there was one of those great
junction. conjunctions of the seven planets, which very rarely happen.

Hej. 581. It appeared in the third degree of *Libra*; which, according

A. D. to the rules of judicial astrology, is a very airy sign. All the

1185. astrologers of that time, and among the rest *Anvâri*, surnamed *Hakîm*, or the *philosopher*, foretold, from this phenomenon, that such violent winds would blow the forementioned year, and such dreadful hurricanes arise, that most of the houses in the country would be blown down, and the mountains themselves shaken. These predictions had such an effect on many people, that they provided places underground, to retreat from such horrible calamities.

Vanity of NOTWITHSTANDING all this, to the utter confusion of
astrology. the astrologers, there did not blow, during the whole time

assigned by them, any wind to hinder the farmers from threshing and winnowing their corn¹. Yet the *Lebtarikh*, as if to save the credit of these pretenders to foreknowledge, would persuade us, against the testimony of other historians, that they from thence prognosticated the great devastations which attended the irruption of the *Moguls* under *Jenghiz Khân*, into the countries of *Turân* and *Irâk*^k, twenty-nine or thirty years after: for although he began his conquests in the east of *Tartary* about that time, viz. in 599, yet he did not move westward, to subdue provinces, till the year 614, or that following. Why then might not the phenomenon in question have related rather to the fall of the *Seljûk* monarchy of *Irâk*? Was it too small an event for so great a congress of the heavenly bodies? Or could the astrologers see the more distant evil, but not that near at hand?

The lords IN the same year 581, the Atabek *Mohammed*, son of *Ildi-*
conspire; *ghiz*, dying, a breach began between the Soltân and *Kizil Arslân Atabek* (U), brother of the deceased; for this ambitious lord, taking upon him to dispose of all things without *Togrol*'s orders, gave great umbrage, both to that prince, and his whole court. The Atabek, perceiving the Soltân to be displeased with him, to prevent the consequence, marched

¹ D'HERB. p. 1028, art. *Thogrol ben Arslân*.
P. 45.

^k *Lebtar*.

(T) Or *Kizil Arslân*, that is, *the red lion*. He is called elsewhere *Kilij* or *Kelcj Arslân*, and *Kezd Kizil Arslân*.
(U) Third Atabek of *Adberbijân*.

of a sudden with a great army towards *Hamadân*, from whence *Togrol*, having no forces to oppose him, retired. *Kizil Arslân* entered the city without resistance; and, after he had continued there for some time, content with having given this insult to the Soltân, withdrew home to *Adherbijân*.

AFTER his return, *Togrol* re-entered his capital; but the *seize the* Atabek did not let him remain long in quiet: for drawing *Soltân*; several discontented lords of *Irâk* to his party, he persuaded them to send proper persons to let the Soltân know that they were ready to come and ask his pardon, if he would have the goodness to grant it them. *Togrol*, well pleased with their submission, appointed a day to receive it, when he was to play at mall in the great square of the city. The lords did not fail to appear there before him; but, instead of asking pardon, seized his person, and imprisoned him in the strong castle named *Kalât al Najû*, or the *castle of refuge*.

As soon as this scheme was executed, *Kizil Arslân* left *Ad-diwide his herbijân*, and came to *Hamadân*, with design to set *Sanjar*, *dominions* son of the late *Soleymân Shâh*, on the throne. But, on receiving advice from *Baghdâd* that the Khalifah should say, *the Atabek had a good pretence to become Soltân himself*, he resolved to assume that title, and ordered money to be coined in his own name. This proceeding changed the face of affairs: for *Fakro'ddîn Kûtlûk*, (X), his nephew, and several other great lords, who thought themselves his equals, entering into a conspiracy, slew him, and divided *Togrol's* dominions among them.

AT this juncture the Soltân escaped from his confinement, *He reco-* by the intrigues of *Hossamo'ddîn*, general of his troops; *vers them* among whom there were many attached to his interest. As soon as he was at liberty, he raised an army; and defeating the rebels, punished them as they deserved.

YET did not this put an end to their treasons; for, in 588, *Kutlûk Firmah*, widow of the Atabek Mohammed, son of *Ildighîz*, *rebels*: who lived in the *Harâm*, among the Soltân's women, was *A. D.* prevailed on by her son *Kûtluk Enbanej* to poison the Soltân. *1192.* But that prince having notice thereof, prevented the blow, by making her take the dose which she had prepared for him. After this, he ordered *Kûtluk* to be seized; and would have secured his own life, if he had not restored him to his liberty; which was the cause of all the evils that afterwards befel him.

(X) Surnamed *Enbanej*, be- Atabek of *Adherbijân*, twenty fore mentioned. He was fifth years after.

IN

joined by Takasb: IN short, this ungrateful wretch was no sooner released out of prison, than he sent to persuade *Takasb*, fifth king of *Karazm*, to conquer *Persian Irâk*. *Takasb* came; and, joining his forces, went and took the castle of *Thabrek* (Y): but, after remaining for some time about *Ray*, retired on the Soltân's approach, leaving *Tafaj* to take care of his new conquests (Z). But next year *Togrol* recovered all, and punished *Tafaj*, whom he took prisoner.

Both defeated. IN 590 *Kûtluk*, acting in concert with *Takasb*, marched with a powerful army into *Persian Irâk*; but being defeated by *Togrol*, was obliged to fly into *Karazm* to his assistance. **Hej. 590.** The Soltân, after this, thinking he was delivered from all **A. D.** his enemies, abandoned himself to women and wine, with boundless excess. And though he was told, that *Takasb* was raising a formidable army to invade his dominions, yet intoxicated with his success and delights, he continued his debauches, and neglected affairs to such a degree, that the grandees of the court wrote themselves to *Takasb*, to make haste, assuring him that he might easily surprize *Togrol* in the midst of his revels.

Togrol slain. *Takasb*, following their advice, made such expedition, that he arrived at the gates of *Ray*, while the Soltân was still buried in liquor. However, he put himself at the head of his troops, and marched towards the enemy, repeating certain verses out of the *Shâh Nameh* (A), spoken by some warrior, boasting of what he would do: but raising his mace, as if he was going to strike, in conformity to the words he had pronounced, he discharged such a blow on one of the fore legs of his horse, that the beast fell under him, and he was thrown himself by the fall. *Kûtluk*, seeing him on the ground, immediately ran, and, with one blow of his scymitar, put an end to his life, and the power of the *Seljûks* in *Irâk*!

Malice of Takasb, *TAKASB*, not content with the downfall of this prince, whose dominions he joined to his own, sent his head to the Khalifah at *Baghdâd*, and had his body fastened to a gibbet at *Ray*^m. It is surprizing, that neither of these two remark-

¹ D'HERB. ubi sup. p. 1029, & seq.
DE LA CROIX hist. de Genghis, p. 131.

^m Lebtar. p. 45:

(Y) *Tabrak*, or *Tabarak*, near *Ray*.

(Z) This affair is somewhat differently related else. here. See D'Herb. p. 834. art *Takasb*.

(A) That is, the royal book: it is a famous *Persian* poem,

containing the history of the antien kings of *Pe. sia*. It consists of 60,000 distichs; which the author. *Ferdusi*, was thirty years in composing, at the command of *Mahm d Gazni*, often mentioned before.

able circumstances, which are related by the *Lebtarikh*, are mentioned by *D'Herbelot*, in either the article of *Togrol ben Arslân*, or *Takaş*, wherein the death of that prince is spoken of; and yet, if we mistake not, he takes notice of them in some other place: on which occasion he observes, that some of the *Persian* historians ascribe the ruin of the *Karazmian* *revenged* empire, not many years after, by *Jenghîz Kîân*, under *Sol-joon after-tân Mohammed*, son and successor of *Takaş*, as a judgment on that family, for their ingratitude to the *Seljukians*, to whom they owed all their fortune.

ACCORDING to *Kondamîr*, Soltân *Togrol* reigned eighteen years ten months and a half^a. The *Lebtarikh* has twenty-nine years, by mistake for nineteen; as appears by collating the year of his death with that of his predecessor, marked by the same author. What children he left (B) does not appear.

THIS prince had a great many noble qualities; for he was *Character* not only remarkable for his courage, which made them com-*of Tho-*pare him to *Rostam* and *Isfandiâr* (C), but also for his wit^{grul}; and knowlege. He excelled so much in poetry, that some compare him to *Anvari* and *Dhahir*^o. He often disputed with the learned; had a majestic mien; and was very handsome. He surpassed all the *Seljukians* in goodness and justice, as well as in managing his arms both on foot and on horseback^p.

THE *Seljukians* of *Irâk* were, for the general, a race of *Of the* very accomplished princes, eminent for their good-nature, *Soltâns* courage, liberality, justice, and other virtues, both civil and *in general*. military. They owed their ruin chiefly to their too great bounty, and indulgence to their favourites; particularly in vesting governors with so much dignity and power, as the *Karazm* Shâhs and Atabeks, by whom their own was at length extinguished.

THUS we have completed the history of the first and prin- *Defects of* cipal *Seljukian* dynasty, compiled almost wholly from the ori-*Greek* ental historians: on which occasion it may be proper to ob-serve, that, of the fourteen Soltâns whereof this monarchy

^a D'HERB. art. Selgiukioun.
grul. ^p *Lebtar.* p. 45.

^o *Ibid.* p. 1028, art. Tho-

(B) We only find an account of one son, who, on the irruption of the *Mogols* into *Karazm*, in the year 1220, was put to death, with eleven other children of sovereign princes, by

the bloody *Turkân Khatûn*, widow of *Takaş*, who had so unworthily treated his father. *De la Creiv* hist. *Gengh.* p. 242.

(C) Two *Persian* heroes of antiquity.

consists, none but the two first are mentioned (under the corrupt names of *Tangrolipix* and *Axan*) by any of the *Byzantine* historians, excepting *Anna Comnena*, who speaks of the two next, *Malek Shâh* and *Barkiarok*, but names only the latter; after which they pass to the *Seljûkian* princes, who settled in *Asia minor*; seeming to confound the two dynasties together.

and other historians; *AYTON*, or *Hayton*, the *Armenian*, whose memoirs, in conjunction with those of the *Greeks*, the other *European* historians have hitherto made use of, does much the same thing. He gives some account of the four first Soltans; after which he says, the *Turks* cut to pieces the brother of *Barkiarok*, who attempted to ascend the throne; and then falling out among themselves about the choice of a successor, the *Georgians* and *Greater Armenians* invaded, and drove them out of, *Persia*. That hereupon they removed, with their families, into the kingdom of *Turky* [meaning *Ikonium*]; and thus increased the power of the Soltân, so that he became the most potent of all the Soltans¹.

so what causes THIS false information, or defect in the before-mentioned authors, is doubtless owing to the grants made by *Malek Shâh* I. of the countries west of *Persian Irâk*; which thus becoming in a manner independent, under their own princes, the *Greeks* heard no more of the great Soltân, as they called him, of *Persia*, or of his commanding in *Asia minor*; and therefore concluded the empire of the eastern *Seljûks* was at an end. It must likewise be considered, that, by this alienation of the provinces, the intercourse with *Persia* was much interrupted; which might be one reason why *Hayton*, though living in the very midst between those two monarchies of the *Turks*, appears to be so utterly ignorant of the affairs of *Persia*, from the time of *Barkiarok*, to that of *Jenghiz Khân*.

to be ascribed. To this cause may be added his want of reading, and being of a different language, as well as religion, from the *Turks*; which might have hindered him from conversing with his neighbours, or consulting their histories. It is true, *Abû'lfaraj*, as having had the advantage of the *Arabic*, and more erudition than his countryman *Hayton*, carries down the *Irâk* dynasty through a succession of eight Soltans more: but after *Irâk Arabi* comes to be severed from the *Seljûk* dominions, by the *Khalifah Mektâfi*, on the death of *Moham-*

¹ HAITH. de Tart cap. xv. p. 378, & seq. ap. Grynæi, nov. orbem.

med II. in the year 554, as if that dismemberment had cut off all correspondence with *Persia*, he speaks no more of the succeeding Soltâns of the *Seljûk* race.

C H A P. III.

The Soltâns of the second branch, or dynasty, of the Seljûkians, called that of Kermân.

KERMÂN, the country from whence this race of Sol-*Kermân* tans takes its denomination, is a province of *Irân*, or *monarchy*. *Persia* at large, the same with ancient *Karamania*. It has on the west *Pârs*, or proper *Persia*; on the north *Sejestân*, or *Sistân*; on the east *Mekrân*, and on the south the straits of *Harmûz* or *Ormûs*. The principal city is called *Kermân*, or *Sirjân*, situate near the borders of *Pârs*. Besides which, we meet with several others, as *Tuberân*, *Gab-bis*, *Barsir*, or *Berdasir*, *Mastih*, or *Masrih*, *Bemnasir*, or *Kermasîn*, *Bam*, *Giroft*, or *Sirest*, &c. To which may be added the ports of *Jaskes*, *Mina*, and *Gomrûn*, or *Bander Abbâsi*; with the islands of *Harmûz* and *Kesbom*, which lie off the southern part of it, at present called *Mogostân*.

THIS dynasty takes the name of *Kermân*, because it was *Its extent*, founded in that province: but the power of its princes was not confined within the bounds of that single country; for they enlarged their dominions not only by the acquisition of *Pârs*, on the west, but of the countries eastward, as far as the river *Send*, or *Indus*²; comprizing, as it should seem, the province of *Mekrân*, or *Makrân*, with part of *Sajestân*, and *Sablestân*, and possibly so much of *India* as lay between those provinces and the *Indus*.

ALL the oriental historians agree, that this dynasty com-*and dura-* menced in the year 433 of the *Hejrah*, and ended in 583, *tion*. subsisting 150 years, under eleven Soltâns, viz. 1. *Kaderd*. 2. *Soltân Shâh*. 3. *Turân Shâh*. 4. *Irân Shâh*. 5. *Arslân Shâh*. 6. *Mohammed*. 7. *Togrol Shâh*. 8. *Arslân Shâh* II. 9. *Baharâm Shâh*. 10. *Turân Shâh* II. 11. *Mohammed Shâh*. Of whom, from the scantiness of the extracts given by *D'Herbelot*, who is our only assistant as to the history of this branch of the *Seljûkians*, it appears that the orientals themselves have spoken very little.

Kaderd, or *Kadherd*, the first, and founder of this race of *First Sol-* Soltâns, who, from him; are, by way of distinction, called *tân*, *Kaderd*.

² KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 801, art. Selgiukian Kermân.

- Kaderdians*, was the son of *Dawud*, or *Jaffar Bek*, son of *Mikael*, son of *Seljûk*. In the year 433, his uncle *Togrol Bek*, founder of the dynasty of *Irân*, made him governor of the province of *Kermân*, the *Persian Karamania* of the *Greeks*, where he became so powerful, that he assumed the authority of a sovereign prince, and added to his new dominion the province of *Fârs*, or *Pârs* (A), adjoining to it on the west. So that, in the year 455, he had formed a considerable state, with which he might have been satisfied; but the desire of possessing more, which generally increases with many acquisitions, having pushed him on to attack the dominions of his nephew *Malek Shâh* I. third Soltan of the *Seljûks* of *Irân*, he was defeated at *Gurj*, in the year 465; and, being taken prisoner, was confined in a castle in *Khorasân*; where, not long after, he was poisoned, by order of *Malek Shâh*^b, as hath been already related^c. This prince reigned thirty-two years, and left for his successor a son named *Soltân Shâh*.
- Malek Shâh*, on the death of his uncle *Kaderd*, restored his dominions to his cousin-german *Soltân Shâh*, son of *Kaderd*, who reigned there under his authority. But he enjoyed the throne no more than two years, according to *Kondamir*, who places his death in 467; although the *Tarikh Khozideh* gives him a reign of twelve years, which ends in 477^d.
- TURÂN Shâh* *ebn Kaderd* succeeded his brother *Soltân Shâh*, under the authority likewise of *Malek Shâh*. He reigned with the reputation of a very just and wise prince, applying himself solely to repair the ruins made in his dominions by the former wars. He died in the year 489, after he had reigned thirteen years; and left for his successor his son,
- IRÂN Shâh*, who had not the good qualities of his father: besides, his cruelty was so great, that his subjects, no longer able to endure it, in general conspired against and slew him, in the year 494, and fifth of his reign. He was succeeded by *Arslân Shâh*, son of *Kermân Shâh* *ebn Kaderd*^e.
- ARSLÂN Shâh*, during the life of his uncle *Irân Shâh*, kept himself concealed in a shoemaker's shop, for fear of falling into his hands: but as soon as he heard of his death, he made himself known, and was proclaimed Soltân the same year, by the unanimous consent of the *grandees* of the kingdom. So that the *Seljûkians* of *Pârs*, his relations, who had

^b KOND. ap. D'Herb. p. 225, & seq.^c P. 119.^d D'HERB. p. 826, art. Soithan Schah.^e Ibid. p. 498, art.*Irân Shâh*.(A) The *Arabs* write *Fârs*, the *Persians* *Pârs*.

given much uneasiness to his predecessors, durst not attack him. By this means he reigned in peace for forty-two years, and left the crown to his son *Mohammed* ¹.

Mohammed, surnamed *Mogayatho'ddin*, succeeded his father *Arslân Shâh*, in the year 536; and, the better to secure himself in the throne, put out the eyes of all his brothers. All that *Kondamîr* relates of him is, that he was much addicted to judicial astrology, and was very fond of building. He reigned fourteen years, and died in the 551st year of the *Hijrah* ². Some call this prince *Turân Shâh* ³. Sixth Soltân, Mohammed. Hej. 536. A. D. 1141. A. D. 1155.

TOGRUL Shâh, surnamed *Mohio'ddin* (B), succeeded his father *Mohammed*, and died after reigning twelve years. He left three sons, *Arslân Shâh*, *Baharâm Shâh*, and *Turân Shâh*, who made war on each other for twenty years together, with alternate advantages; so that he who gained a victory was acknowledged for Soltân, till such time as he was driven out by one of his two brothers ⁴. These succeeded one another, as set forth in the list of Soltâns, at the beginning of this chapter: but the duration of their reigns is so uncertain, that authors have marked only that of *Turân Shâh*, to which they give eight years. Soltân, Togrol Shâh. Hej. 563. A. D. 1167.

He was succeeded by his nephew *Mohammed Shâh*, son of his brother *Baharâm*, or *Beherâm Shâh*, who was the eleventh and last Soltân of this second branch of *Seljukians*: for *Malek Dinar*, a descendant of *Ali*, son-in-law of the prophet *Mohammed*, having conquered *Kermân* in the year 583, this dynasty, according to *Kondamîr*, and the *Tarikh Khozideh*, became extinct. But the reigns of the four last Soltâns are so confounded one with the other, that the *Tarikh al Tawarikh* reckons no more than nine princes in this *Kermân* succession ⁵. Eleventh Soltân, Mohammed Shâh. Hej. 583. A. D. 1187.

¹ KOND. ap. D'Hérb. p. 136, art. *Arslân Schâh*, fil. de Kermân Schâh. ² Ibid. p. 609, art. *Mohammed*, fils d'*Arslân Schâh*. ³ D'HERB. p. 800. ⁴ KOND ubi supr. p. 1030, art. *Thogrul Schâh*. ⁵ Ibid. p. 540, & 800, art. *Malek Dinar*, & *Selgiukian Kerman*.

(B) That is, the restorer of religion.

C H A P. IV.

History of the third dynasty of the Seljûkians, called that of Rûm.

S E C T. I.

Their dominions, conquest, establishment, and succession.

*Denomina-
tion of
Rûm.*

THIS dynasty of the *Seljûkians* takes its name of *Rûm* from their having reigned in the country of *Rûm*, that is, of the *Romans*, or rather of the *Greeks*; whose emperors, being the successors of the *Roman* emperors, preserved the title of emperors of the *Romans*, although they had changed the seat of their empire from *Rome* to *Constantinople*; and consequently were more properly or immediately sovereigns of the *Greeks*; who besides, at this time, of the two nations were only subject to them; *Italy*, and the western provinces, having been torn off from their dominions many ages before.

*Extent of
dominion.*

It is not to be presumed, from the denomination which this dynasty or race of Soltâns bears, that they were lords of all the then *Roman* empire, or country of the *Romans*. No: that was a glory reserved for the *Othmân* or *Ozmân Turks*, who rose out of the ruins of these *Seljûkians*; and succeeded them first in their dominions, which were confined for the general to *Asia minor*, or rather a part of it, during the reigns of all the Soltâns of the *Seljûk* race, excepting two or three of them, who extended their conquests beyond its bounds, to the east and south, which yet continued as part of the *Rûmean* monarchy, but little longer than their respective lives.

*Arabs,
their de-
cline.*

THE *Arabs*, who were the great reigning power before the *Turks*, had wrested from the *Roman* emperors all their dominions in *Africa* and *Asia*, excepting *Asia minor*; the eastern parts of which, towards the *Euphrates*, had been in their hands for the space of more than 150 years: but, for some time before the appearance of the *Seljûkians*, the emperors had recovered from them most of the cities they were possessed of within that province, besides some part of the *Greater Armenia*; which, however, they soon lost again; being taken from them by those new invaders.

ASIA

ASIA Minor, called more commonly by the latter *Greeks* *Asia minor* (*A*), that is, *the east*, is a large peninsula in the west-northern part of *Asia*. It is bounded on the north by the *Euxine* ^{*Extens.*} sea and *Propontis*, on the west by the *Archipelago*, on the south by the *Mediterranean* sea and *Syria*, on the east by the country of the *Lazi* or *Kurti*, and the river *Euphrates*. It is situated between the 36th and 42d degrees of latitude, and between the 44th and 58th degrees of longitude, reckoning from *Ferro*; being in length, from west to east, about 640 miles, and in breadth, from south to north, 360 miles.

AT the time when the *Seljuk Turks* first invaded *Asia minor*, it was divided much in the same manner as in former times, into twelve large provinces: all these, excepting four, are maritime; and, beginning with the most eastern, lie round the peninsula in the following order: *Pontus*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Bithynia*, along the *Euxine* sea: *Myfia*, in which is *Eolis*; *Ionia* and *Caria* are washed by the *Archipelago*: *Lycia* (containing *Mylia*), *Pisidia* (including *Pamphilia*), and *Cilicia*, by the *Mediterranean*. The four inland provinces are *Lydia*, *Phrygia* (containing *Lycaonia* and *Isauria*); *Cappadocia* (including *Armenia minor* and *Cataonia*); and *Galatia*: the three first run eastward, in the same parallel, from *Ionia* to the river *Euphrates*; and the fourth lies to the north of *Phrygia* and part of *Cappadocia*.

FROM the account which has been given, the reader may *their situation*, form an idea of the manner in which the provinces are situated, in respect of one another: but, to make it still more clear, it may be proper to observe, that *Cappadocia*, which extends from *Phrygia*, eastward, to the *Euphrates*, lies between *Pontus* on the north, and *Cilicia*, with part of *Syria*, on the south; *Galatia* has on the north *Paphlagonia* and *Bithynia*; *Phrygia*, which is the middle province of all, and whose north-west corner is covered by a skirt of *Bythinia*, is bounded on the west by *Myfia*, *Lydia*, and *Caria*; and on the south by *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, and part of *Cilicia*.

OF these provinces, *Pontus*, *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, are *and magnitude* very large; *Paphlagonia*, *Bithynia*, *Myfia*, *Pisidia*, *Cilicia*, and *Galatia*, of a middle size; *Lydia*, *Caria*, and *Lycia*, still less; and *Ionia* least of all. It is not necessary to give a description of these provinces, according to the state they then were in; for that will appear sufficiently from the history of the *Soltans*, wherein we shall have frequent occasion to speak of the principal cities and places in each.

(A) And corruptly, by the *Turks* and others, *Natolia*.

Seljûkian history ; THERE is scarce any piece of history among *Europeans* in greater confusion than this of the *Seljûkian* Soltâns of *Rûm* ; or any which deserves more to be set in a clear light, on account of the great connection which there is between the affairs of those Soltâns, and those of the latter *Roman* or *Greek* emperors, as well as the *Othman Turks*, their successors, reigning at present. This is owing to the imperfection of the *Greek* account of their affairs, full of chasms and errors ; from whence alone *Leunclavius*, *Knowles*, and all other western writers hitherto, have compiled their histories of this dynasty.

its bad state. IT may be presumed, that the defects of the *Greek* authors might be supplied, and their errors corrected, from the oriental, especially those of *Rûm*, or the countries subject to this third branch of the *Seljûkians*, if any of them yet remain. But the misfortune is, that very few particular histories of the eastern monarchies have as yet come to our hands ; and fewer still of the general ones been translated.

Want of helps, WITH respect to these latter, no translation has been published which treats of the Soltâns of this dynasty, excepting that of the compendium of *Abu'l-jaraj*, who speaks only of the first eleven, and mentions no more than the names of some of them. For this author, digesting his materials by way of annals, gives no complete or connected account of any of them. However, so much as we find in him has been of great use to us, in compiling our history of this third branch of the *Seljûkians* ; nor could we possibly have cleared up the chief difficulties, and settled some of the most important facts, without his assistance.

from oriental authors. As to the extracts from the oriental authors which *D'Herbelot* furnished, they are very inconsiderable ; for though in the articles, under the names of the respective Soltâns, he cites *Kondamîr*, *ebn Shonah*, and other *Persian* historians, and has given a table of those princes, from one or more of them ; yet the account he gives of the first Soltân is copied almost wholly from *Abu'l-jaraj* : as if the other authors had inserted nothing relating to them, but their names ; which, in such case, he ought to have acquainted his readers with, in order to account for so strange an imperfection, and prevent their imputing it to his own neglect.

Greek writers, THE *Byzantine* historians afford no small fund of materials : but then they relate almost intirely to such princes as they had wars or other transactions with ; and extend very little beyond those affairs, in which themselves were concerned : so that you neither find in them a regular series of the Soltâns, nor often the true names, if the names at all, even of

of those with whom they had to do. In short, they have *their de-related matters* very imperfectly, often erroneously, and in *several* great confusion, both in point of history and chronology; nor have the orientals been free from the same faults, which we shall point out as we go along. However, as scanty as our memoirs are on every side, yet the authors often supply the defects of one another: and if, from the oriental writers, we have received a more complete succession of the Soltâns, and better account of their transactions of the east, yet we should be at almost an entire loss for their conquests in the west, but for the *Greek* historians.

It has been already remarked from those writers, in the Koto- reign of *Tagrol Bek*, first Soltân of the *Seljukian* dynasty of *Irân*, that the *Turks* penetrated very early into the *Roman* empire. They tell us, that *Tagrolipix* (B), so they call *Tagrol Bek*, having slain *Pisares*, or *Basasiri*, and subdued the *Babylonians*, that is, the people of *Irâk Arabi*, named also *Babeli*, sent his nephew *Kutlu Muses* (C) against the *Arabs*; but, being defeated, he fled into *Baas*, or *Baasprakan*, in *Perf Armenia*, and, forcing his passage through the country, returned into *Persia*; where, for fear of the Soltân, who was enraged at his bad success, he retired to the city of *Pasar*, and rebelled against him, while he was in an expedition against the *Arabs*.

TAGROLIPIX having finished that war, marched against the *Roman* *Kutlu Muses*; and while he held him besieged in *Pasar*, sent *part of his army*, under the command of *Affan*, or *Hassan*, furnished the deaf, another of his nephews, to subdue *Perf Armenia*; but he miscarrying in that design, the Soltân dispatched his half-brother *Abraham Alim*, or *Halim*, with a great force, on the same expedition, which succeeded better than the former: for *Abraham* burned *Artze*, or *Arzerûm*, and took the *Roman* general prisoner. *Tagrolipix* generously gave the general his liberty; and, some time after, sent an ambassador to summon the emperor *Monomakhus* to become his tributary. The emperor, for this insult, treating the ambassador ill, the Soltân invaded *Iberia*, at a time when the *Romans* were at war with the *Patzinake Scythians*, which happened in the year of *Christ* 1050.

Not long after, discord arising between the Soltân and *Rebels* *Abraham Alim*, the latter fled to *Kutlu Muses*, and joined in against the rebellion: but the Soltân defeated them both near *Pasar* *Togrol* before-mentioned; and *Abraham* being taken prisoner, was *Bek*.

(B) Or *Tangrolipix*, as some. write: *Bryennius*, more correctly

(C) Or *Kutlu Muses*, as some. *Kutlumes*, for *Kutlumiş*.

put to death. *Kutlu Muses*, with his cousin *Malek*, son of *Abraham*, followed by 6000 men, fled to the borders of the *Roman* empire, from whence he sent for protection to *Monomachus*, a little before his death, which happened in 1054: but instead of waiting for an answer, he marched into *Persarmenia*, and took *Karfe*, now *Kârs*; when hearing that *Tagrolipix* was advancing towards him, he fled to the *Arabs*, who were the *Soltân's* enemies.

Conquests and death, HERE *Kutlu Muses* remained during the life of *Tagrolipix*, but as soon as *Axan*, so the *Greeks* call *Alp Arslân* (D), had ascended the throne, he returned from *Arabia* with considerable forces; and advancing to *Re* (E), laid claim to the sovereignty. But while the two armies were on the point of engaging, the *Khalifah* of *Babylon* (F) of a sudden appeared, and, interposing his authority, which he still retained in spirituals, brought the contending parties to this agreement: that the *Soltân* should hold *Persia*; and that *Kutlu Muses*, and his children, who were five in number, though not particularly named, should possess all the countries which they were able to take from the *Roman* emperor; and that *Axan* should assist them with troops for that purpose.

according to the Greeks. THE *Soltân* having, in performance of this agreement, furnished *Kutlu Muses* with forces, that prince, and his five sons, invaded the *Roman* empire; and, in the reign of *Michael Ducas* and his successor, made himself master of all *Persarmenia*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*.

ACCORDING to *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, who have been followed by all the western historians, *Kutlu Muses* lived at least sixteen years after that battle; for they say that he actually commanded a body of troops which came to the assistance of *Botaniates*, when he usurped the empire * in the year 1078.

Their error proved. THIS account, given by the *Greeks*, of the conquests made in *Asia minor* by the *Seljûktan Turks*, under the com-

* CEDREN. ZONAR. & univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 134, & seq.

(D) *Knowles* boldly denies *Axan* and *Aspasalem*, or *Alp Arslân*, to be the same (1); which is more than *Leunclavius*, whose plagiarist he is, would venture to do; though relying too much on the authority of *Cedrenus*, he looked on *Hayton* the *Armenian's*

account of the four first *Soltâns* to be false.

(E) That is *Rey*, or *Ray*, the northern capital of *Persian Irâk*.

(F) Thus the *Greek* writers confound *Babylon*, which was on the *Euphrates*, with *Baghdâd*, which is on the *Tigris*.

(1) *Knowles's list, of the Turks*, p. 2. edit. Ricaut.

mand of *Kutlu Muses*, it must be confessed, contains several errors; which having remarked elsewhere ^b, we shall not repeat here. It will be sufficient for our purpose to take notice, in this place, that those writers were misinformed as to the event of that battle; which, according to the oriental historians, was fought in the year of the *Hejrah* 455; and proved fatal to *Kutlu Muses*, who was killed by a fall from his horse, as he was going to engage *Alp Arslân*, against whom he rebelled, in the province of *Damagân*^c, in *Persia*. Hej. 455.
A. D.
1062.

Now this being supposed to be fact (and the authority of historians ought to be allowed, when speaking of an affair which concerned themselves, and happened in their own country), all which the before-mentioned *Greek* authors relate, concerning the actions of *Kutlu Muses* after that battle; must be false: and this seems, in good measure, confirmed by *Nicephorus Bryennius*, a more correct historian than the former, who relates, that the emperor *Michael* sent an ambassador to *Soleymân*, son of *Kutulmes* (G), in the year 1074, desiring his assistance against *Botaniates*^d: which implies that his father was then dead. And this may explain what he says afterwards; that, in 1078, the same usurper sent to demand succours of *Masur* (H) and *Soleymân*, sons of *Kutulmes*, prince of *Nice*^e, that is, late prince of *Nice*.

THE single remark touching the death of *Kotolmîsb* is all *Enquiry* which has been yet transmitted to us from the eastern writers into concerning that prince (I), corruptly called *Kutlu Muses* by the *Greeks*; excepting another, which seems to be taken from them, made by a late author, who informs us, that he established himself in *Asia minor*, about the year of the *Hejrah* 442, (of *Christ* 1050)^f; which is not at all improbable; since, according to *Cedrenus*, the *Greeks* became acquainted with the *Turks* about the year 1040; and ten years was time sufficient for making considerable conquests in that country.

HOWEVER that be, the *Greek* history seems to clash again *the time* with the oriental in this article: for if *Kotolmîsb* had settled *when* himself in *Asia minor* so early as the year of *Christ* 1050;

^b See before, p. 108.

^c See before, p. 107.

^d N1.

CERPH. BRYEN. in Mich. Ducam, c 15.

^e Id. in Botaniat.

c. 1.

^f DE LA CROIX hist. Genghis Can. p. 127.

(G) Which is nearer the true name *Kotolmîsb*, than *Kutlu Muses*.

(H) A mistake, we presume, for *Masûr*, or rather *Masûk*.

(I) D'Herbelot has given us no article under his name, in his *bibliothèque orientale*; and *Abû'Isfaraj* only mentions him and his son *Soleymân*.

how can it be imagined that he should repair two or three years after to the borders of the *Roman* empire, suing for protection, as the *Greeks* relate the case? for this supposes him either to have been driven out of his new possessions in that country, almost as soon as he acquired them, which we hear nothing of from either quarter; or else that he had not as yet made any conquests there, which is contrary to the authority of the eastern historians.

Kotol-
mîsh for-
slept

It would be in vain to pretend to solve the above difficulties, till we are sufficiently furnished with memoirs from the eastern writers, relating to *Kotolmîsh*. In the mean time it must be observed, in behalf of the account given by *De la Croix*, which we only suppose to have been taken from some oriental author or authors, that there is an error in the *Greek* relation, which seems to lessen its authority. For the application made by that *Seljûkian* prince to *Monomachus*, is said to have been made after the battle against *Togrol Bek*, wherein *Ibrahim*, his cousin, and partner in the rebellion, was taken and strangled. Now this could not possibly be the case; since that battle, by the testimony of the oriental writers, was fought in the year 1059, which was five years after that emperor's death: and if the *Byzantine* historians have mistaken in one circumstance, they might in another; especially when it relates to an event which happened at so great a distance from the capital of the empire.

in Asia
minor.

On a presumption therefore that *Kotolmîsh* had established himself in *Asia minor* about the year 1050, he will have a kind of dominion in that country for the space of thirteen years. However, it is not this prince, but his son *Soleymân*, who was the first of the *Seljûkian* Soltâns of *Rûm*: nor does it appear that *Soleymân*, who did not begin his reign till nine years after his father's death, derived any title to those territories from him.

But before we enter upon the history of that prince and his descendants, it will be proper to settle the number of them, with the beginnings and lengths of their respective reigns; about which there is no small disagreement, as well between the oriental authors and the *Grecian*, as among the oriental authors themselves.

Soltâns
of Rûm.

IN order to do this the more effectually, and to the satisfaction of our readers, we shall insert two tables, or lists, of the Soltâns of the *Rûm* dynasty: the first according to the *Persian* authors, as communicated by *D'Herbelot*, with our remarks thereon; the second as rectified by the assistance of other oriental authors, compared with the *Greeks*.

Soltâns,

Soltâns.	Reign began		Years First table, reign'd.
	Hij.	A. D.	
1. Soleyman - - - -	480	1087	20
2. Dawd, or Kilij Arslân -	500	1106*	18
3. Massûd - - - -	-	-	19
4. Kilij Arslân II. - - -	-	-	10
5. Rokno'ddin Soleyman -	588	1192	24
6. Azzo'ddin Kilij Arslân -	600	1203	[1
7. Gayatho'ddin Kay Khofraw -	601	1204	6
8. Azzo'ddin Kaykaws - -	609	1212	1
9. Aao'ddin Kaykobâd - -	610	1213	26
10. Gayatho'ddin Kay Khofraw II.	634	1236	8
11. Rokno'ddin Soleyman II. -	[644	1246]	20
12. Kay Khofraw - - - -	664	1265	18
13. Gayatho'ddin Massûd - -	682	1283	[5
14. Kaykobâd - - - -	687	1288	[13
Slain - - - -	700	1300	

THIS table is taken from *D'Herbelot*, who, in his article *whence* of the *Seljukian* dynasty, has given a list of the Soltâns, with *taken*. the length of their reigns; and we have added the years in which they ascended the throne, from the particular articles inserted in his *bibliothèque*, under their respective names. The figures within hooks, resulting from the other numbers, have been inserted by us, to fill up the vacancies; that our readers may better judge of its real imperfections.

THOSE which occur upon the face of the table are two *its imper-* very material ones. First, the sum of the years which all the *seditions* princes reigned amounts only to 189, being 31 short of the duration of the dynasty (reckoning from its commencement in 480, to its conclusion in 700), which makes 220 years. The second apparent defect is in the interval between the second and fifth Soltân: for, as that interval appears to be 88 years, and the years of the reigns of the three Soltâns with-*set forth* in that period make but 47, which fall 43 short; either those reigns must have been considerably longer than they are represented by the table, or else there must be an omission between *Dawd* and *Rokno'ddin* of one or two princes, whose reigns are necessary to fill up the vacancy. Besides these great defects, you find that the number of years reigned do not always tally with the years when the reign began: thus *Rokno'ddin*, the fifth Soltân, is made to reign 24 years; yet the distance betwixt the beginning of his reign and that of his successor is but 22 years. By the same rule *Gayatho'ddin*, the seventh, ought to have 8 years to his reign instead of 6, while

while *Alao'ddin*, the ninth, has 2 more given him than come to his share.

*Disagree-
ment
among the*

IN effect, *D'Herbelot* acknowledges there is a great difference between *Kondamîr*, whom he seems to follow, and the author of the *Nighiaristân*, as to the length of the reigns; though he only mentions two instances, which regard the second and fourth Soltâns; the *Nighiaristân* allowing the first but four years to his reign, and giving 20 to the latter; which widens the gap, taken notice of above, between the second and fifth Soltân, by four years.

WITH regard to this chasm, as it is evident, from what has been said, that there is some defect in the numbers, so *D'Herbelot* gives us room to believe there may be a Soltân wanting to complete the list: for this author farther informs us, that *Kondamîr* and the *Nighiaristân* differ also in the names, succession, and number, of the Soltâns.

*oriental
historians*

As to the number (which is the article of the three at present most to our purpose), he says, that the *Nighiaristân* makes these Soltâns the 14th and 15th, whom *Kondamîr* reckons the 13th and 14th^s, as in the table. Hence it appears, that, according to the first author, there were fifteen Soltâns in the dynasty of *Rûm*, or *Asia minor*.

D'HERBELOT, indeed, has not told us either the name of the additional Soltân, nor his rank in the succession; but, with regard to the latter, where is his reign more likely to come in, than in the interval or chasm before-mentioned? Nay, that author seems to point out the very place; for though in the table he reckons *Massûd* the third Soltân, in the article of *Massûd*, he makes him the fourth (K).

*fairly
stated.*

NOW this being supposed, we have found out a Soltân to supply the place of the third; which, by his setting *Massûd* a descent lower, becomes vacant. And there is the more reason to believe that there ought to be more Soltâns than three within the interval in question; because, according to our

* *D'HERB.* ubi supr.

(K) Accordingly, *Alao'ddin*, who in the table is the ninth, in the article of *Caikobad* is said to be the tenth. It is true, he is not uniform in this respect; for *Gayatbo'ddin*, the seventh in the table, is made the fifth or sixth in the article: in like manner *Kaykaw*s, the eighth in the ta-

ble, is only the seventh in the article under his name. But it must be observed, that *D'Herbelot* not only made use of authors who disagreed on this subject, but also that his *bibliothèque* is very incorrect; he not living either to fit the work for the press, or to see it printed.

computation, that interval is larger by twelve years than what the foregoing table makes it.

As to the disagreement which *D'Herbelot* says there is among the oriental historians, with respect to the names of the Soltâns of *Rûm*, he has furnished us with no instance thereof: but we shall mention some hereafter, particularly in the history of *Azzo'ddin*, our twelfth Soltân; and perhaps some authors put his name in the succession instead of *Rokno'ddin's*, as we ourselves have done.

In these remarks on the foregoing table, the reader sees *Reasons* the grounds for the alterations which are made in that which *for the* follows; the particular proofs in support of which will be produced, as we go along, in the history of the Soltâns. It may be sufficient to intimate here, that, as the chasm before-mentioned has been supplied from certain occasional remarks left us by the *Byzantine* historians and *Abû'lfaraj*; so, in settling the chronology, we have been chiefly obliged to the last author, who has inserted in his annals the deaths of three or four of the Soltâns: which serve as so many fixed points to guide us in our enquiries, and justify our dissenting from the authority of other oriental writers.

	Soltâns.	Reign began		Years <i>Second</i> reign'd. <i>table.</i>
		<i>Hej.</i>	<i>A. D.</i>	
1.	<i>Soleymân</i> - - - -	467	1074	11
	— Death - - - -	478	1085	
	Interregnum. - - - -			8
2.	<i>Dawd</i> , or <i>Kilij Arslân</i> - - - -	486	1093	14
3.	<i>Saysan</i> - - - -	500	1106	10
4.	<i>Massûd</i> - - - -		1116	38
5.	<i>Kilij Arslân II.</i> - - - -		1152	40
6.	<i>Gayatho'ddin Kay Khoṣraw</i> - - - -	588	1192	6
7.	<i>Rokno'ddin Soleymân</i> - - - -		1198	5
8.	<i>Kilij Arslân III.</i> - - - -	600	1203	1
	<i>Kay Khoṣraw</i> restored - - - -	601	1204	7
9.	<i>Azzo'ddin Kaykaws</i> - - - -	608	1211	8
10.	<i>Alao'ddin Kaykobaḍ</i> - - - -	616	1219	18
11.	<i>Gayatho'ddin Kay Khoṣraw II.</i> - - - -	634	1236	8
12.	<i>Azzo'ddin</i> - - - -	642	1244	22
13.	<i>Kay Khoṣraw</i> - - - -	664	1265	18
	Interregnum - - - -			1
14.	<i>Gayatho'ddin Massûd</i> - - - -	683	1284	4
15.	<i>Kaykobaḍ</i> - - - -	687	1288	13
	Slain - - - -	700	1300	

THE

Defects of
Greek
authors

THE dates of the reigns, which are inserted only according to the years of *Christ*, are computed the best we could from the little light given by the *Byzantine* historians, who seldom mark the time of actions; which is an almost inexcusable fault, as it gives great perplexity to a compiler, and makes it very difficult to connect the history of the *Greeks* with that of other nations.

pernicious
to history.

It has been already observed, that no complete series of Soltâns, or continued account of their transactions, much less the dates of them, is to be gathered from those writers. *Leunclavius*, misled by *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, makes two dynasties of Soltâns: one at *Nice*, which lasted only during the reigns of *Kutlu Muses* and his son *Soleymân Shâh*, as they call him: the other, at *Iconium*, which commences with *Alao'ddin*, whom he makes to be the son of one *Kai Kofroes*, but of a different family from that of *Kutlu Muses*, and newly come out of *Persia*, from whence he was expelled by the *Tartars*^b. And tho' the defect of the Soltâns, between *Soleymân* and *Alao'ddin*, may be supplied in some measure from other *Greek* historians, who had better opportunities of being acquainted with affairs than the two above-mentioned; yet, with regard to the Soltâns who succeeded *Alao'ddin*, you meet with scarce any thing besides their distorted names, according to the corrupt custom of the *Grecians*. What little there is of history is very erroneous, and delivered in great confusion.

S E C T. II.

Reign of Soltân Soleymân.

First Sol-
tân Soley-
mân

founds the
monarchy.

WHATEVER conquests *Kotelmîsh* made in *Lesser Asia*, or whatever power and authority he exercised there during his life; yet the *Persian* historians, who make his son *Soleymân* the founder of this *Seljûkian* dynasty, are so far from deriving any right of possession to him from his father, that they speak as if the *Turks* had no dominions in *Asia minor* for him to reign over, till they were conquered by his uncle. *Hamdallah al Mestûfi*, author of the *Tarîk Khvazideh*, says, that *Malek Shâh*, third Soltân of the *Seljûkians* of *Irân* (or *Persia* at large), on advice that the *Greek* emperor (A) was dead, sent *Soleymân*, son of *Kotelmîsh*, to make war on

^b LEUNCL. hist. Musulm. Turc. p. 78, & seq.

(A) This must be the emperor *Diogenes*, who died in 1071.

the

the *Greeks* in *Asia minor*; and that this prince, having made conquests there, settled himself entirely in the year 480.^a *Kon-* Hej. 480.
damir more particularly informs us, that *Malek Shâh* gave to A. D.
 his cousin *Soleyman* the country of *Rûm*, or what he had 1087.
 taken from the *Greek* emperor, extending from the *Euphrates*
 a great way into *Asia-minor*, of which part *Arzerûm* was the
 capital^b.

It is not said when this conquest or grant was made; but *Conquest of*
 it may be presumed to have been done three or four years *Rûm*;
 after his accession to throne, when he began to carry his arms
 westward of that river: and we meet with a passage, taken
 from the same historian, which helps to countenance this
 opinion, namely, that in the year 467, *Malek Shâh* sent his Hej. 467.
 cousin *Soleyman* into *Syria*, with an army sufficient to reduce A. D.
 that province; and that, in a short time, he subdued the 1074-
 whole country as far as *Antiokh*^c. It is true, *Syria* is the
 country said in this passage to be conquered, and not *Asia*
minor; but that might have happened through a mistake in
Kondamir, or his translator *D'Herbelot*, both of whom are
 pretty subject to such failings: and there is the more reason
 to believe so; because, first, we find *Soleyman* in that very
 year 467, or of *Christ* 1074, actually at the head of the *Sel-*
juik forces about *Nice*, when *Botaniates* the *Roman* emperor
 sent to him for succours (*). Secondly, It appears from two *when*
 other oriental authors, of equal credit with *Kondamir*, and, *made*.
 in our opinion, more accuracy, that the conquest of *Syria*
 was not undertaken till the year following, viz. 468, when Hej. 468.
Atis, or *Athsis*, was sent by the same Soltân to conquer that A. D.
 province; and accordingly did conquer it, and settled there^d. 1075.
 Nor do the same authors speak of *Soleyman's* entering *Syria* to
 make any conquest, till about the year 477, when he took *An-*
tiokh from the *Romans* or *Greeks*; which was the only city he
 ever possessed in *Syria*, and which he did not long hold, as
 will be related hereafter.

FROM hence we think it highly probable, that the begin-*First year*
 ning of *Soleyman's* reign ought to be placed much earlier of
 than the year 480 of the *Hejrah*; altho' *D'Herbelot* affirms
 that all the oriental historians unanimously agree to fix it to
 that year, excepting one, who puts it three years higher^e.

^a D'HERBEL. p. 822. art. Soliman ben Coutoulmîsch.

^b KON. ap. D'Herb. p. 542, art. Malek. Schâh. ^c KON.
 abi supra. (*) See lower down.

^d Vid. EBN AMID.
 p. 350. ABUL'F. p. 237. also before, p. 119.

^e D'HERB.
 p. 801. art. Seljukian.

*his reign
fixed.*

But whether the first be the true commencement of the dynasty or not, we may venture to affirm, that the latter must be erroneous, because we have proof that *Soleymân* died in 478, which was two years before: and, indeed, from the disagreement which *D'Herbelot* confesses there is among the oriental authors, concerning the number and reigns of these Soltâns, as well as from his giving little or no account, from them, of the actions of either *Soleymân* or several of his successors, it appears, that the historians he made use of (who seem to be chiefly, if not solely the *Persian*, excepting *Abû'l-faraj*), had, in their hands, very few memoirs relating to the *Seljûkian* princes of *Rûm*, at least the first of them; which might have happened thro' the distance of place and confusion of affairs during those times.

*Settled by
grant,*

HOWEVER that be, on a supposition that *Soleymân* began his reign in the year 467, it will be a farther confirmation that he derived nothing in succession from his father, who, in that case, died nine years before (and twenty-two, according to the account which puts the commencement of the dynasty in 480); whence it may be presumed, that whatever territories *Kotolmish* might have been possessed of in *Asia minor* at his death, whether by usurpation, or grant from *Togrolbek*, they fell into the hands of his nephew *Alp Arslân*, against whom he had rebelled; nor did his son *Soleymân* enjoy any part of them during the life of that Soltân, according to the oriental historians, who affirm, that the countries which he possessed were conquered from the *Romans*, and given to him by *Malek Shâh*, who succeeded *Alp Arslân* in the year of the *Hejrah* 464, and of *Christ* 1072.

*not suc-
cession.*

*Early pro-
gress*

THE *Greek* writers are not acquainted with this grant, or the Soltân who made it: but the best of them agree very well with the account of this conquest, and the commencement of the reign of *Soleymân*, as delivered by the oriental authors whom we follow: for they tell us, that, soon after the death of the emperor *Romanus Diogenes*, the *Turks* broke into the territories of the empire. *Michael Ducas*, his successor, being alarmed at this irruption, sent against them *Isaac Comnenus*; who, after gaining a few advantages, was defeated, and taken prisoner on the frontiers of *Cappadocia*, not far from *Cæsarea*. His brother *Alexis*, on his return, having passed the river *Sangarius*, was attacked by a party of *Turks*, who had already made incursions thro' *Bythynia* as far as *Nice*.

A. D.
1072.

Hej. 466.

A. D.
1073.

*of the
Turks.*

ANOTHER army was soon dispatched against them under the command of *John Ducas*, the emperor's uncle, and *Cæsar*; but, while he strove to reduce *Urşel*, who had revolted, the

Turks

Turks took the opportunity to pursue their conquests. He himself was afterwards taken by *Ursel*; and both of them by *Artuk* (C) (who then commanded the *Turkish* forces) at *Frikeum*, near the above-mentioned river. About the same time a new army came from *Persia* under *Tutak*, who ravaged the country about *Amasia*. To him *Ursel*, after being dismissed by *Artuk*, applied for assistance; but *Tutak* betrayed him, for a sum of money, to *Alexis Comnenus*, who had been appointed general in *Asia*. In his return, *Alexis* was attacked near *Heraklea* in *Bithynia* by a party of *Turks*, but escaped by his courage and address. About the same time *Isaac Comnenus*, newly made governor of *Antiokh*, was slain in an engagement with a party of *Turks*, which had made an irruption into *Syria*†.

AFTER this, several persons aspiring to the empire, *Michael Soleymân* sent an ambassador to *Soleymân*, son of *Kutubmes* (or *Kotal-assib misib*), desiring his assistance against *Nicephorus Botaniates*, general of the armies of the east, who had revolted; and being joined by *Khrysofules*, a *Turkish* commander, who in the reign of *Diogenes* had taken part with the *Romans*, had marched from *Phrygia* into *Bithynia*, with a design to get into *Nice*. *Soleymân*, being gained by the emperor, seized *Nicephorus* all the passages, and watched the motions of *Botaniates*; who, having but three hundred followers, took the by-roads, and travelled by night to avoid the *Turks*, and reach that city before they knew of his march: but they, getting intelligence of it, sent a party of horse to harraß his men. These, however, he repulsed; but, fearing to be surrounded, sent *Khrysofules*, who for a small sum of money prevailed on them to withdraw, and leave the way to *Nice* open. When he came near to that city, to his great surprize he found a numerous army drawn up in order before the suburbs, whom he took to be enemies; but, to his greater surprize, he found they had proclaimed him emperor‡.

It appears from this passage, that *Soleymân* was in *Asia minor* in the year 1074, which we suppose to be the first of his reign; and the abrupt manner, in which *Nicephorus Bryennius* here speaks of him for the first time, gives room to conjecture that he had been in the country for some considerable time before, which farther supports our hypothesis. What follows, from the same author, seems to confirm it still

† NICEPH. BRIEN. in Mich. Ducam, cap. 1—8.
 ‡ Ibid. cap. 15.

§ Idem

(C) In *Turkish*, *Ortok*.

Phrygia more. *Botaniates*, being in possession of the empire, raised forces to oppose *Nicephorus Bryennius*, who aspired to the throne; and having demanded succour of *Masûr* (D) and *Soleyman*, sons of *Kutlumes*, prince of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, they sent him 2000 men, and promised more. But after he had, by the conduct of *Alexis Comnenus*, who succeeded him, quashed the rebellions of *Bryennius* and *Basilacius*, he had likewise that of *Nicephorus Melissenus* to suppress. This lord, during the two former rebellions in *Europe*, setting up for emperor, had gotten together some *Turkish* troops in *Asia minor*, with which he overran the country; putting all the towns which he took into the hands of the *Turks*. By this means, in a little time, they became masters of all *Phrygia* and *Galatia*: in short, he reduced *Nice* in *Bithynia*, and struck terror through the empire^b. And thus, probably, that famous city came to be possessed by *Soleyman* (E), who afterwards made it the seat of his new empire.

given by
Melisse-
nus.

BOTANIATES, greatly alarmed at these successes, sent an army against the enemy under the command of *John*, an eunuch, who went and encamped near *Fort Basileum*, about forty stadia from *Nice*; and marching along a lake (F) came to *Fort St. George*, and took it. It was then debated if they should besiege that city, or go to *Doryleum* (G) and fight the Soltân (H). The former being resolved on, they sat down before it; but hearing of the Soltân's approach to relieve the place, the eunuch retired for fear, while the *Turks* pursued and harassed them extremelyⁱ.

Turkish WE are informed by the princess *Anna Commena* (I), that possessions. when *Botaniates* obtained the empire, the *Turks* were possessed of the countries between the *Euxine* sea and the *Hellepont*, between the *Egean* sea and sea of *Syria*, and between the

^b NIC. BRYEN. Nic. Botan.

ⁱ Idem ib. cap. 1—4, & 5.

(D) Rather *Masut*; as the *Greeks* write *Masûd*, or *Massûd*.

(E) This must have happened between the years 1074 and 1078; perhaps in 1076.

(F) Doubtless the lake of *Nice*.

(G) The regal seat of *Soleyman* seems, from this circumstance, to have been at *Doryleum*.

(H) The author should have told us who the Soltân was, whether *Soleyman* or *Kotolmîsh*.

This would have helped to clear up some doubtful points: But such perplexing omissions frequently occur in the *Byzantine* historians, who too often attend more to the perfection of their style than their history. However, from what follows, the Soltân here meant must be *Soleyman*.

(I) She was daughter of the emperor *Alexis* (who succeeded *Botaniates*), and wrote his life.

gulfs which are along the coasts of *Pamphilia* and *Cilicia*. As he had gained the empire by help of the *Turks*, so he used their aid to overcome *Nicephorus Bryennius*, who aspired to the throne^k. But those adventurers, who were ready to join with any party to serve their own turns, afterwards assisted his competitors *Milessenus* and *Alexis* to dethrone him. At length he resigned the crown to *Alexis*, in 1081. During these disputes, the *Turks* made use of their opportunity, took *Cyzicum*, and ravaged the country of *Anatolia*^l.

AT the time when *Alexis* ascended the throne, as above-mentioned, *Soleyman*, who commanded in *Anatolia*, had fixed royal seat^m. his seat at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, and daily made inroads with his *Turks* as far as the *Bosphorus*, then called *Damalis* (K); but *Alexis*, by ordering armed barks to scour the coast, obliged them soon to abandon it. Pursuing his advantage by land, he retook *Bosphorus*, *Thynia*, and *Bithynia*; whereupon the Soltân sued for peace; which was granted the *Turks*, on condition that they kept on the banks of the river *Draco*, without ever passing the borders of *Bithynia*ⁿ.

A. D.
1081.

BUT while *Alexis* was engaged in war with *Robert* and his son *Boemond* in *Illyrium*, *Apelkassem* (L), governor of *Nice* in the absence of *Soleyman*, ravaged the east, with the coast of *Propontis*, and the sea.

THE occasion of *Soleyman*'s leaving *Nice* was this: one *Soleyman Filaretus*, an *Armenian*, who for his courage and conduct^o had been made grand domestic by *Diogenes*, was so touched^p at his master's hard fate, that he resolved to be revenged; and, in order thereto, seized *Antioch*; but not being able to live in quiet for the continual inroads of the *Turks*, he embraced *Mohammedism*. He had a son, who, because he could not divert him from his design, rode in eight days to *Nice*, and persuaded *Amir Soleyman* (M) to come and take *Antioch*. *Soleyman*, leaving *Apelkassem* to govern in his absence, set forward, and in twelve nights, which he chose to march in to prevent discovery, arrived at that city, and took it by assault; at the same time that *Karatice* reduced *Sinopé*, where he was told there were great riches^q.

THE precise time of this event is not to be collected from^r and is slain. the *Greek* historian; altho' we know it must have happened

^k ANN. COMNENA in Alex. 1. 1. c. 3.
^c 2. 5, & 8.

^f Ibid. 1. 2.

^m Ibid. 1. 2. c. 7.

ⁿ Ibid. 1. 6. c. 7.

(K) Or *Skutari*.

(L) Perhaps a corruption of *Abul Kasseem*.

(M) Sometimes he is called

Soltân, which is equivalent to King; sometimes *Amir*, which signifies only a simple commander or general of troops.

between the years 1081 and 1084 : for we are informed by *Ebn Amid*, an oriental historian, that *Antioch* was in the hands of *Soleymân*, son of *Kotolmîsh*, in the year of the *Hejrah* 477. This is mentioned by that author, on occasion of the death of *Sharfo'ddawlat ebn Korays*, lord of *Halep* and *Musol*, who advancing with troops to take *Antioch* from *Soleymân*, was routed in battle and slain°. We are obliged to the same historian for the exact time of *Soleymân's* death, which happened in the year following. For Soltân *Tajo'ddawlat* (lord of *Damaskus*), hearing of *Sharfo'ddawlat's* misfortune, marched with his forces, accompanied by *Ortok* the *Turkmân*, to attack *Soleymân* prince of *Antioch*, who fought several battles with them under the walls of *Halep*; in the last of which he was slain, and his forces routed P.

Hej. 478.
A. D.
1085.
in battle.

THIS event is confirmed by the *Greek* historian *Anna Comnena*, tho' she differs somewhat in the manner of his death. She says, that *Tutuse* (so the *Greeks* call *Tatash*, surnamed *Tajo'ddawlat*), brother of the great Soltân (N), who possessed *Mesopotamia*, with the cities of *Jerusalem*, *Halep*, and *Baghdâd* (O), having a great desire to be master of *Antioch*, advanced with his forces against *Soleymân*; who being defeated, and finding he could not rally his troops, retreated himself: but the officers of the other party coming to tell him, that his uncle *Tutuse* sent for him, and fearing to trust himself in his hands, to avoid being constrained, drew his sword and ran himself through. Hereupon his soldiers, who had escaped from the battle, joined the army of *Tutuse* &c. Here you have the death of *Soleymân* circumstantially attested by two cotemporary historians, one an *Asiatic*.

Time of his death SOLEYMAN, dying in the year above-mentioned by *Ebn Amid*, will have eleven years to his reign. But this time of his death, as well as that which we have assumed for the commencement of his reign, is contradicted by other historians both eastern and western. *D'Herbelot* assures us, that *Kondamîr*, and almost all the oriental historians (at least whom he had consulted), agree to place the death of this Soltân in the year 500 of the *Hejrah*, or 1106 of *Christ*°, which is twenty-one or twenty-two years later; and give him a reign of twenty years, in consequence of fixing the be-

° *Ebn Amid*. hist. Saracen. p. 353.

P Ibid. p. 353.

° *ANN. COMMEN.* in Alex. l. 6. c. 7.

P *D'Herb.* p. 822.

art. *Solimân ben Coutolmîsch* & p. 801. art. *Selgiukian*.

(N) He was the brother of (O) A mistake perhaps for *Malek Shâh*, third Soltân of *Damaskus*. *Irân*.

ginning

gining of it in 480. This is a wide difference, and the more irreconcilable, as *Kondamir* begins his reign two years after his death, as related by *Ebn Amid*; and if we follow variously the computation of *Hamdallah al Mustafî*, who puts the commencement in 477 of the *Hejrah*, that date will indeed coincide with the years of *Soleymân's* life, but will afford him only about one year of reign, if we fix his death according to *Ebn Amid*; tho' it extends the same to twenty-three by the system of the other oriental writers. In short, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, and other western historians, confirm the supputation of *Kondamir*, &c. against *Ebn Amid*, by speaking of *Soleymân* (P) as making conquests, and fighting battles, many years after the year 1085*. The *Jerusalem Chronicle*, in particular, recites the words of a letter sent by *Soleymân* in the year 1098 to the Soltân of *Khorassân*, to desire succours against the Franks, who had taken from him Nice and Romania; meaning the country of *Rûm*, or *Asia minor*.

BUT notwithstanding the majority is against us in this point, yet we have very good reason to suspect their authority in favour of *Ebn Amid* and *Anna Comnena*, if it be only considered that the historians whom *D'Herbelot* consulted, seem to have been very little acquainted with the affairs of the *Seljukian* of *Rûm*, for the reasons before offered; and that all which he has produced from them, relating to the death in question, is a naked date, without any concurrent circumstances to support it; whereas *Ebn Amid*, and *Anna Comnena*, not only relate this manner of *Soleymân's* death, but that event is connected with foreign transactions; which is the strongest proof that the date of it, given by the former of them, must be exact. As to the other Greek historians, after what has been said, it is enough to say, that they could not have so good an opportunity of being rightly informed about such matters, as a prince of the imperial family.

INTERREGNUM.

SOLEYMAN, according to *Kondamir*, and the other *Per-Usurpation* historians consulted by *D'Herbelot*, left for successor of government his son *Dawd* (or *David*) surnamed *Kilij Arslân* (Q), who a-

* See univ. hist. vol. xvii. p. 149, & seq.

(P) They call him *Solimân* (Q) That is the sword of the lion.

scended the throne in the year 500, immediately after his father's decease¹. But it appears, from the history of *Anna Comnenâ*, that the sudden and violent death of *Soleymân* was attended with an interregnum, or usurpation of the governors in the dominions of *Rûm*; and that *Khliiziaflan* (as the *Greeks* corruptly name *Kilij* (R) *Arslân*), was in *Persia* till about the year 1093, when he returned to *Nice*; which will make a vacancy in the throne of nine years.

As there has been nothing transmitted to us from the east, relating to the affairs of the *Seljûkians* in *Rûm*, from the death of *Soleymân* to the death of this warlike Soltân, excepting his last expedition, in which he died, our sole recourse must be to the *Greek* historians, particularly the princess before-mentioned; who has given a pretty full account of the proceedings of the *Turks* against the *Roman* empire during that period.

Apelkaf- WHEN the news of *Amîr Soleymân's* death reached the ears of his governors in *Asia minor*, they divided his territories among themselves. *Apelkassêm* by this means became lord of *Nice*, famous for the palace of the Soltâns. He had before given *Cappadocia* to his brother *Pulkas*; but, being naturally active, he thought it unbecoming the dignity of Soltân to sit idle, and made incursions into *Bithynia* as far as the *Propontis*. The emperor, finding he could not be brought to a treaty, sent a powerful army, under the command of *Taticius*, to besiege *Nice*, which encamped at a place twelve stades distant.

THE night following a peasant brought advice, that *Prosk*, sent by a new Soltân called *Barkiarok*, approached at the head of 50,000 men. *Taticius*, not able to cope with such a force, retired towards *Nikomedia*. *Apelkassêm* pursued and attacked him at *Preneste*; but the *French*, who were in the army headed by *Taticius*, couching their lances with their usual alertness, fell on them like lightning, and, defeating them, gave *Taticius* leisure to retire.

Visits the *APELKASSEM*, with a design to conquer the islands, built ships, intending to take the city of *Scio* (S), seated on the sea side: but the emperor sent and burnt them in the harbour. At the same time *Taticius* fell on the *Turks* at *Alykas*, called also *Cyparissium*; and after skirmishing with them for fifteen days, at length routed them. The emperor on

¹ See D'HERR. ubi supra.

(R) This word may be pronounced *Kilj*, or *Kelj*, *Klij*, or *Klej*.

(S) Or *Cium*, in the bay of *Moudania*, miscalled *Montanea*, a port of *Nice*.

this

this wrote an obliging letter to *Apelkassem*, desiring him to desist from his fruitless attempts, and invited him to come to *Constantinople*. That prince, understanding that *Prosjuk* had taken many lesser towns, and intended to besiege *Nice*, accepted of the invitation, and was received with extraordinary honours.

THE politic emperor took the opportunity, while *Apel-Who a-kassem* was at *Constantinople*, to build a fort by the sea side to *musf him*. secure *Nikomedia*, the capital of *Bithynia* (T); making the *Turks*, who would have opposed that design, believe that he had their Soltân's order for it, whom all the while he amused with diversions. When the fortress was finished, he loaded him with presents, gave him the title of Most August, concluded a peace with him, and sent him home by sea. The sight of that fabrick in his passage gave him much displeasure; but he thought it better to dissemble his resentment than complain.

PROSUK soon after besieged *Nice*; and, having attacked *Nice* *be-* it vigorously for three months, *Apelkassem* sent for succour to *sieged*. the emperor, who sent him the flower of his troops, but with orders to act for his interest; both parties being in effect his enemies. The *Roman* troops, having taken the city of *St. George*, were admitted into *Nice*, and dislaid their standards: hereupon *Prosjuk*, believing the emperor had entered the city, raised the siege, and retired^u.

It will be proper to observe in this place, that as soon as *Alexis*, by the great Soltân (U) (who reigned in *Khorassân*), was in-artifice, formed of the success of *Tutus* against *Soleymân* (as has been related in the life of that prince), he was alarmed; and fearing he might grow too powerful, sent a *Chaus* (X) to the emperor *Alexis*, to propose an alliance with him by way of marriage; offering, on that occasion, to withdraw the *Turks* settled near the sea-coasts; to abandon a certain number of small towns, and furnish him with troops, in case of need.

THE emperor, desirous to recover the places without the marriage, prevailed on the *chaus* to turn christian: after which, as he had a written order from the Soltân, for the *Turkish* garrisons to quit all the maritime places as soon as *recovers* the marriage was agreed on, he went to *Sinopé*, and shewing many *ci-* the order to *Karatik* the governor, obliged him to depart *ties*.

• ANN. COMNEN. in Alex. l. 6. c. 7.—10.

(T) It became so after *Nice* the father and predecessor of was taken by the *Turks*. *Barkiarok*.

(U) This was *Malek Shâb*, (X) *Chaus*, or *Chausb*, is a messenger of state.

without taking any thing away (Y), and left it in the hands of *Dalassenes* for the emperor. Having by the like artifice gotten the *Turks* out of other towns, and put in *Roman* garisons, he returned to *Constantinople*, where he was baptized, and received the title of duke of *Ankhiatus*, with other great rewards *.

Nice be-
sieged a-
gain;

THE Soltân was extremely vexed when he came to hear how the chaush had served him. Notwithstanding this, he sent a letter to the emperor, assuring him, that, provided he gave his daughter in marriage to his son, he would assist him with troops to prevent *Apelkassem's* incursions, and take *Antioch* (Z) from him: At the same time he sent *Pusan* with forces against *Apelkassem*. The emperor wrote an answer, which, without granting his demand, flattered his hopes, and sent it away. Mean time *Pusan* attacked *Nice* several times; but being repulsed by means of the emperor's succours, drew off to *Lopadion* (A), on the river *Lampe*. As soon as he was gone, *Apelkassem*, loading fourteen mules with gold, set out for *Persia* to obtain the Soltân's confirmation in the government: but the Soltân, who was then at *Spaka* (B), refusing to see him, ordered him to go back to *Pusan*; saying, he would confirm whatever the other agreed to. After a long and fruitless solicitation he set out to return, but was not gotten far, before he was met by 200 men, who, by the Soltân's order, strangled him. The ambassador, who carried the emperor's letter, proceeded on his journey; but hearing, before he got to *Khorassân*, that the Soltân himself was assassinated (C), he returned to *Constantinople*.

Relieved
a second
time;

Restored to AFTER *Apelkassem* had set out for *Khorassân*, as above-related, *Pulkas*, his brother, took possession of *Nice*; which

* ANN. COMM. I. 6. c. 8.

(Y) The *Greeks* say, *Karatik* was possessed by the devil, for having plundered the church of the thrice pure Mother of God when he took the city.

(Z) This must be *Antioch* in *Syria*; whence it appears, not only that *Antioch* did not fall into the hands of *Tutus* (or *Tartas*), on the defeat of *Soleymân*; but also that *Apelkassem* (or *Abû'l Kassem*) was in possession of the greater part of his dominions.

(A) Now called *Lobat*, or *Lupad*.

(B) Doubtless *Ispâhân*.

(C) This was *Malik Shâh*, as appears from the course of time, as well as the mistaken account of his death, given in this place by our historian, as we have elsewhere observed (1); altho', by some oversight in ranging her materials, these facts may seem to belong to the reign of *Barkiarokh*, his son and successor.

(1) See before, p. 127.

the emperor, by large offers, tempted him to deliver up : but he still put him off, under pretence of expecting the return of his brother. While this matter was in agitation, the two sons of *Amir Soleyman*, escaping on the death of the murdered Soltân, by whom they were detained in prison, arrived at *Nice* ; where they were received by those who had most ^{the sons of} power with the people, and acknowledged by *Pulhas*, who delivered up the city into their hands. From this revolution or restoration (which, according to the course of the *Greek* history, happened about the year 1093), we date the commencement of the reign of *Kiliç Arslân I.*

S E C T. III.

Reign of Soltân Kiliç Arslân I.

NICE having thus, after an usurpation of several years, ^{Second Sol-} been restored to the heirs of *Soleyman* ; *Kiliç*, or *Kiliç tân Kiliç Arslân* the eldest, whom the *Greeks* call *Khiziaslan*, or *Arslân I. Khiziaslan*, assumed the reins of government. His first care was to repopulate the city, by calling home the wives and children of the old inhabitants, as he designed to honour it with the ordinary residence of the Soltâns. Then, displacing *Pulhas*, he made *Mahomet* (A) governor ; after which he marched towards *Melicene*. What was the occasion of his departure, what part of his dominions he went to, or what he did for some time after, we are intirely strangers to ; the *Greek* writers, to whom we are obliged for all this Soltân's history, excepting the last transaction of his reign, treating no farther of the *Turkish* affairs than as they concerned themselves : for this reason the reader will not be surprized if he meets frequently with chasms in the history, and sometimes the matters abruptly introduced.

A. D.
1093.

THE emperor *Alexis*, having been informed that *Elkân*, *Elkân* prince of the *Satrapas* (B), had taken *Apoloniade* and *Cyzicum*, taken maritime cities, and ravaged the sea coast ; sent *Eupherbene*, ^{son of} *Eupherbene*, who besieged *Apoloniade*, and reduced the exopolis, or out-town. The *Turks* defended the citadel vigorously till succours arrived ; on which the *Roman* general withdrew, and put his men on board the ships : But *Elkân* having seized the mouth of the river and the bridge, they were forced to re-land, and

(A) Perhaps the name of the Soltân's brother, which is not expressly mentioned. (B) Or *Turkish* governors ; perhaps a *Beglerbeg*.

most

most of them cut off in battle. After this, *Opus*, being sent against him, took *Cyzicum* and *Poemanenou* by assault; then besieging *Apoloniade*, forced *Elkân* to surrender; who, being sent to the emperor, was very kindly received, and turned christian^a.

Rise of
Tzakas.

WHILE *Alexis* was engaged in war with the *Patzinacians* (C), he received advice that the son of *Apelkasseni*, governor of *Nice* (called *Satrapa* by the old, and *Amiral*, by the modern *Persians* (D), was inclined to besiege *Nikomedia*. At the same time *Tzakas*, a *Turk*, resolving to set up a naval force, employed a native of *Smyrna* for that purpose, who having built him several vessels, and forty barks, he went and took *Glazomene* and *Phoea* without much resistance; then sending a threatening message to *Alopius*, governor of *Mitylene*, he fled: but *Tzakas*, finding the inhabitants of *Metymne*, a city of the isle seated very high, prepared to receive him, he passed on to the island of *Khio*, which he took by force.

He defeats

THE emperor, on this news, sent a fleet against him, which was defeated: then he sent another under *Constantine Delassenus*, his relation; who, desirous to retake *Khio* while *Tzakas* was absent, made a breach in the wall, which obliged the *Turks* to implore mercy: but while the general delayed taking possession, to prevent the soldiers from putting them to the sword, the besieged repaired the breach in the night. *Tzakas* arrived from *Smyrna* at the same juncture on the other side of the isle, and marched at the head of 8000 men, followed along the coast by his fleet; then, going on board, he encountered the *Greek* ships in the night: his own being joined together by chains, so that they could not be separated. *Opus*, who commanded the *Grecian* fleet, surprized at this new sort of disposition, durst not advance.

the Ro-
mans:

TZAKAS followed him slowly, and at length landing, began the attack. The *French*, on their approach, marched briskly against them with their lances: but the *Turks*, having discharged arrows at their horses, obliged them to retire in disorder to the camp, and thence openly to the ships. The *Romans*, dismayed by this defeat, fled likewise, and ranged themselves along the walls of the town. This emboldened the *Turks* to go and seize some vessels: but the sailors, cutting the cables, went and anchored with the rest at some distance from the shore. Mean time *Delassenus* retired to *Bolissus*, a town

^a ANN. COMNEN. l. 6. c. 11 & 12.

(C) A Scythian nation, who inhabited *Panetia* and *Moldavia*.

(D) Rather *Amir*, whence comes our *amiral*, and *admiral*.

situated

situated on a cape of the isle; and *Tzakas*, knowing his valour, sent to propose an accommodation.

NEXT day they met; and *Tzakas* demanded, that what *Proposes* the emperor *Botaniates* had given him should be delivered into *peace*: his hands, and a marriage take place between his son and a daughter of the emperor; in which case he promised to restore all the islands he had conquered. It seems this *Turk* had been taken prisoner when young in *Asia*, and presented to *Botaniates*, who honoured him with the title of Most Noble, and with rich presents; on which he took an oath of fidelity to him, but thought himself not bound by it to *Alexis*. *Delassenus* referred him for an answer to *John*, the emperor's brother-in-law, who was expected with forces in a few days: but *Tzakas*, not caring to wait his coming, returned in the night with his fleet to *Smyrna*, in order to raise new forces for the conquest of the island. After which *Delassenus* took *Bolissus*, and the city of *Khio* itself^b.

MEAN time *Tzakas*, while the emperor was at war with *Augments* the *Scythians*, increased his fleet with an extraordinary number of ships, gathered from several ports, wherewith he resolved to plunder all the isles which refused to submit, and ravage all the western coasts. He endeavoured to excite the *Scythians* to subdue the *Kherfonesus*, and to oblige the succours to return which came from the east; making great offers to draw the *Turks* to espouse his cause^c. After this he assumed the name of king at *Smyrna*, which he made his regal seat; and fitted out a fleet to ravage the isles, and penetrate as far as the very capital of the empire.

AT the beginning of spring (E) the emperor sent an army *Surrenders* and a fleet to *Mitylene*; the former under the conduct of *John Mitylene*: *Dukas*, and the latter of *Constantine Delassenus*. The place was commanded by *Galabatzes*, brother of *Tzakas*, who came also in person to defend it. *Dukas* battered the place for three months, and often fought the enemy from morning till night without any advantage; but at last *Tzakas* thought fit to surrender the city, on condition that he might have liberty to return to *Smyrna*. This was granted him: but as he endeavoured to carry off the inhabitants of *Mitylene*, contrary to the treaty, *Delassenus* attacked him by sea, and took several barks; *Tzakas* himself with difficulty escaping in one of the

^b ANN. COMNEN. l. 7. c. 5 & 6.

^c Ibid. l. 8. c. 2.

(E) You find mention often seasons of the year, but not of in the Greek historians of the the year itself.

finallest

smallest vessels. After this *Dukas* retook *Samos*, and the other isles which that *Turk* had seized.

He is slain **TZAKAS**, as soon as he returned to *Smyrna*, ordered barks to be built, and galleys of two and three tire of oars, besides other light vessels, with a design to send them out as corsairs. Hereupon the emperor dispatched *Delassenus* with a puissant fleet, and at the same time wrote to stir up the Soltân (F) against his son-in-law, whom he represented as aspiring to the empire of the *Turks*. The Soltân immediately set forward with his forces, and was at *Avido*, which *Tzakas* had besieged, almost as soon as *Delassenus*. *Tzakas* having no ships with him (for his fleet was not yet equipped), and finding himself unable to oppose both the emperor and the Soltân, resolved to go meet the latter, not imagining how much he was incensed against him. The Soltân received him with a great shew of friendship, and kept him to dine with him; but as soon as he found him overcome with liquor, drew his sword, and killed him with a stroke on his side^d.

by the Soltân.

Care of Alexis

to secure Bithynia.

THE emperor was scarcely delivered from this enemy, before he found himself obliged to march against the *Komâns*, who continued to make incursions into his territories: mean while the *Turks* took that opportunity to ravage *Bithynia*. When the war therefore was over, he applied himself to secure the country inclosed by the sea between the river *Sangarius* and a place called *Cele*, which was exposed to their frequent incursions. Having found a deep canal, which had been formerly dug by the emperor *Anastasius* to drain the marsh of *Baanom*, he ordered it to be cleaned and extended: but considering that in time it might become fordable, he built on the side of it an exceeding strong citadel, thence called the *Iron Castle*, which served for the defence of *Nikomedia*.

Crusaders; their cruelties.

A. D. 1096.

THE emperor had scarce rested from this fatigue, when *Peter* the hermit, author of the crusade, or holy war, arrived at *Constantinople* at the head of 80,000 men, devoted to the recovery of *Jerusalem* from the *Turks*. The emperor advised him to wait till *Godfrey* of *Bulloin*, and the other princes, arrived: but *Peter*, confident of his own success, passed the sea, and encamped near a small city called *Helenopolis*. From hence ten thousand *Normans*, who were among them, made an incursion as far as *Nice*, committing the most horrible cruelties; but the garrison of that city sallying out upon them, they were obliged to retreat. After this they took *Xerigorda*,

^d ANN. COMNEN. l. 9. c. 1 & 3.

(F) *Kilij Arslân*, son of *Soleyman*.

A. D. 1097. called *Leuka*, they thought fit to separate, and let *Boemond* go before, as he desired. The *Turks* discovering him in the plain of *Dorylaeum*, fell upon him vigorously, and killed forty of his best men; whereupon, being also himself dangerously wounded, he retreated to the army. As they advanced in companies, they met, near a place called *Ebraik*, the Soltân *Tanîsman* (I) and *Hassan*, who alone was at the head of 80,000 men. The battle was very obstinate, when *Boemond*, perceiving the *Turks* fought with more vigour than their enemies, fell with the right wing like a lion on the Soltân *Klizi-âslân* (K), or *Kilij Arslân*, and put them to flight. Soon after they met the *Turks* near *Augustopolis*, and defeated them a second time. After which they suffered them to continue their march to *Antiokh*, without daring to appear.

The emperor recovered. THE emperor thought this a good opportunity to recover other places from the *Turks*. *Tzakas* had seized *Smyrna*; *Hangripermes* was in possession of *Ephesus*: Other robbers were masters of different places: *Khio*, *Rhodes*, and several other islands were in their hands, from whence they scoured all the adjacent seas. To prevent these depredations, he fitted out a large fleet, under the command of *John Dukas*, who carried with him the daughter of *Tzakas*, to convince the pirates that the city was taken. Being come to *Avido*, he gave the command of the fleet to *Kassaces*, in order to attack *Smyrna* by sea, while he besieged it by land. The inhabitants, terrified, immediately surrendered upon terms, and *Kassaces* was made governor, but did not long enjoy his post: for having ordered a *Turk* before him, who had stolen a sum of money; the fellow, thinking they were carrying him to execution, in despair drew his sword, and stabbed the governor in the belly, mixing himself at the same time with the croud. The foldiers and seamen were so enraged at this murder, that they put 10,000 inhabitants to the sword.

Ephesus, and. From *Smyrna* *Dukas* marched to *Ephesus*, where, after a bloody battle which lasted near the whole day, he defeated *Tangripermes* and *Maraces*. The remainder of the *Turkish* forces fled up the *Maander* to *Polybotum*. *Dukas* pursued them; and in the way took *Sardes* and *Philadelphia* by assault: *Laodicea* submitted to him. Then, passing by *Kome*,

(I) The *Greek* historians give the name of Soltân often without distinction to all generals or great commanders, as well as to the brother of the Soltân.

(K) The *Latin* writers of the

crusade make *Soleymân* the Soltân of *Nice* at this time; but we have already shewn, both from the *Greek* and oriental authors, that he was dead some years before.

he

he forced *Lampe*. He found at *Polybotum* a great multitude of *Turks*, but defeated them intirely, carrying off much plunder and many prisoners.

MEAN time the emperor *Alexis* prepared to succour the other *Franks*, who were besieged by the *Turks* in *Antiokh*; and being arrived at *Filomelion*, cut in pieces a great number of their troops, and recovered several places out of their hands. But hearing that *Ismael* (L), son of the Soltân of *Korassân*, was advancing at the head of a vast army; he thought it most prudent to return with his prisoners and plunder, after he had given notice to the inhabitants in and about *Polybotum* to provide for their safety. *Ismael*, advancing, laid siege to the fort of *Paipert*, which the famous *Theodorus Gaurus* had taken but a little while before, with a design to observe the passage of the *Turks*, and make incursions upon them.

A. D.
1098.

ABOUT that time there arrived at *Constantinople* an army of *Normans*, 100,000 foot and 50,000 horse, commanded by the two brothers of *Flanders*. The emperor would have had them taken the same road which the other *Franks* had followed; but their design was not, it seems, to join the confederates of the crusade, but to march into the east, and conquer *Khorassân* itself. Having passed the straits of *Civiot*, they went and took *Ancyra*. After they had crossed the *Halys*, they came to a little city belonging to the *Romans*; where the priests coming out to meet them, with the cross and gospel in their hands, they were so barbarous as to put them all to the sword. The *Turks*, who are very skilful warriors, took care to carry off all the provisions in the country thro' which they passed; and being near *Anafsa*, after defeating, hemmed them in so closely that they had no opportunity to pasture their horses.

THE *Normans* in despair rushed upon their enemy: but the *Turks*, instead of engaging them at a distance with the bow or lance, came to close fight with their swords; and made a dreadful slaughter. Upon this, they asked the count of *St. Giles* and *Tzitas*, whom the emperor had sent with them for their assistance, if there was not some country belonging to the empire near at hand, which they might fly to; and being informed that there was, immediately abandoned their camp and baggage, flying to the maritime parts of *Armenia* and *Pauraca*. The horse for haste leaving the infantry behind, they were all slain by the *Turks*, excepting a few, whom they reserved as it were to shew in *Khorassân*. The

(L) *Barkiarok* was then Soltân; but we meet with no son of his who had that name.

count and *Tzitas* returned, with the horse which escaped, to *Constantinople*; from whence the emperor sent the count by sea to *Tripoly* in *Syria*, where he proposed to continue the siege, but died soon after he landed, leaving his possessions to his nephew *William*†.

Rebellion
of Gre-
gory.

A. D.
1106.

In the fourteenth indiction, *Gregory*, governor of *Trebizond*, who had revolted two years before, intended to shut himself up in the castle of *Kolonia*, which was reckoned impregnable, and to implore the protection of *Tanisman* the Turk before-mentioned; but being pursued by *John Comnenus* the emperor's nephew, and his cousin, was taken, and sent to *Constantinople*‡.

WE must now quit the *Greek* historian, to close this reign with an account of the last action and death of *Kilij Arslân*, which the *Greeks* were strangers to; and altho' it is the only matter relating to this Soltân which has been communicated to us from the oriental authors, yet it serves to give us a greater idea of his power than all the transactions already related.

Soltân
takes Mu-
sol:

THE inhabitants of *Musol* (*Mausel*, or *Mesul*) having been besieged by *Al Jaweli* (M), who had taken their prince *Jagarmisb* prisoner, sent to offer *Kilij Arslân*, lord of *Konia*, or *Ikoniûm* (N) and *Ahsara*, the possession of their city, in case he would come to their relief. Hereupon *Kilij Arslân*, hastening with his forces, took possession of *Musol*, *Jaweli* retiring on his approach. He pitched his camp in a place called *Al Mogreka*, where *Zenji*, son of *Jagarmisb*, with his friends, repairing to him, he honoured them all with *kastâns* or vests. Then sitting in a throne, he ordered the name of Soltân *Mohammed* (O) to be suppressed in the pulpits, and his own mentioned in place of it.

Is drown-
ed.

THIS done, he marched against *Al Jaweli*, who was at *Roha*; but being met by him at the river *Khabûr* (P), was put to flight. *Kilij Arslân* plunged into the river, with an intent to cross it; but, while he defended himself with his bow against the enemy, his horse carrying him out of his depth,

† ANN. COMNEN. l. II. c. 1—7.

‡ Ibid. l. 12. c. 5.

(M) *Jaweli*, or *Jawwali*, lord of *Roha*, or *Orfa*, in *Mesopotamia*. See before, p. 143, & seq.

(N) Hence it appears, that after the loss of *Nice*, he transferred the royal seat to *Koniyah*; so the orientals call *Ikoniûm*,

and the latter *Greeks* *Kogni*, or *Konni*.

(O) Son of *Malek Shâb*, and fifth Soltân of *Irâk*, or *Persia*.

(P) It rises in *Mesopotamia* from a fountain called *Ras al Ayn*, and falls into the *Euphrates* near *Kerkisfa*.

he was drowned. Some days after, his body was found floating on the water, and buried at *Al Shamfania* (P). This event is placed, by our author, in the year 500 of the *Hejrah*^h, which answers to that of *Christ* 1106.

It is remarkable that *D'Herbelot*, under the name of this *Defects of* Soltân, has given only an abstract of the foregoing transaction from *Abû'lfaraj*¹; which seems to shew, that there is nothing to be found in *Kondamir*, and the other authors whom he made use of, concerning that prince. But in supplying their defect from the *Syrian annalist*, he has also adopted his chronology, which contradicts theirs: for *Abû'lfaraj* makes the reign of *Kilij Arslân* to end in the same year that they will have it commence; and we prefer his authority to theirs, for the same reason which induced us to give the preference to *Ebn Amîd*, with regard to the year of the death of his father *Soleymân*. ^{respecting this prince.}

ACCORDING to their reckoning *Kilij Arslân* reigned eighteen years; according to ours, fourteen: but the *Nighiaristân* gives him only four years to his reign. The same authors also make his son *Maffud* to have been his immediate successor; whereas we have taken the liberty, on what we judge to be sufficient authority, to put in one between them.

S E C T. IV.

The Reign of Soltân Sayfan.

THERE is no mention of a Soltân with the name of *Third Soltân Sayfan*, among the oriental historians; but we have ^{tan, Say-} already shewn, from their inaccuracy, and other imperfections ^{fan;} with regard to this dynasty, that there are sufficient grounds to believe, that there were more princes in the succession than those of whom they give us the names. It is confessed also, that some of them reckon fifteen Soltâns; and if so, the chronological chasm, which has been remarked between the reign of *Kilij Arslân I.* and *Rokno'ddin Soleymân*, leaves room for introducing one here. Although *Abû'lfaraj* agrees with *Kondamir* in naming the first ten Soltâns, yet, as he does not ^{mentioned} tell their number or rank in the succession, and but barely ^{only by} mentions some, and that only occasionally; so he may possibly have omitted the name of one or more, especially in this interval we are speaking of; which appears, from his dates of facts, to be very wide, at the same time that they help to fill

¹ *ABU'LFARAJ*, hist. dynast. p. 245.
1004, art *Kilij Arslan ben Soliman*.

¹ See *D'HERB.* p.

(P) Or *Al Shamaniyah*.

up the chasm, by giving a much greater length of reign to the princes he mentions, than the other oriental authors have assigned them. In this he agrees with those *Greek* historians whom we have chosen to follow in our account of the Soltâns: In short, as the eastern historians afford us scarce any memoirs relating to the first Soltâns of this dynasty, it is but just that we should be governed by the authority of the *Byzantine* writers, to whom we are almost wholly beholden for our materials.

the Greek writers, It is true, we find *Khiziaslan*, or *Kilij Arslân*, spoken of by *Anna Comnena*, as Soltân of *Kogni*, or *Ikonium*, till the very last action of this reign: but then the sudden transition, in the account of that action, from *Khiziaslan* to *Saysan*, as Soltân of *Kogni*, shews that the historian was all the while speaking of one and the same person; for there could not be two Soltâns of *Kogni* at the same time: nor do we find any farther mention of *Khiziaslan*. It cannot be thought that by *whom we follow.* this latter is meant *Kilij Arslân*, the former Soltân, according to the *Greek* custom of prolonging the reigns of princes; because he is said to be in the vigour of his youth; and as the same quality is ascribed to *Saysan*; it is a farther proof that those two names are given to the same person. However that was, *Saysan* must have been the son of the former Soltân, since he is called the brother of *Masût*, or *Massûd*; who was the son of *Kilij Arslân*, according to the unanimous consent of the oriental historians.

HAVING premised these few remarks, which are necessary both to justify the innovation we have introduced, and obviate what at first sight appears to be a very great difficulty, if not a sort of contradiction, we shall proceed to the history.

Greeks, their barbarity; THE coast of *Asia* having, by the late wars, been ruined, from *Smyrna* to *Attalia*, and those once populous and stately cities become heaps of rubbish, the emperor sent *Filokales* to restore them. That nobleman first rebuilt *Endromit*, or *Adromitium* (which had been so totally destroyed by *Tzakas*, that there remained no signs of its habitations), and peopled it with the peasants and strangers (A). After this, being informed that the *Turks* were gathering near *Lampis*, he sent thither some troops, who cut part of them in pieces, and took a great number prisoners, using their victory so cruelly, that they boiled children to death. The *Turks* who remained put on mourning clothes, and went over the country, to excite their companions to vengeance.

A. D.
1106.]

(A) The date of actions in hook, denotes being set at a the margin, when placed in a venture, or by guess.

AT the same time *Filokales* reduced *Philadelphia* without taking Philadelphia any trouble: but soon after *Hassan*, one of the prime commanders, who governed almost absolutely in *Cappadocia*, hearing of the barbarities exercised by the *Romans*, came at the head of 24,000 men, and besieged the place. *Filokales*, who was a man of stratagem, not having forces to take the field, forbade the inhabitants either to open the gates, appear on the walls, or make the least noise. *Hassan*, having been before the town three days, and seen no person appear, concluded that the besieged had neither forces nor courage enough to make sallies: hereupon he divided his army; sending 10,000 men to *Kelbiana*, another party toward *Smyrna*, and a third towards *Cliaza* and *Pergamus*, with orders to ravage the country; and followed with another party himself. As soon as *Filokales* saw the *Turks* parted into bodies, he sent troops to attack them one by one: they accordingly came up with, and defeated, the two first detachments, killing a great number of the men; but could not overtake either of the others, who were gotten too far before.

SOME time after, *Amir Sayfan* marched from the east, with *Sayfan* a design to ravage *Philadelphia*, and the maritime cities. The emperor, on this advice, sent a small body of troops up the river *Skamander* to *Endromit* and *Thracefion*, to wait his orders. *Gauras* commanded at that time at *Philadelphia*, with a strong garrison, and *Monastras* at *Pergamus*. The army sent by the Soltân of *Khorasân* advanced in two bodies; one of them crossed mount *Sina*, and the other marched into *Asia minor*. *Gauras* went out to meet these latter; and coming up with them at *Kelbiana*, routed them. When the Soltân (B), who had sent them, heard of this defeat, he dispatched ambassadors to the emperor; who, after he had put several questions to them concerning their master (C), concluded a peace with them.

HE had not been long at rest, before he was alarmed with *Turks* a new irruption of 50,000 *Turks*, come from *Anatolia*, and new irruption even from *Khorasân*. The emperor, on this news, passed the strait from *Constantinople* to *Damalis* (†); and though in the gout, got into a chariot, which he drove himself. In three days he arrived at *Aigyla*, where he embarked for *Civi-*

A. D.
1168.]

A. D.
1109.]

(B) In the title of the chapter he is called *Soltân Sayfan*; but he was not Soltân of *Khorasân*: and just before he is called only an *Amir*, or commander.

(C) Yet the historian gives no account of this Soltân, nor even his name.

(†) The *Esphorus* was called *Damalis* from thence. It is the same with *Eskudar*, or *Skutari*.

tot (D). As soon as he landed, he was informed that the commanders of the enemy had divided their forces into separate bodies ; one was to scour the country about *Nice* ; and *Monolikus* to ravage the sea-coast : other parties had done the like about *Prusa*, *Apolloniade* and *Lopadion* ; and had taken *Cyzicus* by assault ; the governor making no resistance. The two principal Soltâns, *Kontogma* and *Amîr Mahomet*, were gone to *Pæmanene*, by the country of the *Lencians*, with infinite women and children (E), whose lives they had saved : and *Monolikus*, having crossed *Barene* (which like the *Skamander*, the *Augilocometes*, the *Ampelle*, and many other rivers, descends from the mountain *Ibîbes*), was turned towards *Paroon*, having passed by *Avido*, *Endromit*, and *Cliara*, with a great number of slaves, but without shedding blood.

Attacked by Kamytzes. HEREUPON *Alexis* ordered *Kamitzes*, governor of *Nice*, to follow the *Turks*, with 500 men, to watch their motions, but to avoid fighting. The governor came up with all the Soltâns (F), and, forgetting his orders, attacked them briskly. The enemy having heard of the emperor's march, and concluding that he was fallen upon them with all his forces, betook themselves to flight : but being made sensible of their mistake by a prisoner they took, rallied their forces ; and having met with *Kamytzes*, who stayed to divide the spoil, instead of getting into *Pæmanene*, attacked him at break of day : his foldiers all fled, excepting the *Scythians*, the *French*, and a few *Romans*, who fought valiantly : but most of them

His bravery.

being at length slain, and his horse killed, he set his back against an oak, and laid about him incessantly with his poniard, killing or wounding all who came within his reach. The *Turks*, surprized at so much valour, and being desirous to preserve him, *Amîr Mohammed* alighted off his horse, and putting aside those who fought with him, said, *Give me your hand, and prefer life to death*. *Kamitzes*, unable to resist such a multitude, gave his hand to *Mohammed*, who ordered him to be tied on horseback, that he might not escape.

Defeated by Alexis. THE emperor mistrusting the road which the *Turks* had taken, took another. He passed by *Nice* ; then crossed *Ma-*

(D) Or *Ciuïto* and *Cyuito*, the port of *Nice*, with a castle, which commanded that city, often mentioned by the crusade writers ; but they do not mark its situation ; perhaps near *Kbius*, *Kius*, or *Kio*, now *Jemlik*, on the gulf of *Moudania*, or *Montania*.

(E) These were reprisals, for

the cruelties committed before by the *Greeks*.

(F) As if there were many Soltâns at this time in *Asia minor*. But we have already observed that the *Greeks* made no distinction between Soltân and *Amîr*, king and commander ; for they often miscall or mistake one for the other.

lagna and *Basilicus*, two very narrow passes of the mountain *Olympus*. After this he marched to *Aletines*, and thence to *Acrocus*, with design to get before the enemy. There being informed that they were incamped in a valley full of reeds, where they thought themselves in no danger from him, he fell upon them with his forces, killed a great number, and took a great number prisoners. The rest thought to escape, by lying concealed among the thick reeds: nor could the soldiers come at them for that reason, and the marshiness of the place: but *Alexis* having ordered the reeds at one end to be fired, the *Turks* flew from the flames into the hands of the *Romans*, who killed one part of them, and carried off the other.

AMIR Mohammed, having been joined by the *Turkmâns*, *Amir Mo-* and some other people of *Asia minor*, appeared at the same hammed instant to give the emperor battle; and though *Alexis* open-^{worsted}ed a way for himself, by defeating those he pursued, yet *Mohammed* came up with the rear, commanded by *Ambelas* and *Tzipureles*, who running full speed against the *Turks*, *Mohammed*, who well knew how to make use of an advantage, finding them at a distance from their soldiers, shot not at them but their horses; which bringing them down, they were surrounded and slain. For all this, his troops were put to flight by those left to guard the baggage and the horses; in which confusion *Kamitzes* made his escape*.

Not long after this, Soltân *Soleymân* ordered his troops of *Sneers of Khorasân* and *Halep* to over-run and plunder all *Asia minor*. the *Turks*, The emperor, to prevent him, intended to carry the war to the gates of *Kogni*, or *Koniyah*, where *Khliiziaftlan* (G) com- A. D. 1114.] manded: but while forces were raising, he was seized violently with the gout, which hindered his design. Mean time *Khliiziaftlan* ravaged the country seven times over. The *Turks*, who judged the emperor's disorder to be only a pretence, to cover his want of courage, made game of him over their cups, and acted comedies, wherein they represented *Alexis* lying in his bed, surrounded with physicians, who upon the sometimes consulted, and sometimes went about to give him emperor. ease; after which they set up a horse-laugh. The emperor at length, landing at *Civitot*, came to *Fort St. George*, near

* ANN. COMM. in Alex. l. xiv. c. 1—8.

(G) By *Khliiziaftlan* is to be understood *Sayfan*, or the son of *Kilij Arslân*, the former Soltân. It is observable here, that he who was actually Soltân is stiled only a commander, governor, or general; while *Soleymân*, who was only a commander, is called Soltân. Or did *Soleymân*, called the son of old *Soleymân*, by the crusade writers, reign at the same time in the west, about *Nice*?

the lake of *Nice*; then proceeding three days march, he encamped near the bridge of *Lopadion*, on the rivulet of *Karyceum*. The *Turks*, who had ravaged the plain which is at the foot of the *Leuciennian* mountains and *Kolerecia*, on the news of his approach, retired with their plunder. The emperor followed them to *Pæmanene*, and then sent some light troops after them; these overtaking them at *Kellia*, killed many, and recovered part of the spoil.

They re-
new

ALEXIS returning, went to take the air at the pass of *Malagna*, on the top of mount *Olympus*, whither the empress came to him from the prince's isle (†): there being informed that the *Turks* were at hand, he marched towards *Nice*; but the enemy, without waiting for him, fled. However, being overtaken by two of his generals, who from the top of the *Germanian* mountains observed their motions, they were defeated.

their in-
cursions.

THE emperor being arrived at *Fort St. George*, passed on to the town of *Sagydeum*, and thence to *Helenopolis*, where the empress waited for a wind to return to *Constantinople*. Presently news being brought of another irruption of the *Turks*, Alexis marched to *Lopadion*, and thence to *Khio*; where being informed that the enemy were at *Nice*, he retired to *Mistura*: but understanding afterwards that they were only flying parties, who appeared about that city and *Doryleum* to observe his motions, and not thinking himself yet sufficiently strong to follow them to *Kogni*, he turned towards *Nicomæda*. The enemy judging, by this motion, that he had no design to attack them, took their former posts, and renewed their incursions; which was what the emperor had in view: however, it gave occasion to his enemies at court to reproach him with doing nothing, after raising so considerable an army.

WHEN the spring was past, Alexis judged it time to put *Manner of* his first design in execution, and march to *Kogni*; from *Nice* *fighting.* he passed to *Gaita*, and the bridge of *Pithicus*; then having in three days advanced to *Armenocastra* and *Leucas*, he arrived in the vast plain of *Doryleum*, where he reviewed his army, and contrived a new method of drawing up his forces in battle. He found that the *Turks* did not fight like other people, joining their bucklers and bodies close together; but divided their troops into a main body and two wings, like three different armies: that when one was attacked, the others ran to its assistance with extreme ardor: that they did not make use of lances, like the *French*, but endeavoured to inclose their enemies, and kill them with arrows: that their

(†) Near *Chalcedon*, in the *Propontis*, or sea of *Marmora*.

usual way of fighting was at a distance ; and, whether pursuing or pursued, they made use only of the bow, which they drew with such force, that, even though they shot when flying, they never failed to pierce either the man who followed them, or his horse.

For this reason the emperor ordered his army to be drawn up in such a manner, that his soldiers should oppose their *new dis-* bucklers to the side from whence the *Turks* shot ; and that *cipline.* others should shoot on that side which the *Turks* laid open to them in shooting. Having arrived at *Santabaris* in this new disposition, he divided his forces, in order to execute several different designs. He sent *Kamytzes*, with one party, to *Polybote* and *Kedreum*, where *Pulkheas* was governor ; and *Stypeotes* with another, to attack *Amerion* (H). When *Kamytzes* arrived at *Kedreum*, *Pulkheas* and his soldiers were fled ; then marching to *Polybotum*, he slew the garrison, and retook the spoil. *Stypeotes* had the like success at *Pœmanene*.

THE emperor, being ready to set out from *Cedreum* to *Po-Has re-* *lybote* and *Kogni*, was informed that Soltân *Soleymân* had set *course* fire to all the forage through *Asia minor* ; and that another army of *Turks* was coming to oppose him : he consulted God, to know whether he should march towards *Kogni*, or give battle to the *Turks*, who were coming from *Filomilion*. Having written these two questions on two pieces of paper, he laid them in the evening on the altar, and spent the night in *to divina-* prayer. In the morning the bishop entered, and taking up *tion.* the first paper which came to hand (I), unfolded it, and read it aloud, whereby he was determined to go to *Filomilion*. Mean time *Bardas*, having passed the bridge of *Zompi*, defeated a large body of *Turks* in the plain of *Omorion* ; while another pillaged his camp. Being pressed hard afterwards by a third party, the emperor came up timely to rescue him. *Alexis*, having passed *MefonaËte*, near the lake of *forty martyrs*, arrived at *Filomilion*, which he took by force. From hence he detached divers parties to ravage the towns and villages about *Kogni* ; which they did, bringing away vast multitudes of *Turks*, and a prodigious quantity of plunder : they were followed by infinite crouds of peasants, who came to take refuge in the emperor's dominions.

THE emperor returning by the same road he went, in or- *Turks at-* der of battle, for a long time met with no *Turks*, although *tack him.* *Monolykus* kept on one side of him with some troops, But

(H) The same, we conceive, shop in earnest, or was it a contrivance to reconcile the army with *Amurium*, or *Amorium*.

(I) Were the emperor and bi- to his measures ?

being come to the plain between *Polybote* and the above-mentioned lake, the enemy appeared. *Monolykus* (K), who was a man in years, and of great experience, began the attack, and continued it all the day, without making any impression on the *Roman* ranks. Next day Soltân *Khliziaftlan* arrived; and though he was no less surprized at the new disposition of the *Roman* army than *Monolykus*, yet being in the heat of youth, he reproached that old man with fear, for not giving them battle. At the same instant the Soltân attacked the rear, and sent two bodies to fall on the van, and one of the wings.

*Soltân's
narrow
escape.*

THE *Turks* fought bravely. *Andronicus Porphyrogenetus*, the emperor's son, who commanded the left wing, was killed. *Nycephorus Bryennius* (L), who was at the head of the right, fearing the van would be defeated, ran to its assistance: upon which the *Turks*, with Soltân *Khliziaftlan*, turned their backs, and re-ascended the hills. As those who escaped fled different ways, the Soltân, with his cup-bearer, got into a chapel, upon a mount planted with cypress, where they were followed by three *Scythians* and a *Greek*, who took the cup-bearer; but *Khliziaftlan*, not being known to them, had the good fortune to escape. The night being come, the *Turks* assembled on the tops of hills, lighted a great number of fires, and barked like dogs (M).

*Proposes a
treaty.*

NEXT day the baggage, women, and children, being placed in the middle, the army marched towards *Amprus*; but on the way, the Soltân, having assembled all his forces, inclosed and attacked them courageously: however, he could not break their ranks, which stood as firm as a wall of adamant. Being vexed and ashamed that he was not able to get any advantage against the emperor, he held a council in the night; and at break of day sent to treat of peace.

*Peace con-
cluded.*

ALEXIS, who was then in the plain between *Augustopolis* and *Aoronium*, caused his army to halt, in the order they then were, and went to the place of interview, with his relations and chief officers, guarded by some soldiers. The Soltân came presently after, accompanied by all his officers, with *Monolykus* at their head; who, as soon as they came in sight, alighted and saluted the emperor. The Soltân would

(K) He is here called the great Soltân, by which must be understood commander only.

(L) Husband to *Anna Comnena*, the emperor's daughter, an author who wrote her father's

life, from whence this account of the *Turks* is taken.

(M) The author often throws reflections of this kind on the *Turks*.

have

have done the same, but *Alexis* hindered him : however, when he was near, he alighted, and kissed the foot of that prince, who presented him his hand, and ordered a horse to be brought for him. Then taking off his mantle, he put it on the Soltân. After this, entering on the subject of peace, *Alexis* agreed that he should remain in possession of all the territories which the *Turks* were masters of before the reign of *Diogenes*, and the battle in which he was taken prisoner. Next day the Soltân and his officers signed the treaty ; after which the emperor made them rich presents

WHILE this affair was transacting, *Alexis* having discovered that *Masût* had conspired to assassinate Soltân *Sayfan* (N), his brother, he advised him to stay with him till the plot was blown over : but trusting in his own power, he resolved to return ; nor would so much as accept of a guard to escort him to *Kogni* ; although he had a dream the night before which might have made him less rash. He thought a great swarm of flies furrounded him while at dinner, and snatched the bread out of his hand ; and that, when he went to drive them away, they changed into lions. Next morning he asked a *Roman* soldier the meaning of his dream ; who told him, that the insults of the flies and lions seemed to denote a conspiracy of enemies. For all this, the Soltân would believe nothing, but continued his journey with more obstinacy than before.

A. D.
1116.]

HOWEVER, he sent his spies abroad, who indeed met with *against his Masût* at the head of an army : but having espoused his interest, they went back, and told *Sayfan* that they had seen nobody on the road ; so that the Soltân, proceeding forward without any mistrust, fell into the snare. As soon as he came in sight, *Gazi*, son of the commander *Hassan Katuk*, whom *Sayfan* had put to death, set spurs to his horse, and gave him a stroke with his lance ; which *Sayfan* snatching out of his hands, said, with an air of contempt, *I did not know that women carried arms.* *Pulkheas*, who was in his train, and held a correspondence with his brother *Masût*, pretending great zeal for his service, advised him to retire to *Tyganion*, (O) a small city near *Filomilion*, where he was very kindly received

(N) Here is a sudden transition from *Khliziaftân* to *Sayfan* ; whom, for the reasons already alleged, we take to be the same person. Although he is introduced in such a manner,

that, at first sight, he seems to be a different Soltân.

(O) Where was his army ? where was *Monolykus*, the great Soltân (as he is called), and the other Soltâns, who were with him

ceived by the inhabitants, who knew he had made peace (P) with the emperor, under whose obedience they were. *who is betrayed,* *MASUT* came presently after, and invested the place; on the walls of which *Saysan* appeared, and reproached his subjects with their perfidiousness; threatening them with the coming of the *Romans*, and a punishment suitable to their crime. These menaces were supported by the vigorous resistance made by the besieged. It was then that *Pulkheas* discovered his treachery: for, coming down from the wall, as if with design to encourage the inhabitants to defend the place, he assured them, that there was a powerful army on the road to assist the besiegers; and that they had no other way to prevent being plundered, than to surrender at discretion. The citizens, following his counsel, delivered *Saysan* up to his enemies; who having had no instrument with them fit for putting out his eyes, made use of a candlestick (Q), which the emperor had given him, to deprive him of his sight. When he was brought to *Kogni*, he declared to his foster-father that he could see. The foster-father told this to his wife, who kept the secret so well, that it became public in a few days: so that coming to the ears of *Masût*, it put him in such a rage, that he forthwith ordered *Elgam*, *and strangled.* one of his commanders, to go and strangle his unhappy brother b.

ALTHOUGH this account of *Saysan* is but lamely introduced, and, for want of some identical marks, he may seem to be a different person from *Khiziaslan*, yet, from the circumstances of the whole, we presume, they appear clearly enough to be the same Soltân, under two different names: or rather that, through inadvertence in compiling from two different memoirs, the name of *Khiziaslan* has been put, in some places, for that of *Saysan*.

THIS event happened about the year of *Christ* 1116 (R), which gives a reign of ten years to this Soltân.

S E C T.

b ANN. COMM. in Alex. l. xv. c. 1—7.

him the day before? did they all desert him in this time of danger? or did he put more confidence in *Pulkheas* than any of them?

(P) This is a farther argument that *Saysan* is the same with *Khiziaslan*, -

(Q) By making it red hot, and holding it before his eyes.

(R) This date we gather from the death of the emperor *Alexis*. For we are told by his daughter and historian, *Anna Comnena* (1), that, a year and a half after his return from the above-men-

(1) In Alex. l. xv. c. 10,

tioned

S E C T V.

The Reign of Soltân Massûd.

ALTHOUGH *D'Herbelot*, in his table of Soltâns, taken *Fourth* from *Kondamir*, places *Massûd* as the third Soltân, yet *Soltân*, in the article under his name, or rather another prince of the *Massûd*, same name*, he says he was the fourth. This is conformable to the author of the *Nighiaristân*, who makes the number of the Soltâns to be fifteen, contrary to the general opinion of the *Persian* historians: these historians connect the beginning of *Massûd's* reign, as the third Soltân, with the year of the *Hejrah* 500, or of *Christ* 1106: but in case he was the fourth, it must fall lower of course: and on a supposition that he succeeded his brother *Saysan*, after putting *begins his* him to death, according to the testimony of *Anna Comnena*, *reign, Hej,* his reign will commence in the year of *Christ* 1116. 613.

D'HERBELOT has imparted nothing more from the oriental authors (if they afford any-thing more) than the single circumstance inserted above, which serves only to contradict the system he has adopted, and support ours. Nor has *Abûlfaraj* mentioned more than two facts relating to this prince: but the *Byzantine* historians, as hitherto, have supplied us pretty well on their side, with materials for a history of his reign.

THE emperor *John Comnenus*, who succeeded *Alexis*, find-*Emperor* ing that the *Turks* (A), instead of keeping their treaties made *takes So-* with his father, sacked several cities of *Phrygia*, about the *zopolis;* *Meander*, marched against, and defeated them; after which *A. D.* he took *Laodicea*, and inclosed it with walls; then returned *1120.* to *Constantinople*; but soon after departed, in order to recover *Sozopolis*, in the same country. As the city was defended by a strong garrison, and furrounded with precipices, he ordered some troops to hover at a distance, and shoot at the inhabitants. This drawing them into the plain, as the em-

* *D'HERB.* p. 563, art. *Massoud*, fil. de *Mohammed*, at the end.

tioned expedition against the *Turks* of *Kogni*, he was seized with a grievous distemper, brought on by a wrong treatment of the gout, which held him six months, at the end whereof he died.

(A) Our author *Nicetas* calls them *Persians* here, and generally elsewhere; either because the *Turks* came originally into the empire from *Persia*, or imagining that they still came from thence.

peror

peror expected, and while they pursued the *Romans* who fled, they were cut off by an ambuscade; by which stratagem the city fell into his hands. He reduced likewise a fort called the *Spar-hawk*, and several other lesser places, which the enemy had mastered ^b.

also Kaf- SOME time after this he marched into *Paphlagonia*, and
tamona; took *Kastamona*: but, upon his return to *Constantinople*, *Ta-*
A. D. *nisman*, a *Turk* of *Armenia*, mentioned in the former reign,
 1122. who commanded in *Cappadocia*, recovered it, and put the garrison to the sword. On this advice the emperor set

A. D. forward the second time: and when he came before the city,
 1124.] was informed that *Tanisman* was dead, and that *Mohammed*, who was at variance with *Masût*, governor of *Kogni* (B), was in possession of it. Hereupon he made an alliance with *Masût*, and having received a reinforcement from him, marched against *Mohammed*: but the latter, by his persuasions, prevailed on the Soltân to withdraw his troops; so that the emperor was obliged to make use of his own forces. With these he retook *Kastamona*, and then besieged *Gangra*, a very powerful city of *Pontus*, which had been subdued not long before by the enemy. Having battered the walls for some time in vain with his engines, he removed them to a little eminence, which commanded the place: and, by beating down the houses about their ears, obliged the inhabitants to surrender: then leaving 2000 men in garrison, returned with many prisoners to his capital.

Inroads HE had not been long at home, before he marched against
Armenia, *Leon*, king of *Lesser Armenia* (C), who had taken several places, and besieged *Seleucia*. The emperor gained the pass into that country without opposition; and not content with reducing *Adana* and *Tarsus*, resolved to conquer the whole kingdom. He took, either by force or capitulation, a great many forts; and, among the rest, *Boka*, strongly situated on a steep rock. Then he proceeded to *Anazarba*, a very populous city, standing on a steep rock, and inclosed with strong walls. After battering the first wall, and entering by the breaches, much blood was spilt in forcing the second wall; the principal *Armenians*, who had fled there for refuge, making a very brave defence: but the place was taken at last.

^b NICETAS in John Comnen. c. 3.

(B) Here *Masût*, or *Masûd*, part of *Cilicia*, joining upon *Syria*, with some part, perhaps, of *Cappadocia*.

(C) It contained the eastern

AFTER

AFTER this he marched into Syria, where he took Pifa, and Syria; on the Euphrates, Serep, Kaferda, and Istria; but was obliged to raise the siege of Sezer (D), and so returned to Antioch. 1132.] From thence he marched back, in order of battle; and, in the way, sent part of his army to ravage the country about Kogni, in reprisal for invading his territories during his absence.

SOME little time after, the emperor crossed over into Asia, Defeats to disperse the Turks, who laid waste the country adjoining the Turks to the river Sangarius. This done, he marched into Armenia, to put a stop to their incursions in that province, and curb the insolence of Constantine Gauras, who had seized on Trebizond, and erected a kind of tyranny. Mohammed, before-mentioned, at that time commanded at Casarea; and, having reduced Iberia, with part of Mesopotamia, was grown very rich. He boasted of being descended from Arsaces, and the modern family of the Tanismans, who were the greatest in several enemies the Romans had in the east in that age. The emperor suffered great inconveniencies in the enemies country, from the severe cold, and want of provisions, which destroyed most of the horses in his army. Of this the Turks took some advantage; but being at length repulsed, the emperor returned to Neocesarea (E), where he had several skirmishes with them, but did not recover that city; which was owing, in great measure, to John Comnenus, his brother Isaac's son: who resenting that his uncle should order him to give one of his horses to an Italian, who had lost his own, went over to the Turks, and changing his religion, married, as it was said, the daughter of Masut, at Kogni. 1135.] A. D. 1138.

THE same year he marched into Phrygia, to Attalia, a famous city (F), in order to repress the incursions of the some Turks, who had, amongst the rest, seized the Palus Pugusia-places. This is a lake of vast extent, with many isles in it; whose inhabitants, by trading with the enemy, had become so much their friends, that they joined in opposing the emperor. But by means of vessels, and engines, with which he battered the isles, he reduced them at last, though not without the loss of some barks and men.

* NICETAS in John Comnen. c. 5 & 6.
& 10.

* Id. ibid. c. 9

(D) Rather Shayzar; called by most of the crusade historians Casarea.

(E) Called Niksari, by the Turks.

(F) On the coast of Pamphilia.

*Massûd
takes Ma-
latiyah.*

Hej. 537.

A. D.

1142.

*Emperor
Manuel*

A. D.

1143.

*invests Ko-
niyah.*

A. D.

1144.

*His evil
dealing*

*towards
the cru-
saders.*

WHILE these things were doing in the west, it may be presumed that *Massûd* was extending his dominions in the east: but we are informed of none of his exploits on that side, but one, by *Abû'Isfâraj*, who tells us, that, in the year of the *Hejrah* 537, *Mohammed*, son of *Danishmand*, lord of *Malatiyah*, and of the borders, dying, king *Massûd*, lord of *Koniya* and *Aksara*, took possession of his territories*.

Now let us return to the affairs of the *Greeks*: *John Comnenus* dying in 1143, his son *Manuel* succeeded him. One of his first cares was to march against the *Turks*, who ravaged *Thrace*, and attempted to take the fort of *Pithecanai*. Having put them to flight, he crossed *Lydia*, and freed the cities of *Phrygia*, near the *Meander*, from their fears. Near *Filomelion* he engaged the enemy, and was wounded in the heel by a soldier whom he had pierced with his lance; for he exposed himself to danger even more than his father. From thence he pushed on directly for *Kogni*, at which time *Massûd* was gone to encamp at *Taxara*, formerly called *Colonia* (G). Being set down before the city, the wife of *John Comnenus*, before-mentioned, spoke very notably from the wall, in behalf of her father *Massûd*. The emperor retired, after going round the town; and was forced to fight several battles on the road, to open a way back for his army.

IN the year 1146, *Conrade*, emperor of *Germany*, and other *Christian* princes who had taken the cross, came to *Constantinople*, in the way (by land) to *Syria*, intending to pass through *Lesser Asia*. The *Greeks* were in such haste to get rid of them, that the whole marine was employed to ship them over. The emperor *Manuel* took some care about their subsistence: but, at the same time, ordered snares to be laid for them in the difficult passages; by which means a great number of them perished. The inhabitants of cities in their march, instead of receiving and supplying them freely with provisions, from the top of the walls drew up their money in baskets, and then let down as much bread for it as they thought fit themselves: there were even some, who spoiled the flour, and mixed it with lime. But our author is not sure that all this was done by the emperor's order, as was given out; although it was certain that he had ordered base silver to be coined, wherewith to pay them for the goods they sold. In a word, there is no mischief which *Manuel* did not contrive, or cause to be contrived, against them; that

* *ABU'LF.* hist. dynast. p. 255.

(G) To the north-east of *Iconium*, or *Kogni*.

their

their posterity might, by the misfortune of their ancestors, be deterred from ever setting foot on *Roman* ground.

THE *Germans* and *French* had not marched far into *Asia*, The *Turks* before they were met by the *Turkish* army, commanded by slaughter. one *Pamplan*; who, excited by the letters of *Manuel*, and animated by his example, fought and defeated them. They afterwards appeared at the *Meander*, to oppose their passage: but *Conrade* spurring his horse into the river, his army followed; and getting over, fell on the *Turks* with such fury, that scarce any escaped. The slaughter might be judged by the vast mountains of bones in that place, which our author *Nicetas* had himself beheld with astonishment. The same historian tells us, that, after this famous victory, the *Germans* met with no enemy to oppose them, during the remainder of their march. But we are informed by the western writers, who should know best, that the disappearance of the enemy lasted only till the *Franks* came to *Ikonium*, the capital of the *Turkish* dominions in *Lesser Asia*. This city they closely invested: but it was so strongly fortified both by nature and *besieged*. art, as well as bravely defended by the *Turks*, that though they had lain a long time before the place, they made no progress in taking it. At length provisions failing in their camp, such a mortality ensued among the soldiers, that the emperor *Conrade* was glad to raise the siege, and return home. *Conrade* The cause of this mortality, and overthrow of the whole expedition, is generally ascribed, by the said writers, to the *Greeks* mixing lime with the meal which they brought to sell, by the connivance of their emperor; whom they charge, likewise with betraying the designs of the *Christians* to *Soltân Masût*, or *Mahmût*, as some name him ^{returns home.}.

A. D.
1147.A. D.
1151.

These are all the transactions mentioned by the *Greeks*, during the reign of *Masût*: to which we have only one more to add, from *Abû'lfaraj*, namely, that, in the year of the *Hejrah* 546, *Juslin* (H), having taken *Nuro'ddin's* armour-bearer prisoner, sent him to *Massûd*, who was *Nuro'ddin's* father-in-law, with a threatening answer ^{Death of}. This fact is of little significancy, but as it serves to settle the length of this *Soltân's* reign; which is thus brought down with certainty to this period; and, from circumstances produced hereafter from the *Byzantine* historians, it is probable that he lived two or three years longer. But supposing that he died at the end of the year 1152, this will bring the end of his reign fifteen years ^{Massûd.}.

¹ NICETAS in Manuel, l. i. c. 2, 5 & 6.
p. 256.

² ABU'LF.

(H) That is, *Joscelin*, count of *Edessa*.

lower

lower in the century than a calculation made from the years of his reigning assigned by the *Persian* historians ; and gives it a length of thirty-seven years, which is double, within one year, to what they have given it : but on a supposition that he, and not *Sayfan*, immediately succeeded his father, he will then have a reign of forty-seven years. This goes a great way to fill up the chronological chasm which those historians have left in the succession of these Soltâns ; and, by the still longer reign of his son and successor, we shall be able to accomplish it.

S E C T. VI.

The reign of Soltân Kilij Arslân II.

Fifth Soltân, Kilij Arslân II.

IT is agreed, both by the *Greek* and oriental historians, that *Kilij Arslân II.* succeeded his father *Massûd* in the Soltânat of *Rûm* : but this circumstance is all the account which we have received from the *Persian* authors, relating to this prince, except the length of his reign ; which they have made shorter by three-fourths than it ought to be. This confirms the suspicion, that they have no memoirs relating to the first *Seljukian* Soltâns of *Rûm*. In effect, *D'Herbelot*, as before, has given nothing under the article of *Kilij Arslân II.* but what he takes from *Abû'Isfaraj* * ; and that is no more than a short account of the troubles which befel him, on dividing his dominions among his sons, a few years before his death, and which is to be found in the *Byzantine* historians : so that our readers may be said to be indebted to them for every thing concerning this Soltân, excepting only the time of his death, which is fixed by *Abû'Isfaraj*.

attack'd by Jagupasan.

MASUT, or *Massûd*, emperor of the *Turks*, at his death divided his dominions and provinces among his sons. He gave to *Khiliziaflan*, or *Kilij Arslân*, his capital *Kogni*, with the places depending on it : to his son-in-law *Jagupasan* (A) the cities of *Amasia* and *Ancyra*, with *Cappadocia*, that fruitful country : and to *Dadun* the cities of *Casarea* and *Sebaste*. The three brothers did not long live in unity : for the Soltâns of *Kogni* and *Cappadocia*, envying each other's possessions, carried their complaints before the emperor *Manuel*, who secretly widened the breach between them ; though he openly agreed to assist *Jagupasan*, through the aversion which

A. D.
1161].

* See *D'HERB.* p. 1004, art. *Kilij Arslan ben Massoud*.

(A) Perhaps *Takûb Hassan*.

he had to the Soltân, a prince of a dark and gloomy disposition, who studied the death of all his kindred, and often made incursions on the *Roman* territories.

JAGUPASAN, elated with this reinforcement, attacked the Soltân, who fought several battles, with pretty equal success; but victory at length declaring for the former, he laid down his arms, and continued for some time in repose.

THE Soltân, after this, went to meet the emperor on his *Retires to* return to *Constantinople*, from his expedition to the west (B), and *Manuel*. was received with joy; as he imagined his presence would serve to settle his affairs in the east. A triumph was ordered on that occasion; but the people were so affrighted with an earthquake, which threw down the best houses in the city, and darkened the air with vapours, that this pageantry was but little minded. During the long stay which the Soltân made at *Constantinople*, he often diverted himself with public shews. One *A Turkish* day a *Turk*, who at first passed for a conjurer, but turned *Icarus*. out to be a fool, got on the tower of the *Hippodrome* (C), pretending to fly across it. He was dressed in a white gown, very long and wide; the sides of which being stuck with ozier twigs, were to serve for wings. He stood a long time stretching out his arms to gather the wind. The people impatient called out to him often to fly. The emperor would have dissuaded him from that vain and dangerous attempt; while the Soltân was divided between hope and fear. At last, when he thought he had brought matters to bear, he launched off like a bird; but his wings deceiving him, he was carried down headlong by the weight of his body, and broke his neck, to the great diversion of the Christian spectators.

THE emperor, who had made *Khiziaslan* considerable *Manuel's* presents, carried him one day into his cabinet; and having *presents*. shewn him a great deal of gold and silver coin, wrought plate, splendid habits; and rich silks, sent there for the purpose; asked him, *which of those parcels he would have?* The Soltân said, *he should receive with respect that which was agreeable to his majesty to give.* *Manuel* then demanded, *if, with the money which he saw, he should be able to humble his enemies?* *Khiziaslan* answered; *that he could have done it long ago, in case he had been master of but part of that wealth.* Then, said the emperor, *I will give you the whole, that you may judge*

(B) This, we suppose, was for our author *Nicetas* marks his expedition against *Sicily*; neither the time nor place.

which we judge might have been in the year 1153, or 1154; (C) Caused by the *Turks Atmeydân*, which signifies the same thing.

what a monarch possesses, who can make such magnificent presents.

The Soltân's dishonesty ;

THE Soltân, charmed with such great liberality, promised to restore to *Manuel* the city of *Sebaste*, with its dependencies. The emperor accepted the offer with joy, and promised to make him farther presents, provided he performed his promise ; and, to strike the iron while it was hot, sent *Constantine Gauras* with the money and troops. But *Khliziaftlan* was no sooner arrived at *Kogni*, than he ruined *Sebaste*, took *Casarea*, drove *Dadûn* out of his territories, and went in pursuit of *Jagupasan*, who died while he was raising forces to oppose his enemy. *Dadûn* having seized *Amasia*, was the occasion of the death of *Jagupasan's* widow, who had called him thither ; for the inhabitants rising, slew her, and drove out *Dadûn*, whose power she intended by her intrigues to establish.

his great success ;

BUT they found themselves too weak to resist *Khliziaftlan*, who reduced their city to his obedience, as he had done *Kappadocia* a little before ; although he was quite a cripple, and so lame of his hands and feet, that he could not go, but as he was carried in a chair. Yet being full of spirit, this did not hinder him to violate the peace, and take several places from the *Romans* : finding also the opportunity favourable, he went and subdued the city of *Melitene*, which he intirely destroyed, and forced out the *Amir*, although he was one of the same religion. He made use of perfidy to deceive his own brother, and expel him, like the rest, who fled for refuge to the emperor.

invades the empire.

AT the same time one *Soleymân*, a subtle fair-spoken person, came to excuse the Soltân's conduct, laying the blame of the infringements made in the treaty, on the *Turks*. His apology was accompanied with excessive praises on *Manuel*, and a present of some fine horses from his master.

THE emperor ordered the ambassador to reproach the Soltân, in his name, with his breach of faith and inconstancy : but *Khliziaftlan*, far from paying any regard to his remonstrances, though he called him father, went to *Laodicea* ; which, at that time, was not walled, and carried off a great number of prisoners, as well as cattle ; killing also many people ; and, among the rest, the bishop ^b. The *Turks* committed other ravages ; but *Manuel* put a stop to them : and repaired *Kliate*, *Pergamus*, and *Endromit*, which had been ruined by them : he likewise built several forts to secure the frontiers ^c.

^b NICET. in *Manuel*, l. iii. c. 5 & 6.

^c Ibid. l. iv. c. 7.

THE care which the emperor took to repair the fortifications of *Doryleum*, gave occasion for a rupture. The Soltân, pretending not to know the design of his coming, sent to intreat him to retire; and the *Turks*, not liking to be driven out of a fruitful territory, so convenient for feeding their flocks, made frequent inroads, burning villages, and ravaging the country. However, *Manuel* went on with the work; and when the fortifications of that place were finished, he set forward those of *Sableum*. This made the Soltân accuse him with breach of treaties: while the emperor, in his turn, upbraided the Soltân with ingratitude.

BOTH parties being irritated, the emperor made great preparations, and crossed into *Asia*. He marched through *Phrygia*, and, passing by *Laodicea*, came to *Kone*, formerly *Koloswardus*, a very rich city (D), where our author *Nicetas* was born: from thence he marched to *Lempis*, and so to *Calene*, where the river *Marfias* has its source. Proceeding forward, he arrived at *Kone*, and next at *Myriocephale*. He advanced with great precaution, always intrenching his army with care, and never exposing himself to danger; though the multitude of warlike engines rendered his march very slow and incommodious. The enemy appeared sometimes, and skirmished with the *Romans*: but, what was worse, they destroyed the forage, and spoiled the water of rivers and fountains, which gave them the flux.

THE Soltân, having received a reinforcement from *Mesopotamia* and elsewhere, sent an embassy to demand peace of the emperor, on his own terms: which all the persons of experience advised him to accept; representing that the cavalry of the *Turks* (E) was very good; that they had seized the inaccessible parts of the country; and that a contagious distemper already prevailed in the *Roman* army. But *Manuel*, suffering himself to be led by his relations, who had never been in a camp before, sent back the ambassador, without promising any thing. The Soltân having applied for peace a second time, and received no other answer than that the emperor would satisfy his demands when he came to *Kogni*; he prepared an ambuscade, in the pass of *Sybriza*, through which the *Romans* were to march after they left *Myriocephale*.

(D) There was the church of *St. Michael*; admired for its largeness, and the beauty of its architecture.

(E) A few lines before he

calls them *Persians*: which shews he means the same people; and that he uses the form or name, only because they came originally from *Persia*.

Dangerous passage. IT is a long valley, bounded on one side with high mountains, and on the other by deep precipices. The emperor, instead of going before with light armed troops, to open the way, divided his army into six bodies, and marched behind the baggage, at the head of the fifth, which consisted of the flower of his troops. The two first corps passed the most dangerous places without any loss; because they covered themselves with their bucklers, and valiantly fought the enemy, who attacked them from the top of the rocks. For want of these precautions, the right wing, which made the third body, was broken and cut in pieces, with *Baldwin*, the emperor's brother-in-law, who commanded them. The *Turks*, elated with this success, shut up the passage intirely; so that the *Romans* could neither advance nor retreat: in a moment both men and horses were pierced with infinite arrows, which covered the ground with dead bodies, and made the chanel run with blood.

Romans overthrown. THE enemy made great efforts to defeat the troops which were about the emperor, who tried several times to repulse them, and open a passage: but not being able to compass his design, he threw himself almost alone into the middle of them, and happily escaped, after he had received several wounds: about thirty arrows were sticking in his buckler, and his casque was half beaten off. Mean time the soldiers fell thick in the battle; and those who escaped this fatal pass perished in the valley. The whole defile consisted of seven vallies, one within another, the entrance of which was pretty wide, and the way out very narrow. A violent wind happening to raise clouds of dust, both parties fought for some time in the dark, killing indifferently their friends or foes. However, a much greater number of the *Romans* were slain than of the *Turks*, and chiefly the emperor's relations.

WHEN the storm was over, men were seen buried up to the waist among dead bodies, extending their arms, and imploring help with lamentable cries; without being able to obtain any, from men who were in too much danger themselves to think of assisting others.

The emperor's distress. THE emperor was alone, without his armour-bearer or guards, resting himself under a wild pear-tree: there was only one horseman who offered to serve him, and tried to refit his head-piece. At the same time a *Turk* seized the bridle of his horse, but he struck him down with a piece which remained of his lance. Presently after, others running up to take him, he drove them off with the lance of the horseman who attended him; killing one of them, and his assistant cut off the head of another with his sword. Having been joined at length

length by ten *Romans*, he surmounted, with incredible fa-^{*Escapes*} tigue, the difficulties of the passages: then crossing the ri-^{*with diff-*} ver, and marching over dead bodies, he met with a troop of^{*culty*} his foldiers, who came up as soon as they saw him. He beheld in the way *John Cantacuzenus*, who had married his niece, fighting very valiantly; but at length killed and stripped, while he looked in vain to see if any body would come to his assistance. Those who had slain him, having perceived the emperor, who could not be hidden, made a sort of ring, closing their ranks, to surround him. They were mounted on barbs, nicely trained; which, among other ornaments, had long collars of hair, with little bells. *Manuel*, encouraging his men, repulsed the enemy vigorously; and still advancing, sometimes fighting his way, at length joined the first legions.

BEFORE he came up with them, he asked for some water ^{*An insolent*} out of a river which ran by; and finding that it was tainted ^{*soldier-*} with the blood of the slain, threw it away, saying, *How unhappy am I to drink Christian blood?* An insolent soldier retorted, *It is not to-day only that you have drank Christian blood: you have, for a long time, drank it to such excess, that you have been drunk with it; since you load your subjects with the most violent and inhuman exactions.* The emperor, at the same time, observing the *Turks* carrying off the bags of money designed for paying his army, he exhorted those about him to go and recover them. But the same soldier, continuing his insolences, said, *He ought to have given us that money, instead of commanding us now to go and retake it, at the peril of our lives. If he be that man of courage as he boasts himself, let him go and wrest it from the Turks.* *Manuel* bore these insults with a profound patience.

CONTOSTEPHANUS, and some others, arrived in the ^{*The emper-*} evening, without having received a wound. They passed the ^{*ror re-*} night in the greatest anxiety, leaning their heads on their ^{*selves to*} hands, and reckoned themselves no better than dead men, ^{*fly-*} considering the dangers which surrounded them. What terrified them most was, to hear the *Turks* running round their camp, and calling aloud to those of their country to haste out of it, for that next morning they would put all to the sword. The emperor hereupon conceived the design of flying privately, and leave his people to be slaughtered; nor was he ashamed to own it: those who were about him were filled with indignation at it, and *Contostephanus* most of all.

A SOLDIER unknown, who was without the tent, and heard what he said, raising his voice, cried out, *What a detestable thought has entered into the mind of the emperor?*

With-held by re-proach. Then addressing his speech to him, *Is it not you, said he, who have brought us to perish here, under rocks which bruise us, and mountains which overwhelm us? what have we to do in this valley of groans and tears, in this descent to hell, in the midst of precipices and pits? We have had no difference with these Barbarians, who have inclosed us within this chain of mountains: it is you who have led us to the slaughter, to sacrifice us as victims.* This boldness of speech touched the emperor, and made him resolve to submit to the necessity of the occasion.

The Soltân offers WHILE no hope seemed to be left for the *Romans*, the Soltân, by persuasion of the principal men of his court, who in time of peace received pensions and presents from the emperor, proposed to offer him terms of peace. However, the *Turks*, who knew nothing of their master's intentions, prepared at day-break to attack the camp, coursing round it with horrible cries. Twice the *Romans* made a folly to repulse them, and both times returned without gaining any advantage. Mean while the Soltân sent *Gauras*, who, having ordered hostilities to cease, and saluted the emperor after the *Turkish* fashion, presented him with a sword, and a horse which had a silver bit, and was very well trained; making use of the most gentle and agreeable words to comfort him. *terms of peace.* Observing that *Maquiel* had on a black vest over his cuirass, he said, *That colour is not proper in time of war, and presages no good luck.* The emperor received this freedom laughing, and gave him the vest, which was adorned with gold and purple. Afterwards he concluded and signed the peace, by which he was obliged to demolish the forts of *Doryleum* and *Sableum*.

Manuel returns; THE emperor designed to avoid returning by the place of battle; but the guides brought him directly through it, that he might behold at leisure the deplorable spectacle. In short, the vallies and forests were covered, and every hollow filled, with dead bodies. The heads were all scalped, and the privy parts cut off; which, it is said, was done by the *Turks*, that the Christians might not be distinguished from the circumcised, as well as to shew that the victory was theirs ^d.

violates the peace; WHEN the *Romans* had passed the straits of the mountains, they were attacked again by the *Turks*, who pursued them in parties, and killed the sick and wounded, who were not in a condition to help themselves, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken to prevent it. It is said, the Soltân, repenting that he had let the prey slip out of his hands, had

^d NICET. in Man. l. vi. c. 1—4.

given his soldiers leave to commit those hostilities, which continued till they got to *Kone*. He stayed a while at *Philadelphia* to refresh himself; and, in passing forward, demolished the fortifications of *Sableum*, but left those of *Doryleum* standing; and when the Soltân complained of it, answered, that he paid little regard to a treaty which was extorted from him by force. Hereupon the Soltân sent *Atapakus* (F) at the head of 20,000 chosen men, with orders to lay waste the Roman provinces, and bring him home sea-water, sand, and an oar. That commander ruined all the cities near the river *Meander*; had *Tralles* and *Antiokh* delivered to him by ^{loftes many} cities. position; took *Luma*, *Pentakhira*, with some other castles, by force, and ravaged all the sea-coast.

THE emperor, on this advice, immediately dispatched *John The Turks* *Vataces*, his nephew, *Constantine Ducas*, and *Michael Aspa-* ^{defeated;} *cius*, all able men, with forces to repress the enemy. *Vataces* led his troops directly to *Hielium* and *Linnokhira*, small cities, which had formerly a bridge on the *Meander*; and hearing that the *Turks* were retiring with their plunder, made the greater part of his army lie in ambush, and posted the rest beyond the river. The *Turks* having been attacked in a place where they were much exposed, *Atapakus* charged the *Romans* at the head of his bravest soldiers, to give the others time to cross the river. He gave eminent proofs, for a while, of his courage and conduct: but when he saw that there was another army of the enemy beyond the *Meander*, which slew all those who appeared before them, his ardor abated, and he sought a place where he might pass the stream with less danger. Finding none fordable, he placed himself in his buckler, as in a boat, making use of his sword for a rudder; and holding the bridle of his horse, who swam behind, gained the other side of the river. As soon as he had landed, he told his name aloud, in order to draw the *Turks* about him: but an *Allan*, who served in the *Roman* army, coming up, slew ^{their gene-} him: upon which his troops being routed, most of them ^{ral slain.} were drowned in the *Meander*. This exploit, more than any other, retrieved the affairs of the *Romans*, and humbled the pride of the *Turks*. *Aspietus* perished unhappily in this encounter; for a *Turk*, not being able to hurt him, his armour being proof, made a stroke at the head of his horse, which, capering, threw him into the river*.

* NICET. in Man. 1. vi. c. 6.

(F) Some person, we presume, who had the title of *Atabek*; expressed in *Atapakus*: for the *Seljuks* of *Rûm* copied those of *Irân* in most things.

Shameful flight of a THE emperor being desirous to attack the *Turks* of *Pamphylia* and *Lacere*, reduced the first; then sent *Katidus*, governor of *Laodicea*, to discover the condition of the others: but he threatening them with the emperor's arrival, they fled immediately; which so enraged *Manuel*, that he ordered *Katidus* to have his nose cut off. Soon after, he gave troops to *Andronicus Angelus*, and *Manuel Cantacuzenus*, to attack the *Turks* of *Karace*, which is between *Lampis* and *Graosgala*. *Andronicus*, having only taken some sheep and peasants, fled full speed at the bare report of the *Turks* being at hand, without so much as enquiring how many they were; and not content with escaping to *Kone*, spurred his horse on to *Laodicea*. The soldiers, astonished at the absence of their general, abandoned the prisoners and the baggage, and would have dispersed, but for *Cantacuzenus*. The emperor would have punished this gallant behaviour of *Andronicus*, by making him walk through the city in women's cloaths, but for the relationship that was between them.

Bravery of others. As the *Romans* retired, a *Turk*, from a rising ground, slew a great number with arrows. Several shot at him again, but he had the dexterity to avoid their shafts; till *Manuel Xerus*, alighting, went up to him, and cleft his head with his sword, although he demanded quarter after killing so many others. A Deacon, who was a man of courage, and related to *Nicetas*, having had the charge of some plunder at *Karace*, did not leave it behind like the rest, for fear of the danger. Some admired his resolution, in marching slowly in the middle of his enemies; and others mocked him for his avarice, in setting a greater value on the booty than his life: for his part, he despised their raileries, and reproached them with cowardice, in flying when they were not pursued.

Claudiopolis relieved. THE *Turks* soon after besieged *Klaudiopolis*; on the news of which the emperor ran to its relief, with incredible diligence, without any equipage besides his arms. He crossed *Bithynia* by the light of torches: he passed the nights without sleep: and, when fatigue and watching obliged him to take a little rest, he lay upon nothing but straw. At the news of his approach the *Turks* betook themselves to flight, and the citizens were filled with joy, being no longer able to have held out^f.

Great success *KHLIZIASTLAN*, who greatly feared the emperor *Manuel*, no sooner heard of his death (G), than he went and

^f NICET. in Man. l. viii. c. 8.

(G) The emperor died in September, in the fifteenth indiction, which answers to the year of Christ 1182.

took *Sozopolis*; besieged, for a long time, the celebrated city of *Attalia*; and ravaged *Kotyalium*; and, more than this, several provinces voluntarily submitted him². This prince, who enjoyed a vigorous health, though upwards of seventy years of age, took the like advantage of the death of *Andronicus*, and proclamation of *Isaac Angelus*; upon the news of which, he sent *Amir Sames*, with some horse, to make an irruption into *Thrace*, from whence he returned with many prisoners and much plunder: for the nations of the east let the *Romans* remain no longer in repose than they made them presents, or paid them an annual tribute, which was the way of making them quiet, used by the emperors of that age; who, in this respect, says *Nicetas*, were weaker than women, who handle nothing but the spindle and distaff³.

THIS Soltân, who, in his latter days, became very powerful, divided his dominions among his sons, of whom he had many¹: but we meet with the names of only five, *Masfud*, *Kothbo'ddîn*, *Rokno'ddîn Soleyman*, *Gayatbo'ddîn Kay Khofraw*, and *Moazo'ddîn Kayfar Shâh* (H). After this distribution, his children treated him with much ingratitude, and even contempt: *Kothbo'ddîn* (I) went so far, as to seize and confine him: Afterwards marching to besiege *Kaysariyah* (that is, *Cæsarea*, in *Cappadocia*), which he wanted to take from one of his brothers, to whose share it fell; the old Soltân, whom he carried along with him, found means at length to make his escape into that city. But meeting there with a bad reception, he applied himself first to one son, and then to another, who all proved alike, excepting *Gayatbo'ddîn Kay Khofraw*. This prince not only received him with affection, but went with him to besiege *Koniyah*; and having taken it, placed him once more in the throne². The distribution made by *Kiliç Arslân* of his dominions among his sons, we judge, from the course of the *Greek* history, to have been in

¹ NICET. in Alex. Comn. c. 15. ² Ibid. in Isaac Angel. l. i. c. 4. ³ Ibid. in Alex. Comn. l. iii. c. 5. ⁴ ABUL-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 276.

(H) *Nicetas* mentions only the first four, whom, according to the *Greek* way of corrupting names, he calls *Masfat*, *Kopatin*, *Rukratin*, and *Kai Kofroes*; leaving out the additional names of *Soleyman* and *Gayatbo'ddîn*, whom the *Greeks* write *Soliman* and *Jabatines*.

(I) This prince, by what follows, was in possession of *Koniyah* (called by the *Greeks* *Kogni*, or *Konni*), and consequently was to have been his father's successor in the kingdom, or the sovereign on whom the rest depended.

the

the year 1187, or that following; and his restoration to have happened in 1190 or 91.

The Ger-
man em-
peror

A. D.
1190.

DURING this prince's abdication, and ill treatment by his children, the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* (K), who had taken the cross, arrived in *Thrace*, in his way to *Syria*; and having made peace with *Isaac Angelus*, repaired with his *Germans* to *Kallipolis*; where, finding ships ready, they crossed over into *Anatolia*. When they came to *Philadelphia*, the inhabitants, who behaved well enough at first, attacked them in the rear, at their departure: but finding they had to deal with statues of brass, and invincible people, they betook themselves to a shameful flight. The citizens of *Laodicea*, in *Phrygia*, on the contrary, received these strangers with so much good-nature, that the emperor prayed for their prosperity on his knees. When they came to the roads leading to the hills, they met with the *Turks*, who incommoded them all they could, by skirmishing; although they had promised them passage, as well as the *Romans*. But they paid dear for their treachery.

defeats the
Turks.

FREDERIC gave battle near the fort of *Filomelion* to the sons of the Soltân of *Kogni*, who had been driven from his dominions, and reduced to a miserable condition; and having defeated them, took the fort and burned it. Coming to a second engagement with them at *Cinglacion*, he gained a signal victory: for as they waited for him at the passes which they had seized, the emperor incamped in a plain; and having divided his army in the night, he ordered one half to remain in the camp, and the other to feign a flight as soon as day appeared. The *Turks* believing that they fled for fear, quitted the passes, and coming down into the plain, entered the camp, where they expected to meet with a rich booty: but the pretended run-aways returning, and those who were in the camp appearing, they, between them both, surrounded the *Turks*, and made a horrible slaughter of them.

Great
slaughter.

As the emperor was on his way to *Kogni*, the Soltân, who had taken refuge in *Taxara*, or *Kolonia*, sent to excuse what had happened, for that he knew nothing of the conduct of his sons, one of whom, named *Kopatîn* (L), had driven him out of his dominions. The *Turks* had barricaded themselves in the gardens which were about *Kogni*; and as they carried

(K) *Nicetas* never calls him emperor, but king; yet speaks of him as a great, wise, and good prince

(L) That is *Kotbbo'ddîn*, not

Kobades, as *Leunclavius* judged, hist. *Musulm.* p. 86. Some historians say, this *Kotbbo'ddîn* was taken by *Frederic* in one of these battles,

light

light weapons, and shot well, thought they could easily defend themselves against troops heavily armed. But they were also deceived this time by their hopes: for the *Germans* observing that they took the advantage of shooting from behind the hedges and ditches, the horsemen carried the foot-soldiers behind them, and setting them down when they were near the enemy, supported them in every place where they were able to go. Thus all the *Turks* perished, excepting a few who escaped. A *Mohammadan*, who turned *Christian*, swore that it cost him 200 pieces of silver to bury those who remained dead upon his field; by which the number of the slain may be judged of.

ALTHOUGH the *Germans* were masters of *Kogni*, they *Take Kog* would not go into the city; but were content to lodge in the *niya* suburbs, and there take the provisions which they wanted. The *Turks*, apprehending that the emperor intended to conquer their country, and settle there, endeavoured to gain his affection by false offers of service: but after he had received some of their children in hostage, with guides, he left their frontiers, and pushed into *Armenia*, where he was received with great honours. In a few days he proceeded to *Antiokh*, and soon after was unfortunately drowned in passing a river¹.

ONE *Alexis*, who pretended to be the son of the emperor *A Greek* *Manuel*, disguised his imposture with so much art, that he *pretender* imitated the true *Alexis*, even to the fairness of his hair, and hesitation in his speech. He made his first appearance in the cities along the *Meander*: then going to *Armale*, discovered himself to a *Roman*, with whom he lodged; telling him, that his father had ordered him to be thrown into the sea, but that he was saved by the compassion of the officers who were charged with that cruel mandate. He and his landlord going to *Kogni*, he presented himself before the old Soltân, who had not then been driven from the throne by his son *Kopatin* (M), and had even the boldness to reproach him with ingratitude and hard-heartedness, not to be touched with the disgrace of the son of an emperor, who had been his friend. *Khliziaf-lan*, overcome by his impudence, and deceived by some marks of resemblance which appeared in his face, made him presents, and gave him hopes.

A. D.
1191.

¹ NICET. in Isaac Angel. l. ii. c. 7 & 8.

(M) Either this must have not appear that the *Greeks* knew happened after the restoration any thing of his restoration to of *Kilij Arslân*, or the marginal the throne. date must be wrong. It does

claims the empire ; ONE day, boasting of his birth in the presence of the Roman ambassador, the Soltân asked the latter if he was sure that this pretender was *Manuel's* son? The ambassador answered, that it was certain that the son of *Manuel* had been drowned (N); and that it was in vain for the party present to invent a story which would meet with no credit. The false *Alexis* was so provoked at this answer, that he would have thrown in the ambassador's face, if the latter had not cooled his courage by affecting also to be in a great passion; and if the Soltân had not rebuked him somewhat sharply. All the assistance he obtained from this prince was only letters called *Mâsur*, permitting him to lift soldiers: by which he drew to his party *Almuras*, *Arfan*, and other commanders, accustomed to rapine. In a short time he gathered 8000 men, with which, by force or composition, he reduced many cities upon the *Meander*.

slain by a priest. SEVERAL generals, and lastly *Alexis*, the emperor's brother, were sent against him: but they could do no good, for fear of being betrayed by their soldiers; who shewed more inclination to serve this pretender than their lawful emperor. Nor was the infection confined to the people only: the principal persons at court were pleased with this illusion. But while the power of this impostor increased every day, and he seemed to be in a fair way of compassing his design, he was suddenly taken off by an unexpected means: for having returned from *Armale* to *Pisse*, and drank more than usual, he was slain by a priest, with his own sword. When his head was brought to the Sebastocrator (*Alexis*), he put back the long hair with his horse-whip, and said, that it was not without reason that so many had been disposed to follow him.

The Soltân *KILIJ Arslân* died in his capital, in the year 588, according to *Abûlfaraj*: which gives him a reign of forty years, *Hej.* 588, by our reckoning, from the death of his father *Massud*; altho' *Kandamir* allows him but ten years. The author of the *A. D.* 1192. *Nighiarijân*, indeed, doubles that number; but both are wide of the truth. From the before-mentioned account of his age, he must have been seventy-six at his death.

His character. THIS prince was grandson to the first of that name; and distinguished himself, not only by the wars which he carried on against his neighbours the *Greeks*, but also by his

■ NICET. in Isaac Angel. l. iii. c. 1.

(N) He was first strangled by in to be an associate with the order of the tyrant *Andronicus*. young prince in the empire. who, by his arts, thrust himself

wisdom,

wisdom, justice, and skill in governing his people. He left his son *Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khoṣraw* for his successor ^a.

IN consequence of this new nomination, *Kontyah*, as being the regal feat of the Soltâns since the loss of *Nice*, fell to the share of *Kay Khoṣraw*, as it had done to *Kothbo'ddîn*, by the first distribution : and it is, doubtless, to this second appointment of *Kilij Arslân*, that the partition, mentioned at the beginning of the next reign, ought to be referred.

S E C T. VII.

The reigns of Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khoṣraw, Rokno'ddîn Soley mân, Kilij Arslân III. and of Kay Khoṣraw a second time.

GAYATHO'DDÎN *Kay Khoṣraw*, according to our hypothesis, was the sixth (A) Soltân of this *Seljukian dynasty*. On the death of *Kilij Arslân*, his dominions stood thus divided among his sons (B) : *Massâd* had for his share *Amasia*, *Ancyra*, *Dorylaeum*, and several other fine cities of *Pontus* ; *Kothbo'ddîn* possessed *Melitene*, *Cæsarea*, and *Kolonia*, called *Taxara* ; *Rokno'ddîn* was master of *Amyntus*, *Dokwa*, and other maritime cities ; and to *Kay Khoṣraw* belonged *Koniya*, *Lykaonia*, *Pamphylia*, and all the country as far as *Kottianyum* ^a.

ALEXIS Komnenus, who succeeded *Isaac* in the empire (C), had scarce been three months on the throne, before news arrived of another pretender, a *Cilician*, who had taken the name of *Alexis* ; and was well received by the Soltân of *Ancyra* (D), with a design to embarrass the emperor, and oblige him to buy his friendship. *Oenopolitus* the eunuch, who was sent against him, being able to do nothing, he went himself, thinking to make an alliance with the *Turks* : but

^a ABU'LF. p. 276.

^a NICET. in Alex. Comnen. l. 3. c. 5.

(A) *D'Herbelot*, in his table, following *Kondamir*, makes him the fifth ; but, in the article of this prince, says he was the fifth or sixth ; for that historians differ on this head.

(B) Our author *Nicetas* says, that *Kilij Arslân* made this distribution among his sons in his old-age : or, possibly, it was

done by agreement among themselves, as he declares afterwards. Such as these are but small inaccuracies with the Byzantine historians.

(C) In the year 1195.

(D) According to the above distribution, this must have been *Massâd*.

they

they refused to conclude a peace with him, unless he paid them down 500 pounds of coined silver, and 300 every year, besides 400 silk vests. *Alexis*, having destroyed some forts, returned to *Constantinople*, after two months employed in this expedition, leaving the pretender to increase in power; and doubtless he would have done a great deal of mischief, if his throat had not been cut in the fort of *Zangre*.

Greek dis- HOWEVER, the Soltân of *Ancyra* carried on the war, and
graces. besieged *Diadibris* with all his forces. At four months end,

A. D. troops arrived under three young chiefs, *Theodore Uranus*,
1196.] *Andronicus Katakalon*, and *Theodore Kasanus*: but the *Turks*, laying an ambuscade, fell on them at day-break, put them to flight, killed a great number, and among the prisoners took two of the generals; whom they dragged with their hands tied behind their backs, to shew to the besieged. The inhabitants, discouraged at the sight, and being in great want of provisions, delivered up the city, on condition of having the liberty to retire with their families and effects; because the victor would not permit them to stay in the town paying tribute. Soon after, when the war had lasted a year and a half, the emperor made peace with the Soltân; and was not ashamed to agree to the terms which he had refused before the place was besieged^b.

Mangaf *THEODORE Mangafes*, after his revolt at *Philadelphia*,
revolts; and peace made with the emperor; to avoid the attempts of *Basilus Vataces*, governor of *Thrace*, fled to *Kay Khozraw*, Soltân of *Kogni* (E), and intreated him to supply him with troops to make war upon the *Romans*. The Soltân, instead of granting his request, only permitted him to assemble some *Turks* who lived by plunder. Having gathered a multitude

^b NICET. in Alex. Comnen. l. i. c. 4 & 9.

(E) This event is placed in the reign of the emperor *Isaac Angelus*, at the year 1188. The date does not agree with what is said a little lower down, that *Kay Khozraw* had but newly succeeded his father; for he did not succeed till after his father's death in 1192. He did not succeed on his abdication, in consequence of the division *Kilij Arslân* made of his dominions; for *Kothbo'ddin* was, by virtue thereof, in possession of *Koniyab*,

or *Kogni*, the royal seat; nor did he succeed on his father's restoration, for *Kilij Arslân* reigned himself: unless we suppose that he was restored before the year 1188, and that *Kay Khozraw* was his associate, or governed as if he was Soltân; for which we have no authority. To make the history therefore consistent with itself, we place this transaction here, supposing it to have happened about the year 1196 or 1197.

of these, he invaded the empire, doing incredible damages in *Phrygia* (especially about *Laodicea* and *Kone*), and in *Karia*; after which he retired with abundance of prisoners and cattle. The emperor, fearing that *Mangafes* might by his advice corrupt that young prince, who had but newly succeeded his father *Kilij Arslân*, sent ambassadors, who by presents prevailed on him to deliver up that refugee, on condition that he *is deliver* should not receive any corporal punishment. This action of *ed up*. the Soltân so displeased his brothers, who had divided with him their father's dominions, that they would have made war upon him, if he had not appeased them, by alleging : that he had not betrayed him, but only sent him back for the good of the state ; that he was a banished man whom he had settled again in his own country, to the end that he might no longer persecute others; or be persecuted himself.

TOWARDS the end of the third year of his reign, *Alexis The Soltân* broke the treaty which had been made with *Kay Khosroes, tân's suc-* Soltân of *Ikoniûm*, upon a very frivolous occasion. This *cess* ; prince stopped two horses, which had been sent the emperor *A. D.* by the Soltân of *Alexandria* ; and one of them having broken *1198.]* a leg in running, he sent to apologize for both those accidents, and promised to make satisfaction. *Alexis*, instead of being pacified with this civil excuse, flew into a rage, and threatened much : but at last took revenge upon himself, by ordering the merchants from *Kogni*, *Romans* as well as *Turks*, to be seized, together with their effects, which were squandered away. On advice of this, the Soltân immediately fell upon the cities near the *Meander*, took *Karia* and *Tantalus*, with several others; and had become master of *Antiokh* in *Phrygia*, but for a merry accident.

THE same night in which he intended to surprize that city, one of the principal inhabitants happening to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter, the guests made a great noise, as is usual on such occasions: *Kay Khosroes*, as he approached the walls, hearing this confusion of voices, and the *Word*, which the soldiers, who had been informed of his coming, gave to one another, he retired to *Lampis*.

THERE he viewed his prisoners; and inquiring into their *his great* names, countries, and after what manner they were taken, *humanity* asked if any of his soldiers had hidden the married women and maidens, with a design to abuse them. Then he ordered the effects to be restored which had been taken from them; and finding that their number amounted to 5000, he ranged them according to their families, and, at parting, took

care that they should be supplied with provisions during the march. For fear also that they should be injured by the cold weather, he took an ax himself to cleave a tree which was fallen. The soldiers running to see him work, he ordered them to do the same, saying: they might go out of the camp when they pleased to cut wood; but that the *Roman* prisoners durst not do it, for fear of being suspected of a design to escape.

to the
christians; WHEN he arrived at *Filomelion*, he assigned them houses to lodge in, and lands to maintain them, distributing them corn and other grain. He promised moreover to send them back without ransom, when he should conclude a peace with the emperor; and that, in case he refused to conclude one, they should remain five years in his dominions without paying any tax; that afterwards they should pay but a very light one, which should never be increased, as were often those established in the empire. Having thus regulated matters, he returned to *Kogni*. Such favourable treatment made the captives forget their country, and drew into the Soltân's territories abundance of people who had not been taken in war.

ALEXIS sent against the *Turks* *Andronicus Dukas*, who being very young, contented himself with attacking the troops of *Amir* in the night, and presently retiring^d.

attached
by Rok- SOME time after this, war broke out among the sons of
no'ddin; *Kilij Arslân*, on the following occasion. *Kothbo'ddin* (F) being dead, a dispute arose between *Rokno'ddin* (G) and *Massûd*, who should succeed to his dominions (which, as hath been observed before, consisted of *Melitene*, *Casaria*, and *Kolonia*). But as *Rokno'ddin* had more spirit than his brother, and understood military affairs better, he gained the advantage; and constrained him to demand his friendship for one part of his country, leaving him the other part as before. After this, having conceived an inveterate hatred against his brother *Kay Khosraw*, because his mother was a christian, and burning with desire to possess *Kogni*, sent to require him to deliver it up, in case he had a mind to exempt the rest of his dominions from the hazard of a war.

retires to
Alexis. KAY *Khosraw* upon this, having made peace with *Alexis*, repaired to his court (dressed in a robe adorned with gold point), just as his father had done before to that of the emperor *Manuel*, during the disputes which he had with his

^d NICET. in *Alex. Comnen.* l. c. 5.

(F) By the *Greeks* named *Ko-* haps by mistake for *Ruknatin*.
patin, or *Kobatin*. So *Massûd*, instead of *Massûd*.

(G) In *Nicetas Rukratin*, per-

brothers after the death of their father *Maffûd*: But whereas *Manuel* assisted *Kilij Arslân* with forces beyond his hopes, *Kay Khosraw* received nothing from *Alexis* but common civilities. He was scarce returned to *Kogni*, when he was pursued by *Rokno'ddîn*, and forced to fly into *Armenia* (H); where he was kindly received by *Leon* (I), although formerly he had been at war with him. That prince however lent him no assistance against his brother, with whom he said he was allied, because he foresaw that the war would be very bloody. Hereupon *Kay Khosraw* returned again to the emperor, in hopes of being restored by his means. But this second hope being as vain as the first, he continued at *Constantinople* (K) in a private condition, and much below his birth*. This revolution happened, according to the computation of the *Greeks*, in the year 1198, or rather later.

ROKNO'DDÎN *Soleymân* having driven his brother *Kay Khosraw* out of his share in the empire, in the same manner as he had expelled his other brothers out of theirs, the whole became again united under one prince.

Not long after, the emperor sent *Constantine Frankopolis*, with six galleys, into the *Euxine* sea, under pretence of getting up the wreck of a ship which had been cast away near *Kerassonte* (L), in returning from the river *Fasis*; but in reality to rob the merchants who landed their goods at *Amin-tus*. *Frankopolis* following exactly the orders which he had received, spared no vessel whatever; plundering those which carried commodities to *Constantinople*, as well as those which had returned with the price of such as they had sold there. They slew some of the merchants, and threw them into the sea: the rest they stripped to a shameful degree. These presented themselves before the emperor's palace, and entered the great church with tapers in their hands, to demand justice: But their effects having been already sold, and the money confiscated, they could obtain no redress.

THE merchants of *Konîyah* had recourse to *Rokno'ddîn*; who, by his ambassadors, demanded back what had been taken from them, and at the same time proposed a treaty of

* NICET. l. 3. c. 5.

(H) The lesser *Armenia*.

(I) Others name him *Zebun*, a *Turk*. See *Knowles*, vol. 1. p. 39. edit. *Ricaut*.

(K) By what appears afterwards, he recovered his throne.

Others say, he died there: See *Knowles*, vol. 1. p. 39.

(L) Or *Kerassus* (from whence came *Cherrys*), a city and port of *Pontus* in the *Euxine* sea, about sixty miles south-west of *Trapezus*, or *Trapezond*.

MOD. HIST. VOL. IV.

R

peace.

peace. The emperor laid all the blame on *Frankopolis* : however, the articles of peace at length taking place, *Rokno'ddîn* had fifty mina of silver, to satisfy him and his subjects, *and an as-* sides the promise of a yearly tribute. Some days after, *Alexis* *jasfen.* was shamefully convicted of an attempt against the Soltân's life ; having sent a very polite letter to that prince by a *Kassian* (M), whom he had bribed to assassinate him : But the bravo being arrested, the plot was discovered, and the peace broken almost as soon as made ; which rupture occasioned the ruin of many cities of *Anatolia*.

Roman AT the same time *Michael*, the natural son of *John* the se-
barbari- bastocrator, a forward and passionate young man, having been
ties. sent to collect the taxes due from the province of *Mylassa* (N), revolted : but, being defeated, fled to *Rokno'ddîn*, who received him very civilly, and gave him troops ; with which he plundered the cities about the *Meander*, and committed more horrible cruelties than the *Turks* would have been capable of doing.

The Com- IT must be confessed, that nothing ever contributed so
nepi cen- much to the desolation of the provinces, or the ruin of the
sured. empire, as the ambition of the *Comneni* ; who were of no use to their country so long as they staid in it, and became very pernicious to it when they were out of it^f. To this observation of *Nicetas* we may add, that the *Romans* generally brought on themselves the evils which befell them ; either by their breach of faith, or violences committed against the bordering nations : yet, when the injured made reprisals, they loudly exclaimed ; as if they had a right to be cruel with impunity, or thought those actions virtuous in themselves, which they deemed most execrable in others.

Rokno'd- WE are not much better supplied with materials from the
din's ex- oriental historians, relative to this Soltân, than those pre-
ploits. ceding him : what little we have from that quarter is given by *Abû'lfaraj*. This author informs us, that *Rokno'ddîn So-*

A. D.
1200.

leymân took *Konîyah* from his brother *Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khojraw*^g ; and that in 597, in the month of *Ramadân* (O), he forced the city of *Malatîyah* out of the hands of his brother *Moezo'ddîn Kayfar Shâh*, after a few days leaguer. Then marching to *Arzen al rûm* (or *Arzerûm*), which belonged to the son of king *Mohammed ebn Salik* ; that lord,

^f NICET. in Alex. Comnen. l. 3. c. 7.

^g ABU'LF. p. 276.

(M) So the *Greeks* call the *Batanists*, or *Ismaelians*, whom the other nations of *Europe* name *Assassins*.

(N) A city of *Karia*.

(O) The ninth month of the *Mohammedan* year.

depend-

depending on *Rokno'ddîn's* promise, went to him, in order to treat of peace: but the Soltân imprisoned him, and then took the city. He was the last of his family, which, for a long time, had reigned there^b. Soltân *Rokno'ddîn*, lord of *Rûm*, and death^c died in the year 600, in the month of *Dhulkaada* (P), leaving A. D. his son *Kilij Arslân*, a minor, to succeed him^d. 1203.

D'HERBELOT affords us nothing from the *Persian* writers concerning this prince, only that he had great disputes with his brother *Kay Khosraw*; but that at length peace was concluded between them: that, having reigned in quiet twenty-four years, he died in 602 of the *Hejrah*, and of *Christ* 1205; and was succeeded by his son *Kilij Arslân*, surnamed *Azzo'ddîn*, an infant^k. But, besides that we hear nothing elsewhere of peace between the two brothers (for *Kay Khosraw* retired to the *Greek* emperor, and lived in *Europe*, while *Rokno'ddîn* lived), there is an error both in the *Errors of* length of his reign and year of his death. For, reckoning *authors.* from the end of the reign of *Kilij Arslân II*, which is fixed by *Abû'lfaraj* in the year 588 of the *Hejrah*, to 602, when, according to *D'Herbelot's* account, *Soleymân* died, it will give him no more than fourteen years to his reign out of the twenty-four: but as that event is also fixed by *Abû'lfaraj* to the year 600, there must be a deduction of two years out of the fourteen. This is supposing that *Soleymân* immediately succeeded his father *Kilij Arslân*: but it appears from the *Greek* historians, that *Kay Khosraw* reigned between; perhaps as long as, or longer than, *Rokno'ddîn* reigned himself. To the above mistakes, or inadvertencies, we may add another, which is, that, in the article of *Soleymân*, *D'Herbelot* says that he was the fifth Soltân; whereas, in his table of Soltâns, he gives him the 6th place.

KILIJ Arslân III, surnamed *Azzo'ddîn*, was advanced *Eigbib* to the throne immediately after the death of his father *Rokno'ddîn Soltân*, towards the end of the year 600. But as *Kilij Arslân III.* soon as his uncle *Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw* heard that his brother was dead, he left the castle where he resided near *Constantinople*; and, making what haste he could to *Kontyah*, seized the child, and took possession of the city: after which he stripped him of the rest of his dominions. This revolution happened in *Rajeb* (Q) 601^l. *D'Herbelot* has copied

^b *ABU'LF.* p. 280. ⁱ *Ibid.* p. 282. ^k *D'HERB.* p. 822. art. Soliman ben Kilig' Arslan. ^l *ABU'LF.* p. 282, & seq.

(P) The eleventh month.

(Q) *Rajeb* is the seventh *Mohammedan* month.

the article of *Kilij Arslân III.* from *Abû'lfaraj*, without adding any thing to it from other oriental historians. Some *Greek* writers say, that this Soltân, whom they call *Yathatines* (which is a corruption of his surname *Gayatho'ddîn*) (†), on the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Latins*, fled along with the emperor *Alexis Angelus*, otherwise called *Comnenus*; and that quickly de-throned; a few days after, being secretly informed of the death of his brother *Azatines* (so they miscall *Rokno'ddîn*), he departed in disguise, and, repairing to his own people, was proclaimed Soltân^m.

and
Gaya-
tho'ddîn
Kay
Khosraw
restored.
A. D.
1204.
GAYATHO'DDIN *Kay Khosraw* ascended the throne of *Kontyah* for the second time in 601, the same year in which the *Latins* took *Constantinople* from the *Greeks*. *Abû'lfaraj* informs us, that, after this, he became very powerful, and reigned with great dignityⁿ. This is all we learn from the oriental authors touching the second reign of this prince; and the *Byzantine* historians have not said much concerning it. According to a fault very common with them, they do not directly mention the restoration of *Kay Khosraw*; and only give an imperfect hint, where they should speak out.

State of
the empire.
AFTER the shameful flight of the emperor *Alexis* (who changed his name of *Angelus* to that of *Comnenus*), and the election of *Baldwin* by the *Latins*; these latter, in less than one year's time, reduced all which the *Romans* possessed both in *Europe* and in *Asia*, excepting the cities of *Nice* and *Prusa*. The *Greek* commanders, and other leading men, swayed by the spirit of pride, malice, and corruption, instead of uniting in defence of their country, divided into factions, and formed parties for creating new emperors. The western part of the empire seemed to be quite cut off from the eastern, which sent it no manner of assistance: but, being infected with the same contagion, produced a multitude of commanders, who ruined the country, and formed a monster with three heads.

Maurozo-
mus a-
spires to
empire;
A. D.
1205.
MANUEL Maurozomus, supported by *Kay Khosraw*, to whom, since the taking (R) of *Koniyah*, he had promised his daughter in marriage, made all his efforts to usurp the sovereign power, and joined the *Turks* to ravage the country about the *Meander*. *Theodorus Laskaris*, illustrious both by his birth and alliance with the emperor, having defeated him,

^m GEORG. ACROPH. Niceph. Gregor. l. i. R ABU'LF-
ubi supra.

(R) That is from his nephew beginning, and adding an s at
Kilij Arslân, as before related. the end. *Yathatines* is the Ger-
(†) By omitting the *Ga* at the man orthography.

put

put on the purple buskins; and had himself proclaimed emperor thro' the cities of the *East* (S). On the other side, *David Comnenus*, having gathered troops at *Heraclea*, a city of *Pontus*, and in *Paphlagonia*; having also subdued the *Iberians*, who inhabited along the *Fasis*, reduced some towns and cities, and made himself the forerunner of his brother *Alexis*, whom he had a desire of advancing to the throne: but this *Alexis*, instead of hastening to take possession, loitered about *Trebizond*. Mean time *David* having sent a young man, named *Synadenus*, with troops to *Nikomedia*, *Theodore* defeated by *Laskaris* advanced at the head of his army to give him battle; *Laskaris*, and, taking a cross-road, instead of the great one, fell upon him unawares, and dispersed his forces. He defeated shortly after *Manuel Maurozomus*; cut in pieces part of the *Turks* whom he commanded; and took the most considerable of those who were in the van.

IN short, *Lydia*, *Philomolis*, *Prusa*, *Nice*, *Smyrna*, *Ephe- Empire of*
sus, and some other cities of the east, were subject to *Theo- Nice.*
dore Laskaris; who built long ships, and subdued several A. D.
 islands. However, in making peace with *Kay Khofraw*, he 1205.
 gave up to *Manuel Maurozomus*, his father-in-law, part of
 the country which he possessed; comprizing the city of *Kone*
 (or *Kolossus*), *Laodicea*, and all inclosed within the windings
 of the *Meander* to its fall into the sea.

DAVID and *Alexis*, the sons of *Manuel*, and grandsons *Empire of*
 of the tyrant *Andronicus*, had established their dominion in *Trebi-*
 different parts: *David* in *Paphlagonia*, and at *Heraklia* in *zond.*
Pontus; *Alexis* at *Eneum*, *Sinope*, and *Trebizond*. *Aldobran-*
dini, an *Italian*, learned in the *Roman* laws, commanded at
Attalia; and the island of *Rhodes* was under a particular
 lord (T). These numerous commanders, instead of acting
 in concert, to preserve the cities which they held, or recon-
 quer those which they had lost, gave themselves up to a fu-
 rious passion of lording it; and having taken up arms one
 against the other, yielded their enemies an opportunity of
 gaining farther advantages.

Kay Khofraw at this juncture laid siege to the city of *At- Attalia*
talia; imagining that it was not in a condition of defending besieged.
 itself: but *Aldobrandini* having procured 200 foot from
Cyprus; the unexpected appearance of them, at the beginning

• *NICET.* in *Baldwin.* c. 5 & 8.

(S) Or *Anatolia*; so the *Asi-* the same manner among many
atic part of the empire was petty sovereigns. See *Nicet.* in
 called. *Baldwin*, c. 10.

(T) *Greece* was divided in

of the assault, made the Soltân retire, after he had been sixteen days before the place ^P.

As we find nothing farther in *Nicetas* concerning *Gayatho'ddin Kay Khosraw*, we must, to finish his reign, have recourse to the succeeding historians: who, being less accurate in their account of matters, have greatly embarrassed the history of the Soltâns; and led those, who have hitherto written of them, into very gross mistakes, which we shall endeavour to clear up.

Alexis ^{re-} *ALEXIS Angelus*, the late emperor, hearing that *Theodore Laskaris*, his son-in-law, reigned at *Nice*; being assisted by his cousin *Mikhael Comnenus*, who was prince of *Epirus*, crossed over from thence into *Asia*, and went secretly to *Gayatho'ddin* (U), Soltân of *Koniyah*, his old friend and ally, then lying at *Attalia*, which he had not long before reduced (X), and begged his aid for the recovery of his dominions, especially that part of them possessed by *Laskaris*. The Soltân had been very serviceable to *Laskaris* (Y) at a time when he was reduced to great straits, by lending him forces, with which he defeated his enemies, and had also concluded a peace with him: but being urged by gratitude to his quondam benefactor, as well as interest, (*Alexis* making him great promises), he threatened *Laskaris* by his ambassadors with the utmost extremities of war, unless he immediately resigned his territories to his father-in-law. *Theodorus* was much troubled at this unexpected message, as fearing both the Soltân's power, and the people's inclination to their old emperor: but, having sounded the minds of his new subjects, and finding them ready to support him, he took heart.

who at- BEFORE the return of the ambassadors, *Gayatho'ddin*, attended by *Alexis*, marched with 20,000 *Turks* and besieged *Antioch* on the *Meander*: which *Laskaris* no sooner understood, than he hastened with 2000 men, the most he was able to raise on so short a warning, to the relief of that city, which was a strong frontier; and being the key of his dominions on that side, he knew, if taken, would open a way into the heart of them. *Laskaris*, drawing near to *Antioch*, sent the ambassador before, who could scarce persuade the Soltân, by oaths, that the emperor was approaching with so small a

^P NICET. in Baldwin. c. 11.

(U) The *Greeks* write *Jabatinus*.

(X) This must have been in a second attempt.

(Y) This seems to have been

on account of *Alexis*, whose daughter, *Anna Augusta*, *Laskaris* had married; which lady the Soltân used to call sister.

force.

force. However, he drew up his army in the best manner the narrowness of the place would allow of; which he had scarce done, than 800 *Italians* of the *Roman* army began the attack, and, breaking through the *Turkish* ranks, put them into the greatest disorder. As the *Greeks* had not courage enough to follow them closely, they were separated from the rest of the forces: so that, on their return, they were surrounded, and all to a man cut to pieces, tho' not without making an incredible slaughter of the enemy.

THE *Greeks*, disheartened at so great a loss, were on the point of flying, when the Soltân, now almost in possession of *Laskaris*; the victory, descrying the emperor, and trusting to his own great strength, rode up to him; and at the first blow, given with his mace on the head, struck him off his horse. But *Laskaris*, though sorely stunned, nimbly recovering himself, drew his sword; and, while the Soltân turned about, ordering his attendants, with an air of contempt, to take him away, he disabled the hinder legs of his mare, which thereupon rearing up threw her rider, who, before he could rise, had his head struck off (Z): which, being shewn upon the point of a spear, struck such a terror into the *Turkish* army, that they immediately betook themselves to a disorderly flight, leaving the *Greeks* masters of their camp and baggage. *Alexis*, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried to *Nice*, where he was confined to a monastery, in which he ended his days some years after. This gave the *Romans* an opportunity of breathing: for, from that time, the *Moslems* made a peace with them, which they kept inviolably.¹

THE *Greek* historians, who relate this transaction, make *Misakes Jathatines*, or *Gayatho'ddin*, a different person from *Kayof the Khosraw*; not knowing that *Gayatho'ddin* (which name perhaps he most commonly went by after his restoration; or did not assume till then) was his surname. They say that he was the son of Soltân *Aladin*, brother of *Kay Khosraw*, consequently *Kay Khosraw's* nephew: that *Aladin*, not long surviving his said brother, left his dominions to this *Jathatines*, and his other son called *Azatines* (or *Azzo'ddin*), who was

¹ GEORG. ACROPH. Niceph. Gregor. l. 1. Univerf. Hist. vol. 17. p. 173.

(Z) The historians say it was done, or who did it. This looks as if they would have it pass for something miraculous. The emperor himself, knew how it

Greek
historians,

the elder : that *Jathatines*, being afterwards expelled by *Azatines*, fled to *Alexis Angelus* : and that, *Azatines* dying soon after, he returned to *Ikoniûm*, and recovered his kingdom. The *Aladin* here said to be the brother of *Kay Khosraw*, seems to be the same with his son the great *Aladin* ; who did not begin his reign till the year 1219 : and *Azatines* is put instead of the *Rukratin* of *Nicetas*, by whom *Gayath-o'ddin Kay Khosraw* had been driven out. How such great mistakes came to be adopted by those writers is hard to account : but whatever errors there may be in the names and genealogy, the circumstances of the story and juncture of time shews, that *Jathatines* is no other than *Kay Khosraw*. According to the chronology of the *Greeks*, *Jathatines* was slain in the year of *Christ* 1210. *Abû'Isaraj* does not mention his death ; and *D'Herbelot* only says, from the oriental authors, that, having seized and imprisoned his nephew *Kiliç Arslân*, he reigned in the dominions which he had usurped (A) the space of six years, till 609 of the *Hejrah*, and 1212 of *Christ* *. As there is here a difference of two years, we have fixed his death at the middle year 1211, (which gives him seven years to his second reign, and thirteen to both) ; being sensible, there may happen a mistake of a year on one side or the other.

concerning
this Soltân.

WE find the names of two sons, whom he left behind him, *Azzo'ddin Kaykaws* and *Alao'ddin Kaykobâd*, who succeeded each other.

* D'HERB. art. Gaiatheddin ben Kilig Arslan.

(A) *D'Herbelot* confounds his or seems to have been a stranger first and second reign together, to the former.

S E C T. VIII.

The reigns of Soltân Kaykaws and Alao'ddin Kaykobâd.

Ninth Soltân, Kaykaws.

A. D.
1219.

OF this Soltân *Kaykaws*, surnamed *Azzo'ddin*, or *Ezzo'ddin*, we find very little mentioned. *Abû'Isaraj* only tells us, that he died in the year of the *Hejrah* 616 ; leaving no children, but who were minors ; by which means his brother *Alao'ddin Kaykobâd* became his successor *. *D'Herbelot* adds nothing more from his authors, than that he died of a consumption of the lungs : only he differs much from *Abû'Isaraj* as to the time of his death ; for, he says, it happened in the year 609, after he had reigned no more than one year b ;

whereas

* ABU'LF. hist. dynast. p. 289.
art. Caikaus Ezzoddin.

b D'HERB. p. 237.

whereas the other, putting his death seven years later, allows him eight to his reign. There is the less reason to depend on *D'Herbelot*, as he places the death of his father *Kay Khosraw* in the same year, 609; in which case *Kaykaws* could not have sat in the throne so long as a year, perhaps not a month. Besides, he begins the reign of his successor *Kaykobâd*, agreeable to *Abû'lfaraj* (whom indeed he, for the most part, copies), in the year 616.

AZZO'DDIN Kaykaws having died, without leaving *Tenth Soltân* any sons old enough to take the government upon them, the *rân*, *Kay*-army went to the castle of *Mensbâr*, which stands on the *kobâd*. *Euphrates*, near *Malat'yah*, where his brother *Kaykobâd*, Hej. 616. furnished *Alao'ddin*, was imprisoned; and, bringing him A.D. 1219. forth, proclaimed him king^c.

AFTER the destruction of the *Karazmian* empire by *Jenghiz Khân*, and his *Mogols*, *Soltân Jalalo'ddin*, surnamed *Mankberni*, eldest son and successor of *Mohammed*, for some time made head against them, with surprising bravery: but, being at length obliged to give way to numbers, he retired *Defeats* westward into *Armenia*; where, intending to reduce it under *Jalalo'd-* his power, he, in the beginning of the year 627, sat down *din*; before *Khelât* (or *Aklât*, capital of that country), wherein A.D. 1229. were two brothers of *Al Malek al Asbrâf* (A). Having closely besieged the city all winter, and battered it with twenty rams, on the side towards the sea (B), the inhabitants, who were reduced to eat dog's flesh, delivered it up to him, with the castle.

ON this news *Al Malek al Asbrâf* and *Alao'ddin Kaykobâd* marching with their forces, met near *Abolostayn* (C), and thence proceeded to *Aksbahr*, where the *Karazmian* met them with 40,000 men; and coming to a battle, which lasted near two days, was at length put to flight, with great *disperfs* slaughter of his men. Those who fled escaped to the moun- *his army*, tains of *Trapezond*, where 1500 lost their lives. *Jalalo'ddin* escaped alone to *Kbartabert* (D), and thence to *Khoway* (or *Koy*). After this, he sent one of *Malek al Asbrâf*'s brothers in chains to the *Khalifah* at *Bagdad*; and put one of his slaves *Azzo'ddin Ibe*k to death: but hearing of the approach of the *Mogols* against him, under the command of *Jurmagûn*

^c *ABU'LF.* hist. dynasty, p. 289.

(A) Lord of *Roba* or *Orsa*, *Harrân*, and *Khelât* or *Khalât*.

(C) Or *Ablasta*.

(B) Or the lake of *Van*, to the north of which it stands, at some distance.

(D) Also *Harebâret*: by some travellers called *Karpurt*.

Nowain,

Nowain, he sent ambassadors from *Tabriz* (or *Tauris*), inviting both *Asbrâf* and *Alao'ddîn* to aid him with their forces to repel the storm; which, if it passed him, he said, would fall on them. But they paid no regard to his intreaties ^d.

Embassy to IN 630, Soltân *Alao'ddîn* sent ambassadors to *Oktay Kaan*,
Oktay. offering obedience to him. *Oktay*, commending his prudence,
A. D. told him, that if their master would come to his court, he
1232. would receive him with honour, and give him one of the chief employments there, without taking away his revenues. Which haughty answer the ambassadors wondered at.

Restored THE same year *Alao'ddîn* breaking with *Al Malek al Asb-*
the Sel- *râf*, took from him *Khelât* and *Sarmânray* (E). Two years
jûks after he likewise forced *Roha* from him; in which, for three days, the *Rûms* slew both *Christians* and *Mohammedans*. The remainder they stripped of all; not sparing the churches. Hereupon *Harrân* surrendered to him. After this he took *Rakkah* and *Bir*. But, as soon as his forces were withdrawn, *Al Malek al Kamel* (lord of *Egypt*) came and besieged *Roha*; which he took at the end of four months, and sent all the *Rûms* whom he found there into *Egypt*, in chains, upon camels. *D'Herbelot* says, that, being pressed on one side by the *Mogols*, and on the other by the princes of the house of *Ayub* (F), he was obliged to withdraw his troops out of their dominions, in order to preserve his own.

Same and THIS prince returned home, loaded with plunder and glory;
empire. having extended his name and conquests very far eastward ^e. In short, he restored the great reputation of the *Seljukians*, which the children of *Kilij Arslân* had somewhat impaired by their divisions; enlarged the empire to its former limits; and re-established order in the state.

His death, IN 634, Soltân *Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd* died suddenly: for
A. D. at a feast which he made for his chief lords and officers, just
1236. as he was boasting of the extent of his dominions, he felt a disorder in his bowels; and, being taken at the same time with a flux, discharged such a quantity of bloody excrements, that he died two days after, having reigned eighteen years ^f.

D'HERBELOT has given the history of this prince wholly from *Abû'lfaraj*, only adding one or two particulars

^d *ABU'LF.* hist. dynasty, p. 306, & seq.
 p. 239. & seq. art. Caikobad.

^e *D'HERB.*

^f *Ibid.* p. 311, & seq.

(E) Or *Surmatay*.

Germans); from whom *Salab-*

(F) Or *Jyûb*; that is, *Job* o'ddîn was descended.
 (as we write the word after the

from *Kondamâr*; who, in those points, differs from him. That author says, *Alao'ddîn* was poisoned by order of his son *Kay Khosraw*, whom he had declared his heir. He likewise begins his reign in 610, and puts his death in 636, which makes its duration twenty-six years; whereas *Ebn Shohnab* agrees exactly with *Abû'Isfaraǵ* ^g.

THIS prince was prudent, temperate, and strong. He *and cha-* kept a very strict eye over his nobles and dependants. He *rafter.* was endued with great firmness of mind, magnanimity, and profound gravity: nor could any sovereign govern better. As all the world submitted to him, says our author, he was justly stiled (G), *king of the world* ^h. He must therefore have been not a little mortified by the message, above-mentioned, sent him by *Oktay Khân*.

THIS is the famous *Aladin I.* known to the *European* writers; who acquired most reputation of all the Soltâns of his race, and passed for one of the greatest princes of his time. He generally gained some advantage in all the wars wherein he was engaged: but was obliged at last to acknowledge the *Mogols* for his masters ⁱ.

IT was under this Soltân that both *Ortogrol* and *Othmân, Rife of* or *Ozmân* his son, founder of the present *Othmân* race and *Othmân*. empire, served, with their followers, and laid the foundation of their future greatness ^k.

S E C T. IX.

The reigns of Soltân Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw, and Azzo'ddîn.

ALAO'DDIN being dead, the princes took the oath of *Eleventh* fidelity to his son *Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw*; who *Soltân,* presently after seized *Gayer Khân*, prince of the *Karazmians.* *Kay* The rest of them fled, with their chiefs, by *Malattiyah,* *Khosraw.* *Kakhtîn,* and *Khartabert*; where they did great mischief: Hej. 634- then, wasting the country of *Somayfat* (H), they passed on to *A. D.* *Sowayda.* But *Al Malek al Nasser*, lord of *Halep*, assigning *1236.* over to them *Roha, Harrân,* and other places beyond the *Euphrates*, they desisted from farther ravages.

IN 637, the *Mogols* advanced, with a design to invade the

A. D.

^g See D'HERB. p. 239, art. Caikobad. ^h ABU'LF. p. *1239.*
290 & 312. ⁱ D'HERB. p. 83, art. Alaeddin ben Caikobad.
^k Ibid. p. 240, art. Caikobad.

(G) He assumed the title of *Shâb Jebân*; which signifies *king of the world.*

(H) Or *Someysat*, the same with *Samosat*, on the *Euphrates*, to the north of *Al Bir.*

Rumean territories; but, on *Gayatho'ddîn's* sending forces into *Armenia*, they thought fit to forbear.

A Turk- mân pro- phet NEXT year a *Turkmân* prophet, called *Baba*, appeared at *Amasia*, who drew after him multitudes of people, by the strange tricks which he performed, in order to deceive them. He sent one *Is-hak* (or *Isaak*), a disciple, in a doctor's gown, through the other parts of the country of *Rûm*, to draw in the *Turkmâns*; who succeeded so well, that, at *Somaysat*, he had gathered no fewer than 6000 horse, besides foot, chiefly of those people. Thus strengthened, they began to propagate their imposture by force, making war upon all who would not say, *there is no God but god Baba (A), the apostle of God*. So that they slew a great number of the inhabitants, of *Moslems* and *Christians*, of *Hesno'lmansûr*, *Kakhtîn*, *Gargar*, and *Somaysat*, who refused to follow them: they likewise put to flight all the troops which opposed them in their way to *Amasia*.

der much aufschief. HEREUPON *Gayatho'ddîn* sent an army against them, in which was a body of *Franks*, who were in his pay. But the *Moslems* giving way, through fear, the *Franks* set themselves in the front of the battle; and, making a vigorous attack, put the rebels to flight, and killed every man of them. The two doctors, *Baba* and *Is-hâk*, were taken alive, and put to death.

Moguls take Ar- zerum. Hej. 639. A. D. 1241. IN 639, *Jormagûn Norwayn* (B), advancing into *Armenia*, as far as *Arzen Alrûn*, took it by force, killed *Senan*, its sub-bashâ, with a great number of the inhabitants; and, carrying away their children captives, spread desolation wherever he came. Hereupon, next year, *Soltân Gayatho'ddîn* marched towards the *Moguls*, with a great multitude of men, and military stores, such as had not been known before. Besides his own troops, he was assisted by *Greeks*, *Franks*, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, and *Arabs*. The two armies met in a place called *Kusadag*; belonging to *Arzenjân*; but, on the first attack, all the auxiliary forces turned their backs and fled. The *Soltân*, astonished at this event, fled likewise to *Casarea*; whence carrying his wives and children to *Ankûra* (or *Ancyra*), he there fortified himself.

Siwâs sur- renders. THE *Moguls*, no less surprized at the flight of the enemy, kept themselves still all that day, not daring to pursue, su-

(A) This is the *Mohammedan* confession of faith; only the name *Baba* is inserted instead of *Mohammed*.

(B) Written also by our au-

thors *Norwîan*, *Norvian*, and *Nevian*. 'Tis a military title, signifying the same as *Amîr*, or commander.

specting

specting it was only an artifice to draw them into ambuscades : because they could perceive no reason that such a numerous army had to fly. But, as soon as they came to know the truth of the matter, they penetrated into the country of *Rûm*, and sat down before *Siwâs* ; which having surrendered to them, they spared the lives of the inhabitants ; but took away all their effects, burnt all the warlike engines they found there, and demolished the city walls. From hence proceeding to *Kayfariyah* (or *Cæsarea*), the citizens opposed them for a few days : but at length the *Mogols*, taking the place by force, put the principal inhabitants to the sword, torturing them, to discover their riches.

AFTER this they returned, carrying the women and children along with them, without entering any farther into the ^{forced} Soltân's dominions. This news coming to *Malatijah*, where our author *Abû'Isaraj* and his father then were, *Rashido'ddîn*, its prince, and many of the inhabitants, fled, for fear of the *Mogols* ; who in their passage slew several of them, near the town of *Bajûza*, ten *Persian* leagues distant ; but without coming nearer the city, held on their way to *Arzenjân*, which they took by assault, and served in the same manner as they had done *Kayfariyah*. The Soltân, finding himself in ^{Soltân pays} no condition to oppose the enemy, sent ambassadors to desire ^{tribute} peace ; which was granted him, on condition that he should annually pay a large tribute, in money, horses, vests, and other things of value ^a.

IN 642, *Gayatho'ddîn* sent a great army to besiege *Tarsûs* : His death but, as they were on the point of taking it, news arrived of his death ; upon which they retired from before the city, in autumn, when there fell very heavy rains.

THIS prince was given to wine, and speaking idly. He ^{and cha-} led a life very unbecoming his dignity, indulging himself in ^{rather} pernicious desires. He married the daughter of the king of *Hej*. 642. the *Georgians* ; whom he loved to such a degree, that he had ^{A. D.} her image stamped upon his coin. The reverse of some was ¹²⁴⁴⁻ a lion, with the sun over its head. The astrologers told him, that in case he had the figures engraved, which represented his horoscope, he should succeed in all his designs.

HE left three sons, *Azzo'ddîn*, *Rokno'ddîn*, and *Alao'ddîn*. His chil- The two first by *Rumean* women ; the last by a *Georgian*. ^{dren}. He declared the eldest for his successor, appointing for his tutor and Atabek *Jaloko'ddîn Kortay*, a person of great integrity and rigid chastity ^b.

^a ABU'LF. p. 312, & seq.
p. 319.

^b ABU'LF. hist. dynasty,

THE article of *Gayatho'ddin*, given by *D'Herbelot* c, seems to be taken intirely from *Abûl'faraj*, whom he quotes twice; yet, at the end, puts the name of *Kondamîr*, as if the whole was extracted from that author.

Greeks
their er-
rors.

THE *Byzantine* historians mention this Soltân, whom they call *Jathatines*: but say, he was the son of *Azatines*, who succeeded his uncle *Jathatines*. For all this false genealogy, which is common with the *Greek* writers, 'tis evident, from their own account, that he is the Soltân in question; not only as they make him contemporary with *John Dukas*, surnamed *Vatazes*, second emperor of *Nice*, who began his reign in the year 1222; but they give him just such a character as we find in *Abûl'faraj*; viz. that of a slothful prince, who delighted in drunken and debauched company. What goes still farther to decide the point, they say, his father excelled, in military affairs, all his predecessors: which character can be applicable only to *Alao'ddin*.

Tatar in-
vasion,

WITH regard to the transactions of his reign, those historians inform us: that the *Tankhari* (C), a nation of *Tartars*, having invaded his dominions, and defeated his army, he sent to *Vatazes*, desiring assistance, as well by his advice as forces. In this, he said, both of them would find their advantage; since, in case the enemy subdued the *Moslems*, they would next invade the *Romans*. *Vatazes*, judging this to be a right measure, entered into a league with the Soltân, and had an interview with him at *Tripolis*, on the *Meander*; which river *Gayathao'ddin* (D) passed over a bridge, made in haste, with rafts or floats of timber joined together. The two princes not only gave their hands to each other, but to all their followers of distinction. After this they agreed, in the strongest terms, to join their forces against the enemy: but the *Tankhari*, for a while, suspended the war against the Soltân, that they might go and attack the *Khalifah* of *Babylon*^d.

according
to them.

Twelfth
Soltân,
Azzo'd-
din,

AZZO'DDIN (E) having succeeded by his father's appointment, the great officers and nobles took the oath of fidelity, and he was prayed for in the pulpits.

c D'HERB. p. 356. art. *Gaiathreddin Caikhofrau*. d GEORG. ACROP.; NICEPH. GREGOR.

(C) Called by *Ayton*, or *Haython*, the *Armenian*, *Tangori*. it was to *Azzo'ddin*, his successor.

(D) Some authors pretend this was the Soltân to whom *Mikael Paleologus* fled; whereas (E) *Azzo'ddin* is only the surname of this Soltân, whose name seems to have been *Kaykavus*.

NEXT year ambassadors came from the Great Khân *Oktay*, Hej. 643. requiring the Soltân to come and pay him homage : but he A. D. excused himself ; alleging, that as both the *Greek* and *Armenian* kings were his enemies, they would seize his dominions 1245- in his absence. Mean time he obliged the ambassadors with *sent for by the Khân* gifts ; and, at length, sent his brother *Rokno'ddîn* (F), under the care of *Bahao'ddîn*, the interpreter, whom he made his Atabek (or tutor). He also appointed for his own Wazîr *Shamso'ddîn*, a learned native of *Isfâhân* ; whose credit was so great, that he married the Soltân's mother : which, however, the grandees were much offended at. This year the Great Khân died ; and, the next, a *Kuriltay*, or grand assembly, was called : at which, besides the *Mogol* princes, there were present many foreign potentates ; and, among the rest, Soltân *Rokno'ddîn*, from the country of *Rûm*. In this grand council *Kayâk*, eldest son of the late emperor, was chosen to succeed him.

IN 645, *Kayâk*, the Great Khân, sent lieutenants into several parts of his empire ; appointing *Ijiktay Nowayn* for *deposed by him* the countries of *Rûm*, *Musol*, *Syria*, and *Gorj* (G). At the Hej. 645- same time he granted the government of *Rûm* to Soltân A. D. *Rokno'ddîn*, and ordered Soltân *Azzo'ddîn* to be removed. 1247- Next year *Rokno'ddîn*, and the interpreter *Bahao'ddîn*, arriving, with 2000 *Mogol* horse, to put this decree in execution, Soltân *Azzo'ddîn* was advised by his Wazîr *Shamso'ddîn* to oppose it, and withdraw to some castle near the sea. When *Kortay* heard this, he seized the Wazîr, and sent him to *Bahao'ddîn* ; who immediately dispatched some of the *Mogol* chiefs to *Kontyah*, to make him discover where his treasures were ; which, having done, they put him to death. After this the interpreter and *Kortay* meeting, agreed to divide the dominions between the two brothers. *Azzo'ddîn* was to have *Kontyah*, *Aksera*, *Ankûra* (or *Ancyra*), *Anatolia* (H), and the rest of the western provinces : *Rokno'ddîn*, *Kayfartiyah*, *Siwâs*, *Malattiyah*, *Arzengan*, *Arzen al Rûm*, and the provinces to the east. They likewise appointed *Alao'ddîn*, the youngest, a proper portion for his maintenance ; and had money coined in all their names, with this inscription, *the great kings Azz. Rokn. and Ala*°.

* *ABU'LF.* hist. dynasty, p. 319, & seq.

(F) His proper name, according to others, was *Soleywân*, *Rokno'ddîn* being his surname.

(G) Or *Korj* ; that is, *Georgia*.

(H) In another copy, *Antakial*, or *Antiokbia*, in *Asia minor*.

Sent for
again.

Hej. 652.

A. D.

1254.

IN 652, there came several ambassadors, one after the other, to Soltân *Azzo'ddin*, lord of *Rûm*; requiring him to go and pay homage to *Munkaka Kaan* (I). He accordingly set out: but hearing, at *Siwâs*, that the *Omera* (K) were inclined to place *Rokno'ddin* in his throne, he returned in haste to *Koniyah*, and sent *Alao'ddin* in his room, with letters, setting forth; that he had sent his brother, who was no less king than himself; but that he could not come, because his Atabek *Kortay* was dead, and his enemies to the west (L) were at war with him: however, that when he was delivered from the fears of them, he would wait on the Khân himself. *Alao'ddin* accordingly set out; but died on the way, before he reached the *Orda* (M).

Attempt
against
Rokno'd-
din.

AZZO'DDIN, conceiving that he should never be safe while his brother *Rokno'ddin* lived, resolved to put him to death. This design taking wind, the *Omera* contrived his escape. They dressed him in the clothes of a cook's boy; and putting a bowl, with meat in it, on his head, sent him out of the palace and castle (N), along with certain boys who carried victuals to a neighbouring house: then, setting him on horseback, they conducted him to *Kaysariyah*; where a great number of *Omeras* repairing to him, they got together an army, and marched towards *Koniyah* against *Azzo'ddin*: but the Soltân, marching out with what troops he had about him, put them to flight; and *Rokno'ddin*, being taken prisoner, was cast, fettered, into the castle of *Dawalu*.

Opposes the

Tatars;

Hej. 653.

A. D.

1255.

THE year following, *Bayeju Nowayn*, being obliged to retreat from the plain of *Mugân* (O), where he used to winter, in order to give place to *Hûlakû* (P), sent a messenger to Soltân *Azzo'ddin*, requiring some place to winter in with his troops: but the Soltân, instead of complying, pretended that he had

(I) Called also *Mongo* and *Mangu Khân*. He was the fourth; and succeeded *Kayûk*, in 648 of the *Hejrab*, of Christ 1250.

(K) *Omerâ* is the plural of *Amîr*, and signifies the princes, chiefs, great commanders, or generals. A title denoting both great lords and officers.

(L) By these must be meant the *Greeks*.

(M) The court, or place where the Khân was encamped.

(N) By this it appears, that *Rokno'ddin* was but a youth

himself. And he seems to have resided at *Ikonium*; although he had one half of the empire.

(O) Or *Mokân*, a spacious plain in the north part of *Adherbijân*, towards the mouth of the river *Kûr*, and the *Caspian* sea.

(P) Who afterwards reigned in *Persia*, by grant from his brother *Kublây Khân*, in the year 656 of the *Hejrab*, of Christ 1258; founding a dynasty of *Mogols*, or *Tartars*, as they are commonly called.

defected

deserted from his prince; and, collecting forces, gave him battle at *Khano'l Soltân*, between *Kontyah* and *Aksera*. However, *Azzo'ddîn* happening to be defeated (Q), *Bayeju* took his brother out of prison, and put him in possession of all the *Rûmean* dominions^f.

IT was, doubtless, in the above-mentioned battle that *Mikhael Paleologus* was present, as we are told by the *Greek* historians; whom we must now follow for a while. These *is over-* historians inform us, that, in the year 1255, *Paleologus* (R), *thrown*, who had been imprisoned, on suspicion of some dangerous designs, escaped, and fled to the *Turks*. It happened, that, while he was at the Soltân's court, the *Tatars* (S), after having ravaged the greatest part of his dominions, came and besieged the city of *Axara* (T). Hereupon the *Turks* marched out against them, giving to *Paleologus* the command of the *Greeks* forces. The *Tatars*, being repulsed at the first onset by *Paleologus*, or, as others say, dismayed at the sight of such numerous forces, were upon the point of flying, when one of the *Turkish* generals went over to them, with the troops under his command; which changed the fortune of the field. The *Tatars*, encouraged, returned to the charge, and, defeating the *Turks* in their turn, made a great slaughter with their arrows, pursuing them a considerable way. *Paleologus*, upon this, joined the *Peklarpek* (U) with his troops; and they two retired, for several days together, with the enemy at their heels, till they got to *Kastamona* (X), near which that officer resided.

THE *Tatars* now over-ran the country, and the *Turkish* flies to the forces being dispersed, the Soltân flies to the emperor; who received him kindly; but could spare him only 400 men, under the command of *Isaac Ducas*, surnamed *Murtzufus* (Y). The Soltân, in requital, gave him the city of *Laodicea*: which, however, soon returned to the *Turks*; because the

^f *ABU'LF.* hist. dynasty, p. 329, & seq.

(Q) This, doubtless, is the battle which *Hayton* says was gained by the *Tatars*, under *Baydo*, over the Soltân (whom he does not name) of *Turky* (1); so that author calls the dominions of the *Seljukians* of *Rûm*.

(R) He had married the emperor's niece; was constable, and commanded the *French* troops. 1 *Pach.* c. 7.

(S) They are called by some the *Tankhari Tatars*.

(T) *Aksera*, not *Akfaray*; or the *white palace*.

(U) Or *Beglerbeg*; that is, lord of lords, the governors of great provinces.

(X) *Kastamona*.

(Y) Because his family had thick eye-brows, and joined together.

(1) *Hayt de Tataris*, cap. 23, 24.

Romans could not defend it. After all, the Soltân not being able to oppose the *Tatars*, he obtained peace, by becoming tributary. Mean time the emperor wrote to *Paleologus*, inviting him to return home; his reconciliation having been made by means of the bishop of *Kogni* (or *Koniah*): and, soon after his return the emperor died, in 1258^e.

Neglects
of the

In the foregoing account, from the *Greek* historians, we find no mention of the dispute between *Azzo'ddin* and his brother *Rokn'oddin*; which was, in a great measure, the cause of this *Tatar* war: but *Pakhamire*, in one place of his history, occasionally introduces it. He there tells us in general, that Soltân *Azatines* (so he calls *Azzo'ddin*) had great contests with his brother *Rukratin* (that is *Rokn'oddin*), after the death of their father *Jathatînes* (or *Gayatho'ddin*): that *Rukratin*, having taken arms, and obtained considerable forces from the *Tatars*, became strong enough to oppress his brother: that *Azatines* upon this retired to the court of the emperor *Theodorus Laskaris*; who received him civilly; but let him know, that he could not shelter him in his dominions, for fear of drawing on himself the resentment of the *Tatars* (Z): that *Azatines* accordingly withdrew; yet received such considerable succours from *Laskaris*, that he overcame his brother, and recovered the throne^b. From this passage, and several others, occurring in *Pakhamire*, and the rest of the *Byzantine* historians, which are brought in abruptly, and out of place, there appears reason to believe, that the *Greeks* had particular histories or memoirs of the Soltâns; of which they have only given us pieces occasionally in the reigns of their emperors, as they related to their own affairs, and that, for the general, without either the proper elucidations or connections. But to return to our subject.

Greek
historians.

Azz'od- As *Abû'lfaraj* does not mention what became of *Azzo'ddin*,
din opposes after he was removed from the throne by *Bayejû*, the *Mogol* general; neither does he tell us how he recovered it again: but, proceeding as if no such revolution had happened, informs us, that, in 655, this Soltân sent an ambassador to *Hûlâkû*, to testify his submission, and intreat him to drive *Bayejû* *Nowayn* out of his kingdom. *Hûlâkû*, in answer, ordered that he should divide the *Rûmean* territories with his brother. Hereupon *Azzao'ddin* returned to *Koniyah*, and

Hej. 655.
A. D.
1257.

^b PAKHAMIR, l. i. c. 9. NICEPH. GREGORAS, and others;
^a PAKH. l. xiii. c. 22.

(Z) Yet, on his coming to the crown, he renewed the ancient league with the Soltân.

Rokn'od-

Rokno'ddîn went with *Bayejâ* to the camp. *Azzo'ddîn*, being still afraid of this *Mogol*, sent into the parts about *Malatîyah* and *Khartabert*, to raise an army of *Kürds*, *Turkmâns*, and *Arabs*. The officer sent him two commanders of the *Kürds*, *Ahmed ibn Belâs* and *Mohammed ibn el Sheykh Adî*; to whom the Soltân assigned the said cities.

Ebn el Sheykh Adî, being met on the way to *Khartabert* by the *Mogol Angark Nowayn*, was slain, with his followers: and the people of *Malatîyah*, having taken an oath to *Rokno'ddîn*, refused to receive *Ebn Belâs*; who thereupon treating them ill, they killed 300 of his men. With the rest he fled by *Klaudiya* (A) towards *Amed* (B); where he was slain by the lord of *Mayasferkîn*. *Azzo'ddîn* appointed in his room one *Ali Bahâdr*; who, being a bold man, the citizens, thro' fear, admitted him. And he did them great service: for he cleared the county of the *Al Jâzi*, a tribe of *Turkmâns*; who used in their incursions to kill the inhabitants, and carry off their children. These he defeated, and took their commander *Jurtag* prisoner.

MEAN while *Bayejû Nowayn*, advancing with his forces, obliged all the castles, which had been delivered up, to submit to *Rokno'ddîn*. Then going to the city of *Abolstây* (C), he slew about 6000 of the inhabitants, and made captives of the women and children.

ON his approach to *Malatîyah*, *Ali Bahâdr* fled to *Râkh-Malatîyah*; and the citizens, going to meet him with presents, submitted to *Rokno'ddîn*; who set over them one of his slaves, named *Fakro'ddîn Ayyaz*. But as soon as *Bayejû* had gotten beyond the borders of *Rûm*, in his way to *Irâk*, *Ali Bahâdr* returned; and, being denied admittance, besieged the city. At length, provisions growing very scarce, some of the common people opened a gate, by which *Ali* entered with his *Turkmâns*. Having thus recovered the possession of *Malatîyah*, he cast Soltân *Rokno'ddîn*'s governor into prison, and put a few of the leading men, who opposed him, to death.

AT the same time the famine was so great in the district of *Dreadful* this city, that cats, dogs, and leather, were eaten, for want of *famine* food. A friend of the author's saw in a certain village a *there* company of women in a house cutting pieces of flesh out of a corpse which lay before them, and broiling them to eat. Likewise another, who baked her dead child; imagining,

(A) The antient *Claudiopolis*, on the *Euphrates*, below *Malatîyah*:

(B) The antient *Amida*, now *Diyarbêkr*.

(C) Or *Abolstây*; in the *Geogr. Nubiensis*, *Ablajta*.

that his flesh would agree better with her than that of vermin. In short, *Ali Bahâdr*, though he subdued the town, could not withstand the calamity; but retired to Soltân *Azzo'ddin*.

Empire divided. IN 657, *Hâllâkû* sent for *Azzo'ddin*, Soltân of the *Rûms*, and his brother *Rokno'ddin*; who obeying his summons, he Hej. 657. went out to meet them, expressing great satisfaction at their coming. Then he appointed *Azzo'ddin* to reign over the A. D. country from *Kayfariyah* to the borders of *Greater Armenia*; 1259. and *Rokno'ddin* to command from *Aksera* to the sea-coast bounding the territories of the *Franks*. After this he began his march for *Syria*; and, when he drew near the *Euphrates*, the two brothers, taking their leave, returned with joy to their own dominionsⁱ.

WE find no farther account in *Abû'lfaraj* of these two Soltâns (who reigned together, or interchangeably); although that author is more particular in relating their transactions than those of any of the former: but the defect is, in some measure, supplied by the *Greek* historians, who happen to begin, as it were, just where he leaves off.

Azzo'ddin retires ALTHOUGH we left the two Soltâns going home in good harmony; yet, according to the *Greek* historians, they did A. D. not long continue so. They tell you, that, after the death

1259. of *Theodorus Laskaris*, *Mikhael Paleologus*, being made the associate in the empire with his son *John*, after strengthening the frontier places with garrisons, sent an embassy to the *Turks*, to notify his advancement; and that, not long after, setting out with the young emperor on a new progress, he received, at *Nymphæum*, an embassy, with presents, from the Soltân; whose affairs were in a very bad condition: for, being threatened with an invasion from the *Tatars* (or *Mogols*), every person, instead of saving the state, thought only of saving his family, and the governors every-where revolted.

10 Mi- *PALEOLOGUS*, upon intimation of this, gave the Soltân khael Pa- an invitation to come and reside at his court, promising to leologus, let him return when his affairs were settled. The cause of the Soltân's fear was, the news which he received of the arrival of *Malek* (D), with a formidable army. This *Malek* had fled, it seems, to the emperor before; and *Azzo'ddin* was afraid he might escape, and cross the design he had of re-establishing his affairs^k. In another place the same author informs us, that the reason of *Azzo'ddin*'s applying to the emperor was,

ⁱ ABU'LF. p. 332, & seq.

^k PAKH. l. ii. c. 7, 10, 24.

(D). Who this *Malek* was, we are quite at a loss to know, the author having said no more about him. Perhaps he was the Soltân's brother, mentioned a little lower down.

because

because *Rukratin* had gathered new forces¹ (E). However that be, the Soltân accepted of the offer; and, relying on the friendship of *Paleologus*, retired, with his wife, children, his mother (who was a Christian), and his sister, to *Constantinople*^m.

SOME authors tell us, that, after the former defeat of the Greek *Azatin*, the *Tatars*, instead of penetrating farther into his ^{emperor} dominions, went and conquered *Syria*: but that, returning next year, they crossed the river a second time, marched into *Kappadocia*, and took *Ikonium*; from whence *Azatin* fled, with his brother *Malek*, and his family, to the emperor *Mikhael Paleologus*; who, not long before, had retired for shelter to his courtⁿ. *Nicephorus Gregoras* relates, that *Azatin*, taking occasion from the invasion of the *Tatars*, shook off the *Persian* (he means the *Turkish*) yoke, and subdued several provinces belonging to the eastern emperors: but that he was obliged at length, with his son *Mokoko*, to retire to *Mikhael Paleologus*, after having been routed by the *Tatars*, in the year 1261^o. Here we find several *Maleks*, Hej. 661. who possibly might all have been the same person, considering the inaccuracy of the *Greek* authors; and that *Malek* 1261. simply is no other than a title, signifying *king*, which was given to the princes of the *Selâk* blood.

BUT to return to *Azzo'ddîn*. *Paleologus* received him ^{His ill reception} with great shew of friendship, and promised in time to furnish him with troops, to recover his kingdom. Mean while he suffered the Soltân to live intirely at liberty, to sit in his presence, to have his guards, and wear the purple buskins. In July 1261, *Constantinople* being recovered out of the hands of the *Latins*, he returned thither from *Nice*, with his colleague *John*. Next year he sent ambassadors to *Khalau* (or *Hâldakû*), prince of the *Tatars*, in *Persia*, and another to the Soltân of *Ethiopia* (rather *Egypt*). As for *Azatin*, he was at *Constantinople*; where, strolling about to view the streets and public places, which were almost quite unpeopled, he led a debauched life, with his followers, expecting the performance of the emperor's promise: but all *Mikhael's* fair outside was only dissimulation: for, being very intent on making an alliance with the *Tatars*, he sent the Soltân's wife and children to *Nica*, under pretence of greater security; at the same time.

¹ PAKH. l. xiii. c. 22. ^m Ibid. l. ii. c. 24. ⁿ AUGUST. CURIO. ^o NICEPH. GREGOR. l. iv. c. 1.

(E) Sure *Rukratin* and *Malek* cy in stile than history, or order cannot be the same person: for of time in ranging his facts: is, no author speaks of *Rokno'ddîn's* very verbose, yet deficient in flying for shelter to the emperor. matter. *Pakhamirs* aims more at accura-

he actually promised *Mary* (F), his natural daughter, to *Khalau*, who yet died before she arrived at his court. After this he concluded an alliance with *Apagan* (G).

makes his
escape

A. D.
1266.

THE Soltân, after a tedious stay at *Constantinople*, having discovered that the emperor was treating with his enemies, wrote to an uncle of his, who dwelt towards the *Euxine* sea, on the north side; intreating him to work his deliverance, by exciting *Constantine*, king of *Bulgaria*, and *Negas*, Khân of the *Tatars* (H), against *Paleologus*: in which case, he said, he would endeavour to deliver that prince into their hands. The Soltân's uncle having agreed to this proposal, *Azatines*, pursuant to leave obtained, repaired to the emperor, who was then in the west, under pretence of seeing that part of his dominions. In their return back, within a day's march of mount *Hemus*, *Paleologus*, to his great astonishment, understood that the *Bulgarians* and *Tatars* had passed the straits, spoiling and killing where-ever they came. The emperor, who had not forces to oppose them, left the Soltân, with his baggage, in the night, and, getting to the sea-side, passed in a bark to his capital. *Azatines*, with those who had care of the baggage, retired to the fort of *Ainé* (I). Presently the enemy came, and, besieging the place, it was at length agreed, that the Soltân, and his attendants, should be delivered to them; on condition that they withdrew, and suffered the rest to retire, with the baggage, to the port; which they did: and the next day came succours by sea; with whom they returned to *Constantinople*. The emperor, enraged at their conduct, punished the chief of them; and, imprisoning the wife, mother, daughter, and sister, of the Soltân, with their children, confiscated all their effects^p. The *Greek* historians say, that *Azatines* never returned into his own dominions; but died, soon after his escape, in the country to the north of the *Caspian* sea.

by a stratagem.

Historians
disagree

HISTORIANS, both eastern and western, disagree so much with regard to this Soltân, that an author, for want of farther helps, must be at a great nonplus how to reconcile them. The *Greeks* and *Abû'lfaraj* agree to make *Azzo'ddin* Soltân of *Koniya*; and, from all circumstances of the history, he must have been so, at least for a term of years. But

^p PAKH. l. ii. c. 24. l. iii. c. 3, 25. l. xiii. c. 22.

(F) Hence she is called afterwards queen of the *Muguls*, *Caspian* sea, and the *Danube*. He afterwards married *Eupbro-* though not married to *Hülâkâ*. *syne*, the emperor's natural

(G) *Abaga*, or *Abaka Khân*, daughter.
son and successor of *Hülâkâ*.

(I) *Aynum*, or *Ocnium*.

(H) To the north of the

D'Herbelot,

D'Herbelot, after the *Persian* historians, makes *Rokno'ddin* the Soltān: possibly, because he was supported by the *Mogols*, and continued to reign after *Azzo'ddin* was expelled: yet he recites from them only two transactions of his reign. He informs us, that *Rokno'ddin Soleyman*, having sent his brother in several other *Alao'ddin Kaykobad* to the court of the Great Khān of *respects*, the *Mogols*, to transact the affairs of the *Seljuks*, that prince gained the favour of the Khān by his address; and returned with such ample powers, that *Soleyman*, finding himself almost wholly deprived of his authority by *Kaykobad*, bribed one of his domestics to poison him: that *Abaka Khān*, being informed of this ill office which *Soleyman* had done his brother, ordered him to be served in the same manner (*), in the year 664, after he had reigned twenty years. He left for his successor his son *Kay Khafraw*, who had his A. D. confirmation from the same Khān †. 1265.

It is evident, from the testimony of *Abū'lfaraj*, a subject with us of the *Seljuks* empire, backed by that of the *Greek* writers, *gord* to that *Azzo'ddin* immediately succeeded his father *Gayatho'ddin*. It appears also, that soon after *Rokno'ddin's* being set up by the *Mogols*, and the monarchy divided between them, they both reigned at the same time for several years, each in his respective territories: that, at length, *Azzo'ddin*, being expelled by the *Mogols* or *Tatars*, *Rokno'ddin* reigned alone (†) over the whole. It seems therefore but just, that *these two* *Azzo'ddin* should be reckoned among the Soltāns, as well as *Soltāns*. *Rokno'ddin*; and the rather, as we find him named first on the coin mentioned by *Abū'lfaraj*. But whether we divide the reigns of the two brothers, ending that of *Azzo'ddin* with his last abdication, or make but one reign of both, it must be observed, that *Kondamir* (or whatever author *D'Herbelot* took these few particulars from, for he recites no one), disagrees with *Abū'lfaraj* in two or three very essential points: 1. According to him, there were no more than two brothers, *Instances* *Rokno'ddin* and *Alao'ddin*; whereas *Abū'lfaraj* affirms there *thereof* were three; of whom *Azzo'ddin* was the eldest. 2. He says, that *Alao'ddin* was sent to the Khān by *Rokno'ddin*. *Abū'lfaraj* says, *Azzo'ddin* sent both him and *Rokno'ddin* on that embassy. 3. He affirms, that *Alao'ddin* returned into *Rūm*,

† *D'HERB.* p. 822, art. Soliman ben Caikhofrou.

(*) *Abū'lfeda* says, that *Mayno'ddin al Berwana*, the *Tatar* *Salabo'ddin*, per *Babadin*, *edit.* *Schyltens* p. 59.

general, hereafter-mentioned, being offended with *Rokno'ddin*, place, says, they reigned together for a time, and then *Rokno'ddin* alone.

and was there poisoned by *Rokno'ddin*. *Abû'Isaraj* affirms, on the contrary, that *Alao'ddin* died on the road into *Tatary*.

WITH regard to this *Alao'ddin*, which-ever death he died, he may have been one of the *Alao'ddins* mentioned in the *Turkish* history, under whom the father of *Othmân* served; for he was a King or Soltân in the share of the *Seljukian* dominions, which was given him, as appears by the above-mentioned coin.

Anastolia
over-run
by

IN the reigns of these two Soltâns, the *Roman* empire, which, ever since the death of *Gayatho'ddin Kay Khosraw*, slain by *Theodorus Laskaris*, in 1210, seems to have been free from the depredations of the *Turks*, began to be invaded by them with greater fury than ever it had been before: not so much from inclination, which governed their former invasions, as necessity, which obliged them to it in their own defence. For as the dissensions between the two brothers gave encouragement to the governors towards the borders of the *Seljukian* dominions to set up for themselves; so, on the invasion of the *Mogols*, the *Turks*, to avoid them, retired westward, in great multitudes, under different commanders: who, the better to secure themselves against those formidable enemies, and gain new possessions in the place of those they had abandoned, fell, with all their force at once, on every side of the *Roman* territories in *Asia*, which then were in a most defenceless state; and, in the compass of a few years, subdued the whole, as will be shewn more at large in the next reign.

the fugi-
tive
Turks.

Thirteenth *KAY Khosraw* III. son of *Rokno'ddin Soleymân*, being but Soltân, an infant when he ascended the throne in 664, *Abaka Khân*, *Kay Khosraw* who married his mother, appointed *Pervaneh Kasbi* (†) for his tutor (or Atabek). This Soltân reigned eighteen years; at the end of which, in 682, he was killed, by order of *Ahmed Khân* (K), who succeeded *Abaka Khân*; and *Massûd*, son of *Kaykaws*, was afterwards appointed his successor by *Argûn Khân*, who succeeded *Ahmed*.

row III.

THIS is all which *D'Herbelot* furnishes from the oriental authors, relating to this prince, whom he reckons the twelfth Soltân; nor does *Abû'Isaraj* mention any of the Soltâns after *Azzo'ddin*, uncle to *Kay Khosraw*. However, we meet with a passage in him, which we shall cite, as it relates to *Pervaneh*, the Soltân's tutor, and the affairs of his kingdom.

* *D'HÉRÉ. p. 239 & 127, art. Caikhosru troisieme, & Argoun Khan.*

(†) *Pervaneh* is the softer *Persian* pronunciation of *Berwanab*, who, *Abû'Isa* says, having kil-

led his father, entron'd him in his stead.

(K) Surnamed *Nikudar Oglan*; he succeeded *Abaka Khân*, in 681.

THAT

THAT author informs us, that, in the year 675, *Bendok-Soltân of dâr*, Soltân of *Egypt*, excited by some fugitives, resolved to *Egypt* invade the territories of *Rûm*; which king *Lesh*, son of the *Hej. 675.* king of *Armenia (Hatem)*, being informed of, sent notice *A. D. 1276.* to the *Mogol* commanders who were in that country. But this advice being represented to them as false, by *Berwânab* (L), who wished well to *Bendokdâr*, and hated the *Armenian* king, they paid no regard to it. So that the *Egyptians* came *invades* upon them at a time when they were so overcome with liquor *Rûm :* that they could not mount their horses: and as, by their *Tassa* (M), or laws, they are obliged not to fly till they have faced the enemy, they gave them battle; in which all the great *Mogol* officers were slain, besides most of their men, and 2000 out of 3000 *Gorj* (N), who were with them. The *Egyptians* likewise lost a vast number on their side. *Berwânab*, on this news, fled to a castle for security. *Bendokdâr*, after his victory, encamped in a place called *Kaykobâd*, near *Kaysartyab*, where he remained fifteen days, without doing the least hurt, or taking any thing without paying for it. Nor did he enter that city more than once; saying, that he came not to lay waste the country, but to deliver its lord from slavery.

As soon as *Abâka Khân* (O) was informed of this misfortune, he retired on time, he gathered forces, and marched into the country of *the Rûms*: but *Bendokdâr*, knowing himself unable to withstand him, had retired into *Syria* before he arrived. *Berwânab* went to meet the Khân, who received him without any shew of resentment, and took him with him in his return to the *Tâk* (P); under pretence of consulting what num-

(L) *Berwânab* is the *Arab* pronunciation; *Pervaneb* (or *Parvana*, as *Hayton* the *Armenian* writes) is the *Persian*. The same *Hayton* says, he was commander of the *Tatars* in *Turky* (1), so he calls the *Seljukian* dominions in *Asia minor*: but he must be understood of a civil, not a military, officer.

(M) Or *Tassa*, laws military and civil, made by *Jenghiz Khân*, but said to have been framed first by *Ogûz Khân*, and only revived by the other.

(N) Or *Korj*; called by us *Georgians*, instead of *Gorjans*.

(O) *Il Khân* is a title, or sur-

name, given to, or assumed by, *Hulakû*, whose descendants are thence called *Ilkhanians*. He seems to have assumed it in imitation of *Tumena Ilkhan* (2), who first introduced it; and to shew he was descended from that hero. This title differs from that of *Ilak* or *Ilek Khân*, assumed by *Turkish* princes, who possessed the country of *Ilak*; washed on the south by the river *Sihûn* or *Sîr*, and whose capital was *Tonkât*, or, as others say, *Nobakht*. *D'Herb. bibl. orient.* p. 488, art. *Ilak*.

(P) *Al Tâk* is the place of encamping, or where he encamped.

(1) *Hayn de Tataris*, cap. 34.

(2) See before, p. 45.

Khân's ap- proach. ber of forces would be sufficient to guard this country of Rûm against the Egyptians. Being arrived in the camp, the Khân made a magnificent feast; wherein he took care to ply *Berwânâh* with mare's milk (Q), for he drank no wine. At length, the latter going out to draw water, *Abûkâ* gave the sign to some in waiting, who followed, and cut him in pieces (R). This was the end of a traitor: nor did *Bendokidâr* long survive him; for he died at *Hams* (in Syria), in his return to Egypt. Some say of a wound received by an arrow, in the engagement with the *Mogols*; others by poison, infused by one of his domestics in the mare's milk, which he called for (S) to drink.

Miserable
state of

HAVING nothing farther to say from the east, let us turn westward, and view the miserable condition of the Greeks; unable to resist the power of the *Turks*, who, like an inundation, suddenly overwhelmed them. As we have already mentioned the defenceless state of the empire at this juncture, it will be proper to set forth by what means it came to be reduced to such a weak condition. To do this the more effectually, it may be necessary to take the matter a little higher. Although, on the accession of *Theodorus Laskaris* to the throne, the empire of *Nice* was confined to the narrow bounds of only three cities, *Nice*, *Prusa*, and *Philadelphia*; yet affairs were managed with such prudence, that the state was secure against all its enemies. The better to oppose the *Franks*, who had taken *Constantinople*, and were masters of the sea, the ministers made peace with the *Turks*; paying them yearly a large sum, and then turned all their forces against the former. After they had done with them, they applied themselves to fortify the mountains, in spite of all the endeavours of the *Turks* to hinder them. They built forts, committing the care of them to the natives of the country; and thus secured the empire on that side.

the Greeks
in Asia;

As the people who inhabited those mountains were inclinable to change sides, and did not care to run any risk by resisting the enemy; the emperors attached them to their interest, by exempting them from certain taxes, and bestowing

* ABU'LF. p. 358, & seq.

(Q) The chief liquor used by the people of *Tatary*; it is called *Kumis*, and is strong and pleasant.

(R) *Hayton* says, he was cut in two by the middle, according to the custom of the *Tatars*; and that the Khân ordered his flesh to be mixed with the vic-

tuals which were served at his table; and that he and all his officers eat of it. *Ibid.* This is one of *Hayton's* romances.

(S) He was fourth Soltân of the *Babrian Mamlûks*, who were slaves from *Tatary*. He was called also *Bibars al Salehi*, famous for his victories.

con-

considerable bounties on the principal persons among them, who, by that means, became very rich. Their zeal for their country increased with their wealth: so that they made it their business to surprize the enemy in the night, carrying off much plunder; and chose rather to prevent their coming, than wait for them. The care which was taken of the fortresses had this happy effect; and that those who guarded them might not be tempted to desert them, there were troops in the neighbourhood, ready to support them¹.

By these good regulations, the affairs of the *Greeks* were ^{so what} so greatly advanced in the east, that when *Mikhael Paleologus* ^{owing.} returned from *Nice* to *Constantinople*, upon its being taken from the *Latins* in 1260, *Asia minor*, *Paphlagonia* (T), *Bithynia*, the *Greater and Capatian Phrygias*, with *Karia*, were A. D: 1260. under the obedience of the *Romans* (U), and paid them tribute².

BUT after *Mikhael* had removed the seat of his empire, and that the inhabitants, especially those who had been in command, were returned, the people who possessed the mountains were exceedingly weakened; and, no longer receiving any succours, were themselves obliged to sustain the weight of the war. To make the matter still worse, the affairs of the empire (in *Europe*) falling afterwards into a bad state, *Mikhael Paleologus*, by the advice of *Kadenus*, governor of *Constantinople*, stripped those people, who were rich, of their effects; and, allowing each forty crowns pension, ordered the rest of the revenues arising from the lands, and which amounted to considerable sums, to be brought to the treasury: which ill treatment diminished their strength, and took away their courage.

THE emperor, in all likelihood, was the more easily induced to do this, as he apprehended no danger from the *side forced* of the *Turks*; whom he kept at peace by continual treaties, *westward* and who were too much employed by the *Tatars* to give him any disturbance. But that which seemed to promise most security, proved most pernicious to his interest: for shortly after, by an unforeseen event, the *Turks* crowding westward, to avoid the army of the enemy, and being too many for the country, to make themselves room, began to invade the *Roman* empire; or, to speak in the words of our author, the most

¹ PAKH, l. i. c. 2, 3,

² DUKAS, c. 2.

(T) *Bulgaria* is added here.

(U) The *Turks*, who a little before had taken *Likaonia*, were then masters of *Kappadocia*, *Ga-*

latia, *Pamphylia*, *Armenia*, *Helenepont*, *Pyfidia*, *Lycia*, and other provinces. *Calofria* is added, perhaps by mistake.

valiant among the *Turks*, finding, after being vanquished by the *Tatars*, that they had no other recourse but their arms, retired into the mountains, and committed robberies. With this view, they assembled in great numbers, and attacked the *Romans*; who, being weak, were obliged to yield to them.

Seize the mountains. THEY would have suffered themselves to be quite driven out of the country, if the pensions which they still received had not with-held them. The desire of preserving that little which was left them made them defend the places, and desire the aid of *Roman* troops, when they were hard pressed: but then they never exposed themselves to make sallies, or fight in the open field; and as soon as those salaries were retrenched, some of the soldiers went over to the enemy, and the rest retired whither they thought fit.

THE *Turks*, having thus become masters of those parts, made incursions through the country, plundering it at pleasure; and extremely incommoded the *Roman* forces, who were continually harassed between them in the east, and the *Franks* in the west *.

The country de-peu-pled: As the emperor had not forces enough to divide them, and thought it of most importance to preserve that part of his dominion which lay in *Europe*, he employed them chiefly against the last enemy, who threatened *Constantinople* itself. By this means the east came to be neglected; and, being destitute of troops, as well as garrisons, was exposed to the ravages of the *Turks*: so that about the time that Soltân *Az-zo'ddîn* made his escape from *Ainûm*, the affairs of that country were in dreadful confusion; especially about the river *Meander*, where the *Turks* had seized many towns and monasteries: but *John the Despot*, repairing thither in time, saved the chief of them, and secured *Tralles*, *Karyster*, and other advanced places. He likewise prevented the loss of the *Magedonians*, those expert archers, who were in danger of being subdued, for want of the forces which had been called away to the defence of the west. The *Turks*, intimidated by the vigour with which the *Despot* proceeded, sent to offer him their prisoners, and demand a peace, which was granted.

oppressed by taxes; BUT while the emperor by his arms saved towns on one side, he lost whole nations and provinces on the other, by his exactions: for he laid such heavy taxes on the *Mariandines*, *Bucellarians*, and *Paphlagonians*, either to pay his foreign troops, or keep these people in subjection, causing them, at the same time, to be raised with so much rigour; that he quite ruined the country, and obliged the inhabitants to deliver up the

* PAKH. l. i. c. 5, 6.

fortresses,

fortresses, and put themselves under the dominion of the *Turks*, in hopes of better usage †.

THE affairs of the *Franks* likewise requiring the presence of the *Despot* in *Europe*, the country about the *Meander*, as well as the rest of the east, became exposed afresh to the depredations of the *Turks*. The mountain, defended by the forts of *Abala*, *Kaasta*, and *Mazedon*: the once famous province of *Karia* also lay open to their incursions. *Trakhium*, ~~is over-run~~ *Stadia*, *Strabilon*, and the lands lying opposite to the island of *Rhodes*, which, but a little while before, had been reduced under the power of the *Romans*, were become the retreat of the enemy, from whence they made their inroads. The people inhabiting the northern coasts of *Asia minor* (not to mention those within land), the *Mariandines*, *Molnians*, and the generous *Enetes*, were ruined to a deplorable degree: the fortresses of *Kromitus*, *Amastris*, and *Tios*, which are near the sea, had nothing left of their ancient splendor; and must have been destroyed, but for the advantage of their situation, which made it easy to relieve them. In short, *Anatolia* was so over-run by the enemy, that the *Sangarius* served as the frontier, and there was no possibility of getting to *Heraklea* by land. This bad state of the east was owing to the treachery of the men in command; who, that they might have the better opportunity to enrich themselves, made the emperor believe the losses which happened in those parts were so inconsiderable, that it was not worth his while to cross the sea to repair them: which false report, as *Mikhael* said himself, was what contributed most of all to its ruin *.

A. D.
1267.

by the
Turks

HOWEVER, no steps were taken, for several years after, *Tralles* to put a stop to the progress made by the *Turks*, till *Mikhael*, reflecting on the ruin of *Karia*, *Antioch*, and the neighbouring country; and on the necessity there was of sending succours to *Kaystro*, *Priene*, *Milefus*, and *Magedon*, sent *Andronicus*, his son, and associate in the empire, with a considerable army, accompanied by a great many persons of distinction. In his march along the *Meander*, he beheld the ruins of *Tralles* (X), formerly a famous city; and, being charmed with the beauty of its situation, resolved to rebuild it, and give it the name either of *Andronicopolis* or *Paleologopolis*. As the masons were at work, they found an oracle cut on a piece of marble, declaring; that, in time to come, a

A. D.
1280.

† PAKH. l. iii. c. 21, 22, 28.

* Ibid. l. iv. c. 27.

(X) By this, *Tralles* must have yet the author has not taken notice of so remarkable an event.

prince should raise this city out of its ruins, and build it with greater magnificence than ever.

A false oracle.

ANDRONICUS, applying the oracle to himself, in hopes of the long life which was promised to its restorer, undertook to rebuild it, and set about the business with great earnestness. But this oracle was no other than an illusion, which proved the death of an infinite number of people. When the walls were finished along the *Meander*, no fewer than 35,000 came to inhabit the place. However, they were scarce warm in their houses, when they found themselves of a sudden besieged by an army of *Turks*, commanded by *Mantakhia*, surnamed *Salspace*; which, in their language, says our author, signifies a strong man. As the soil afforded no springs, and there were neither fountains, cisterns, nor wells, in the place, *Libadarius*, the grand Cartulary, who commanded there, knew not what to do. The inhabitants would have been content, though reduced to eat vermin, and even dead bodies, could they have only found drink with such bad food. Many died for thirst (Y); and others, to avoid that death, went to beg relief from the enemy, who drove them back, or killed them.

The city is quickly destroyed.

THOSE within relying on the oracle, and the hopes of succour, the *Turks* resolved to make a last effort; and, approaching the wall, under cover of their bucklers, tapped it. When they had fixed the shorings, they once more summoned the besieged to surrender; and, on their refusal, set fire to the wood: a breach being thus made, they took the city by storm, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Before this, they took *Nissa*; which, in like manner, fell into their hands, for want of forces to relieve it. What is most strange, the young emperor was at *Nymphæum* all the while they were performing those two exploits: after which they ravaged and plundered *Anatolia* without controul.

Bithynia said waste.

A. D.

1281.

THE *Turks*, encouraged by these successes, crossed the river *Sangarius*, and laid waste the country to the west of it. On this news, the emperor *Mikhael*, raising all the forces he could, in haste set forward to stop their inroads. When he beheld the dreadful desolation which they had made; he was struck with the deepest anguish. On this occasion he told the patriarch of *Alexandria*, that the attempts of certain persons to stir up his subjects against him, by condemning his conduct, had obliged him to neglect the care of the provin-

(Y) Could not the *Meander* says ran through the city? vol. ii. part 2. p. 67.
or the stream which Dr. Pocock

ces,

ces, in order to look to his own safety: and that the governors, to whom he had intrusted those distant parts of his dominions, had concealed from him the distress they were in, either because they had been gained over by presents, or thro' fear of being punished for their neglect.

THEY found so great a quantity of fruit under the trees, *The front* that it served to subsist *one* half of the army. The *Turks* retired as fast as the emperor advanced: who wanting the *strength* necessary conveniencies for pursuing them in the hilly country, whither they had retreated; he was content to secure the frontiers, by repairing the old forts, and building new ones in those places where the *Sangarius* was most narrow and fordable. He likewise gave orders to fortify the river, for a certain space, with trees; whose branches were so thick, and well intermixed, that a snake could not make his way thro' them.

MASSUD, surnamed *Gayatho'ddin*, was the son of *Az-Fourteenth* *zidda Kaykaws*, son of *Gayatho'ddin Kay Khosraw*, two of *Soltân*, the preceding Soltâns. This prince had but little authority *Massûd*. left him in the dominions which his predecessors had conquered in *Asia minor*, and the *greater Armenia*: for, in effect, those countries were intirely subject to *Argûn Khân*, from whom he received the investiture of them^b. *D'Herbelot*, who gives this short account of him, at the end of an article relative to a different prince, mentions the time neither when he began nor ended his reign: but in the table or list of the Soltâns of *Rûm*^c, his death is put in 687. It must *Hej.* 687. be observed, that there was an interregnum of one year, at *A. D.* least of some months, from the death of *Kay Khosraw*, to the death of *Ahmed*; and it does not appear when *Argûn Khân* invaded *Massûd*: but supposing it to have been in his first year, or 683, then *Massûd* must have reigned but four or five years at most. 1288.

THIS is all the information which has yet come to our *His story* hands, from the oriental historians, concerning this prince: *imperfect*. as for the *Greek* writers, their memoirs are so confused and imperfect, that we can deliver nothing with certainty from them. We find no more relating to *Rukratin*, or *Rokno'ddin*, than what has been already taken notice of, altho' he must have reigned several years after his brother's expulsion; nor any mention of *Kay Khosraw*, who reigned after him for the space of eighteen years. They tell you, indeed, that the son

^a PAKH. l. vi. c. 20, 21, 29.
soud, fil. de Mohammed, sub fn.

^b D'HERR. p. 562, art. Mas-
^c Ibid. p. 800.

of *Azetines*, or *Azzo'ddîn*, who retired to *Constantinople*, and whom they call *Malek*, did, a long time after his retreat from thence with his father, recover his dominions. We cannot positively say that this *Malek* is the *Massûd* of the oriental authors, although there are circumstances in his story which favour that opinion.

Obtains
the king-
dom.

THE historian who gives the best account of this matter, is *Pakhamfr*. We have already related, from the same author, that *Malek*, whom he likewise calls *Malek Majur* (Z), fled, along with his father *Azatines*, from the castle of *Aine* into the country beyond the *Euxine* sea. There they wandered together, for some years: till after the death of *Azatines* (A), he crossed the sea into *Asia minor*; and, arriving at *Thymenum*, gained the favour of *Argûn*, Khân of the *Tatars*. By this means he became master of the county, as his proper inheritance; and reduced to his obedience the principal *Turkish* commanders. But *Amur* (B), father of *Ali*, having gathered a considerable army of *Tatars*, fell upon *Malek*, and reduced him to such an extremity, that he resolved to go with his wife and children, and submit himself to the emperor. He repaired first to *Heraklea* of *Pontus*, and then to *Constantinople*^d. The story thus far is related somewhat differently by the same author, in another place. He there says, that *Malek*, a long time after his father's death, crossing the *Euxine*, stopped at *Kastamona*; where, having gained the good-will of the *Tatars*, he made an attempt to recover his father's kingdom: but having been defeated by *Amur* (C), he retired to *Heraklea*, and thence to *Constantinople*^e.

Driven
out.

Recovers
it again.

THE emperor *Andronicus*, who succeeded *Mikhael*, being then at *Nymphæum*, *Malek* left his wife at *Constantinople*, and crossed over into *Asia*. But when he was near *Endromit* (D), he began to suspect the emperor's friendship; and observing that his conductor had too watchful an eye over him, complained openly of it, and quitted him; declaring, that if any body offered to stop him, he would repulse him vigorously. He retired to the *Turks*; and having, in a short time, acquired a more illustrious reputation, and more considerable forces than he had before, *Amur* became so much afraid of him, that he came with his seven sons, and humbly submitted to

^d PAKH. l. x. c. 25.

^e Ibid. l. xiii. c. 22.

(Z) A mistake, probably, for *Me'sûd*, or *Massûd*.

(B) Called by others *Homar*, and *Omer*.

(A) Elsewhere it is said, a long time after his father's death; which must have been the case.

(C) Who was settled thereabout.

(D) Or *Adromitium*.

him :

him. But while he lay prostrate at *Malek's* feet, to implore his clemency, that prince reproached him with his former treachery; and having taken a glass of wine, as if to drink, *slays* extended his hands: on which signal those in waiting drew *Omer's* their swords, and slew *Amur*, with his sons.

HOWEVER, one escaped, named *Ali*, who resolved to perish, rather than not revenge the death of his father and brothers. With this view he gathered a considerable number of *Turks*; and ranging the country after the manner of robbers, it was *Malek's* ill fortune at length to fall in his way: for as his horse ran full speed, he fell, and threw his rider, who *is slain by* at the same instant was run through by his enemy. *Ali*.

ALI was so puffed up with this success, that, gathering some troops, he began to ravage the *Roman* territories; into which the river *Sangarius*, by an unforeseen accident (E), gave him admittance. At the head of this account we are told, that *Ali*, and *Nasrati*, his brother, had been a long time with the *Romans* as hostages: and that, having gained the affections of the *Turks*, who dwelt about *Kastamona*, they committed divers acts of hostility against the people who inhabited towards the *Euxine* sea, and the river *Sangarius*, without daring to advance farther; but that his insolence increased, after he had slain *Malek Masur* (F) (rather *Masut*), the son of *Solân Azatines*.

THERE is nothing in this account of the *Greeks* inconsistent with that of the orientals. On the contrary, it seems con-

PAKH. l. x. c. 25.

(E) The accident which gave *Ali* a passage over the *Sangarius*, was this. In the month of *March*, that river, deserting its fortifications, made by the emperor *Mikhael Paleologus*, resumed its ancient bed, where the emperor *Justinian* had built a bridge; and although the river *Melan* took its place, yet it had not water sufficient to fill its channel. Afterwards the *Sangarius*, being greatly swelled with the rains, changed its course a second time, carrying with it such a vast quantity of gravel, mud, and earth, that it might be crossed on foot. Those who garrisoned the said fortifications, see-

ing themselves exposed, by this alteration, to the inroads of the enemy, withdrew. A month after, the river took its usual channel; as if it had left it only to disperse the garrisons, and favour the incursions of the enemy (1).

(F) Some render it, *After Malek Masur had slain the son of Solân Azatines*: but that is to say, after the son of *Azatines* had slain the son of *Azatines*, which is absurd. Besides, *Ali*, in slaying *Malek*, slew the son of *Azatines*; and from thence it was that he grew so elated or insolent, as to ravage the *Roman* territories.

(1) *Pakhamir*, l. xiii. c. 22.

Malek,
Massûd.

firméd by two circumstances: one is the name of *Masur*, which is doubtless a mistake for *Masûs*, as the *Greeks* write *Massûd*; the other, that he was advanced by the favour of *Argûn Khân*, as it appears *Massûd* was.

WE must not forget to mention that *Malck*, a considerable time after his retreat from *Endromis*, sent for his wife, who, by the emperor's consent, went to him: but his daughter remained in hostage (G), as well as *Constantine Malek* (H), another son of *Azatines*, who had been baptized, and lived after the manner of the *Greeks*². It is not mentioned at what time he sent for the Soltân: but it must have been before he obtained the kingdom, in regard the emperor *Mikhael* died the year before that event; namely, in the year 1283.

MASSUD was succeeded by his nephew *Kaykobâd*.

Fifteenth
Soltân,
Kayko-
bâd.

KAYKOBAD, the last Soltân of *Rûm*, was the son of *Faramorz*, son of *Kaykaws*; and succeeded his uncle *Massûd*, under the authority of *Gazân Khân*, who confirmed or invested him in the dominions of his ancestors, in the year 687 (I): but having revolted against that prince some years after, the *Mogols* took from him all his dominions: then seizing his person, put him to death; and, at the same time, an end to this last branch and dynasty of the *Seljûkians*³.

THIS happened, according to the table of the *Seljûkian* princes given by *D'Herbelot*, in the year 700 of the *Hejrah*, or of *Christ* 1300. The *Greek* historians make no mention of this Soltân, with whom they had no affairs: the *Turks*, whom they were at that time engaged in war with, having been the *Seljûk* commanders; who, taking advantage of the distractions caused by the *Mogol* invasion, threw off their dependence on the Soltân, and set up for themselves.

Philantropo-
senus re-
bels:

IN order to repress their progress in the *Roman* territories, the emperor *Andronicus* made *Alexis*, surnamed *Philantropenus* (who was his cup-bearer, and second son of *Tarkoniates*, the protovestiar), governor of *Asia minor* and *Lydia*. *Philantropenus*, having then under his command the troops of *Kandia*, and at length all the armies of the east, displayed so much valour, and gained so many victories, that, during his government, which continued a long time, he restored

² PAKH. I. xiii. c. 22.

³ D'HERB. p. 240, art. Caikobad.

(G) She was given in marriage to *Ishak Malek*, as the reader will find hereafter.

to be this *Constantine* than *Masûd*.

(H) Other authors mention but one son. *Gregoras* calls him *Malek Shâh*; who is more likely

(I) *D'Herbelot*, in another place, p. 363, art. *Gazan Khân*, puts it in 702, which is two years after the end of his reign, and of the *Seljûkian* dynasty.

the

the affairs of the empire in the east; and at the same time, by his great liberality and address, gained the affection both of the *Romans* and their enemies. In all his expeditions he acquired much wealth, yet gave most away in presents and rewards. Of this we shall give an instance. Near *Meladun* there was a fort, called the *Fort of the two little hills* (which our author thinks was the ancient *Didymion* of the *Milesians*), where the principal wife of *Salampaces* before-mentioned, who was lately deceased, had retired with inestimable treasures. As it was not possible to take the place by force, *Philantropenus*, making use of art to gain his ends, thought to deceive that lady by secret promises of marriage. After she had rejected his proposal, perceiving that there were posts driven into a little lake which washed the walls of the fort, he ordered planks to be fastened to them, with ropes, and built towers on them; at the same time covering the rest of the lake with vessels filled with soldiers, and engines proper for taking cities, he quickly became master of the place, and all the riches, which he distributed among his followers. These persuaded him to revolt: but *Libadarius*, defeated by governor of *Neokastrum*, *Lydia*, and *Sardes*, marching against him at *Nymphæum*, he was betrayed by the *Kandiots*: who, seizing him at the head of his army, delivered him into the hands of that commander, who immediately ordered his eyes to be put out. His forces, which were very numerous, consisting of *Turks* as well as *Romans*, fled; while *Libadarius*, with his small forces, made a great slaughter of them.

A. D.
1296.

THE *Turks*, some time after, to revenge the shame of this Greek defeat, assembling in great numbers, laid waste the whole *fairsmead* country, from the *Euxine* sea to that of *Rhodes*. To put a stop to these disorders, the emperor sent over *John Tarkoniates* with money and troops, although he was an obstinate abettor of the schism which then prevailed in the church. This he did, upon a persuasion that a dissenter from the established religion might love his country; and that to defeat the enemies of a state, depended more on the military skill, than orthodoxy of its generals. In effect, *Tarkoniates*, by his conduct, proved the emperor's sentiments to be just. He brought the soldiery to a proper regulation, by preferring poor men of merit to rich cowards; and obliging those to do duty, who, presuming on their wealth, despised the orders of their commanders. By this means, in a short time, he raised a numerous army, and equipped a powerful fleet, with which he had such good success, both by land and sea, that he soon restored the affairs of the east. But they were ruined again, *Relapse*, by the negligence and bad conduct of those who succeeded *anew*

him : for the money, appointed for payment of the soldiers, being misapplied, the troops dwindled away by degrees, and laid the country open anew to the incursions of the enemy ^b.

Rise of Othmân. AMONG the commanders who headed different armies of *Turks*, and invaded the empire in different parts at the same time, *Othmân* was one ; who, from a small beginning, in a few years laid the foundation of a mighty empire, which rose out of the ruins of the *Seljukian*. With regard to this latter it may be observed, that the empire of the *Seljuks* ended properly with *Gayatho'ddin Kay Khosraw*, the eleventh Soltân, who, after his defeat and losses, in *Hejrah* 641, became their tributary. This is noted by *Abû'Isfeda*¹, who marks *Hejrah* 551 (*A. D.* 1156), for the first year of *Kilij Arslân II.*, which gives him a reign of only thirty-seven years, instead of forty, as we have assigned him in our table of Soltâns : that remark not having occurred time enough to correct the mistake (K).

^b PAKH. l. ix. c. 9, 10, 14, 25. ¹ ABU'LF. excerpt. ad fin. vitæ Saladin. edit. Schultens. p. 57.

(K) It may be proper farther to relate from *Abû'Isfeda*, that *Kilij Arslân* had ten sons : that to *Kothbo'ddin Malik Shâb* he gave *Siwâs*; and *Cæsaria*, to *Nur'adin Soltân Shâb* : that this latter, after taking *Koniyab* from *Malek Shâb*, went to *Aksira* : that there he died his father ; and *Malek Shâb* soon after.

B O O K II.

The History of the Moguls and Tartars from the time of Jenghîz Khân.

C H A P. I.

A Description of Western Tartary, as divided at present among the three Branches of Mungls, or Moguls.

Division of Tartary. GREAT Tartary, or Tartary, as has been already observed^a, is divided into east and west. The eastern

Tartary is possessed by several nations ; who, being subject to the *Manchews*, at present masters of *China*, go by that general name. The western Tartary, which is considerably more extensive than the other, is in like manner occupied by a great number of nations or tribes of people, who are called *Mungls*, or *Mungals*, by themselves, and *Moguls* or *Tatars* indifferently by other nations.

^a See before, p. 9.

THESE

THESE *Mungls* or *Moguls*, after various revolutions, the ^{Proper} most remarkable of which will be related in the following ^{Mungls} history, became latterly divided into three great bodies, under ^{country.} different sovereigns. One retained the name of the *Mungls* simply; the second took that of *Kalkas*; and the third assumed the name of *Aluths*, or *Eluths*: and among these three *Mungl* powers is all the western *Tartary* divided. So that, at present, western *Tartary* may be said to fall under a tripartite division: however, it must be observed, that as the country of the two first of these three *Mogul* branches, as well as that part properly called eastern *Tartary*, are subject to *China*; therefore some authors, particularly the jesuits, who have given us of late the history and description of that empire, divide *Great Tartary* in general into nearly two equal parts, by assigning mount *Altay* for the western limit of eastern *Tartary*. Perhaps it would be better to divide western *Tartary* into two parts: that is, to make mount *Altay* the partition between them, and ascribe the eastern part, comprizing the countries of the *Mongols* and *Kalkas*, to the dominion of *China*. But in this case every historian may do as he thinks best.

S E C T. I.

Country of the Mungls properly so called.

THE country of the *Mungls*, or *Mungals*, called by the *Country of* European geographers *Mongalia* (A), is bounded on the *Mungls*, east by eastern *Tartary*; on the south, by the *Chinese* wall; on the west and north-west, by the *Kobi*, or great desert, and country of the *Kalkas*, from which it is divided by the *Karû*, or limits fixed by the late emperor of *China Kang-hi*; and on the north by the *Kalkas*, and part of eastern *Tartary*. This is a very large region, of no less extent than the *Tatary* just mentioned. It is situated between the 124th and 142d degrees of eastern longitude, and between the 38th and 47th degrees of latitude: so that it is in length, from the borders of eastern *Tatary* in the east, to the parts over-against *Ning-hya*, in *China*, to the west, about 300 leagues; and about 200 in breadth from north to south, although not every-where so broad, as may appear by the maps^a.

^a DU HALDE descript. *China & Tartary*, vol. ii. p. 249, 261. Engl. fol. edit.

(A) It should rather be called *guls*, or *Mungls*; and so we find *Mogulistan*, or *Munglistan*; that part of *Tatary* named by the is, in the *Mungl*, or *Turkish* language, the country of the *Moguls*. oriental historians.

Proper
Mungls
country.

famous for
actions.

THE part of *Tatary* within this division, has been the scene of the greatest actions performed both by the eastern and western *Tatars*. Here the great empire of *Jenghiz Khán*, and his successors, had its rise and feat: here the empires of *Kitay* and *Karakitay* were founded; and here the present empire of the eastern *Tatars*, or *Manchews* (now in possession of *China*) had its beginning. Here, for several ages, bloody wars subsisted, and many battles were fought, which decided the fate of these monarchies. Here all the riches of the southern *Asia*, at several times, were carried and dissipated. Lastly, in these deserts, for a time, arts and sciences were cultivated, and many populous cities flourished: but, at present, they are all destroyed^b; nor do any signs of wealth remain, which may serve to witness the once opulent condition of the country.

Mountains
and rivers.

THESE territories of the *Mungls* are full of mountains, especially in the south parts adjoining to *China*; and are interspersed with rivers. Among these may be reckoned the *Whang-ho*; which, passing out of *China*, surrounds the country of *Ortús*, and then enters the empire again in the province of *Shen-si*: the *Shantú*, which enters *Pe-che-li* towards the sea; and the *Sira Muran*, which, rising to the north of the *Shantú*, runs east, and then, turning south, passes through *Lyau-tong* by the name of *Lyau*. There are several lakes in this country, but none remarkable for their magnitude,

Division
into stand-
ards.

THE countries of the *Mungls* are divided into several territories, or districts, according to the tribes which possess them. But since they have put themselves under the protection of the emperor of *China*, they have been divided into forty-nine districts called *Shassaks*, that is banners, or standards, under so many princes or chiefs. The situation of these territories may be considered as they respect the four gates in the great wall of *China*; viz. *Hi-fong-kew*, *Kú-pe-kew*, *Ghang-kyakew* (these three in the province of *Pe-che-li*), and *Sba-hew-kew*, in *Shan-si*.

First
course.

PASSING north from the gate *Hi-fong-kew* (B) you soon arrive in the countries of *Karchin*, *Tumet*, *Ghan*, *Nayman*, and *Korchin*.

Karchin.

KARCHIN, which begins at the said gate (C), is divided into two districts, called standards; the most remarkable place

▷ Collect. Trav. 4to. vol. iv. p. 367.

(B) Latitude 40 deg. 19 min. of *London*, and 114° east of
30 seconds; longitude 1° 28' *Paris*.
30' west of *Pe-king*, which is (C) *Karchin* signifies the black
134 east of *Ferró*, 111° 35' east *tribe*.

here

here is *Chahan-Suberhan-Hotun* (D). It is by far the best *Proper* belonging to the *Mungls*; for, as the present princes of it are *Mungls* originally *Chinese*, they have drawn thither several of their countrymen, who have built towns, and improved the lands. Here are likewise mines, some of excellent tin; with large forests of fine timber: by which the great ancestor of the present family got immense riches. *Karchin* is 42 great *French* leagues from north to south, but much larger from east to west: and here are the emperor of *China*'s fine houses of pleasure, near which the late *Kang-hi* frequently hunted, and usually spent his summer; especially at *Ze-bâ*, about forty leagues from *Pe-king*.

KORCHIN (E) is divided into ten standards, including *Korchin*: the countries of *Turbeda* and *Chaley*, or *Chalayr* (F): The principal residence of the *Karchin* *Tatars* is along the river *Queyler* (G), and their possessions extend to the *Sira Muren* (H); but they have neither springs for drink, nor wood for fuel, which they supply by wells, and dung of cattle. The principal point of *Turbeda* is *Haytahan Pira* (I): the *Chaley* *Tatars* dwell by the *Nonni Ula* (K). So that *Karchin*, from north to south, contains almost four degrees, extending six leagues to the north of *Haytahan*; but it does not exceed three degrees four minutes from east to west.

THE country of *Nayman* (L) contains but one banner, or *Nayman* standard, and begins from the south side of *Sira Muren*; its principal north point being *Tophin-tala* (M).

° Du HALDE, *ibid.* p. 249, & seq.

° *Ibid.* 249, 264

(D) *Hotun*, in the *Manchew* language, signifies *city*; and *Suberhan*, a pyramid of several stories. Lat. $41^{\circ} 33'$ long. $2^{\circ} 45' 20''$ east of *Pe-king*.

(E) That is the red tribe.

(F) It is written also *Jalayr*, and *Jelayr*.

(G) Lat. $46^{\circ} 17'$ long. $4^{\circ} 22'$ east of *Pe-king*. Note that the latitudes were observed by the jesuit missionaries, who, in 1709, 10, and 11, by the emperor of *China*'s command, surveyed and made a map of *Chinese* *Tatary*: the longitudes are the result of their geometrical operations.

(H) Lat. $43^{\circ} 37'$ long. $6^{\circ} 30'$ east.

(I) Lat. $47^{\circ} 15'$ long. $6^{\circ} 30'$ east. *Pira* signifies a small river, as *Muren*, or *Muran*, a great one.

(K) *Ula* is the *Manchew* word for great rivers. Lat. $46^{\circ} 30'$ long. $7^{\circ} 45'$ east.

(L) This country begins on the *Sira Muren*, in lat. $43^{\circ} 37'$ by-observation, long. 5° east of *Pe-king*. The ancient country of the *Naymans* was from the river *Selंगा* to the *Jenisa*, *Oby*, and *Irtish*.

(M) Lat. $43^{\circ} 15'$ long. $4^{\circ} 45'$ east of *Pe-king*.

Proper
Mung's
country.

Ohan.

OHAN is chiefly inhabited along the river *Narkoni Pira*, where some rivulets, as the *Shaka* (N) *kol* fall into it. On this side the latitude of 41 degrees 15 minutes, are seen the ruins of a city called *Orpan*, or *Kurban-Suberhan-Hotun* (O), on the little river *Nachuka*, or *Nuchaka*, which falls into the *Talin Ho*. *Nayman* and *Ohan*, though far less, are yet much better than *Korchin*, being interspersed with shrubby hills, which furnish wood for fuel, and abound with game, especially quails. These three countries, with *Turboda*, are sandy, and extremely cold.

Tumet.

TUMET is divided between two banneret princes, and inhabited chiefly beyond the river *Subarhan*, where occur the ruins of *Modun Hotun* (P). This country extends southward to the great wall of *China*; eastward to the palisade inclosing *Lyau-tong* (Q); and northward to *Halha*, or *Hara Paychang*.

Second
course.

2. If you go from the gate *Ku-pe-kew* (R), you enter upon the territories formerly part of *Korchin* and *Onhiot*, but now converted to a forest, where the emperor hunts, and has several fine summer-houses. Farther north are the countries of *Onhiot*, *Kechikten*, *Parin*, *Sharot*, *Uchuk Muchin*, *Arukorchin*, and *Abuhanar*.

Onhiot.

ONHIOT is divided into two standards of two princes, on the river *Inkin* (S).

Parin.

PARIN, divided also into two standards, has its principal habitation (T) on the *Hara Muren*, which falls into the *Sira Muren*. This territory is larger than *Onhiot*, but in other respects like it, the soil being but indifferent. The princes of these countries are allied to the imperial family of *China*, and are regulos of the first and second order^c.

Kechik-
ten.

KECHIKTEN, or *Kesikten*, is divided into two standards, and has its principal habitation (U) on a small river, which runs north-east into the *Sira Muren*.

Uchu

Muchin.

UCHU Muchin, or *Utsi Musin* (X), has two standards along the *Hulakar*, or *Hulgar Pira*; its prince is a prime regulo.

^c DU HALDE, p. 249, & seq.

(N) Lat. 42° 15' long. 4° east.

(O) Lat. 41° 20' long. 3° 30' east.

(P) Lat. 41° 28' long. 3° 40' east.

(Q) *Tumet*, *Ohan*, *Nayman*, and *Turboda*, or *Turmeda*, follow each other from west to east,

with a sweep northwards, and lie to the north of *Lyau-tong*.

(R) Called by the *Russians* *Kapki*, lat. 40° 42' 15" long.

west of *Pe-king*, 0° 39' 4".

(S) Lat. 42° 30' long. 2° east.

(T) Lat. 43° 36' long. 2° 14' east.

(U) Lat. 43° long. 1° 10' east.

(X) Lat. 44° 45' long. 1° 10' east.

SHAROT,

SHAROT, divided into two standards likewise, is inhabited chiefly towards the confluence of the *Laban Pira* (Y) Mungls and *Sira Muren*. Proper country.

ARUKORCHIN has but one banner, which resides on the river *Arukondulen* (Z).

ABUHANAR has two standards, and is best inhabited about the *Taal Nor* (A), or lake of *Taal*. nar.

WITHIN this second division, going almost due north from *Ku-pe-kew*, one meets with some towns, and the ruins of several considerable cities, as *Ilan Hotun*, *Poru Hotun*, *Kurtu Palhaffun*, and *Chau Nayman Sume Hotun* (B), all upon the river *Shangtu*, or *Shantu*. The last of these places seems to have been the city of *Shantu*, called by the Chinese *Kay-ping-fu*, whose ruins *Gerbillon* saw in 1691[†]. It was built by *Koblay Khân*, the fifth *Mungl* emperor (and grandson of *Jenghiz Khân*), who removed the imperial seat thither, in order to be nearer his new conquests; and served as the summer seat of his successors in *China*, who in winter resided at *Khân-balik*, or *Pe-king*. It belongs to the country of *Karchin*; but the other missionaries, who surveyed and made the map of *Tatary*, take no notice of it, any more than the rest of the ancient cities mentioned by *Marco Polo*, and other early travellers, excepting *Kerakoram*; which yet they were intirely at a loss about, as will be seen presently. Ruins of cities. Shang-tu.

3. WHEN you pass out of the gate *Chang-hya-kew* (C), you enter on a country which was conquered by the emperor *Kang-hi*, and is his property. These lands, and all the rest along the Chinese wall as far as *Hi-fong-kew*, are occupied by farmers belonging to his majesty, the princes, and several *Tatar* lords. Here are *Mungl* *Tatars* also of different countries, ranged under three standards, and commanded by officers appointed by the emperor, therefore not reckoned among the forty-nine *Mungl* banners.

FARTHER to the north of *Chang-hya-kew* are the countries of the *Mungl* princes of *Whachit*, *Sonhiot*, *Sabahay*, and *Twincház*.

[†] DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 335.

(Y) Lat. 43° 30' long. 4° 20' east.	(B) Lat. 42° 25' by observation, long. 0° 11' west of <i>Pe-king</i> .
(Z) Lat. 45° 30' long. 0° 28' east.	(C) Lat. 40° 51' 35" long. 1° 32' 48" west of <i>Pe-king</i> .
(A) Lat. 43° 30' long. 0° 28'.	

WHACHIT

Proper Mungl country. *WHACHIT* is divided into two standards near the river *Chitr* (D), or *Chirin Pira*.
SONHIOT has two standards, and the principal habitation is near a lake (E).

Abahay. *ABAHAY* is divided into two standards, which encamp about some lakes or meers, the southermost whereof is called *Siretu-huchin* (F).

Twin-chitz. *TWINCHUZ* contains but one banner or standard near the *Orgun Alin* (G), or mountain *Orgun*.

Fourth course. 4. FROM the gate of *Sha-hü-kew* (H) you enter on the emperor's lands. In this country *Hühü Hotun*, or *Khühü Hotun* (I), is most remarkable. Here inhabit the chiefs of two *Tatar* banners, called also *Tumet*, who are appointed by the emperor. *Hühü Hotun* is the capital of all the country of the proper *Mungls*, where the emperor's governor, and the *kütükü*, or high-priest of those people, reside.

BEYOND the territory of *Hätü Hotun* lie the countries of the *Mungl* princes of *Kalka-Targar*, *Maumingan*, *Urat*, and *Ortos*.

Kalka-Targar. *KALKA-TARGAR* (K) is watered by the little river *Aypaba Müren*, and contains but one banner.

MAUMINGAN (L) has but one banner.

Urat. *URAT* (or *Virat*) is divided into three standards, and is mostly inhabited along the river (M) *Kondolen*, or *Quendolen*.

Ortos. THE *Mungls* called *Ortos*, or *Ortús* (N), are bounded on the south by the great wall; which, in that part; and indeed throughout *Shen-fi*, is only of earth, and fifteen foot high. On the three other sides they are hemmed in by the *Whang-ho*, or yellow river: which passing out of *China*, near the fine city of *Ninghya*, makes a great sweep, and enters the empire again near *Pau-te-chew*. These *Mungls* are governed by several petty princes under six standards, and pride themselves in the number and largeness of their tents, as well as multi-

• DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 264.

(D) Lat. $44^{\circ} 6'$ long. $0^{\circ} 45'$ east.

(E) Lat. $42^{\circ} 29' 7''$ by observation, long. $1^{\circ} 28'$ west of *Pe-king*.

(F) Lat. 44° long. $1^{\circ} 31'$ west.

(G) Lat. $41^{\circ} 41'$ long. $4^{\circ} 20'$ west.

(H) In *Shan-fi*, lat. $40^{\circ} 27'$ long. west of *Pe-king* $4^{\circ} 12'$.

(I) Lat. $40^{\circ} 49'$ long. $4^{\circ} 48'$.

(K) Lat. $41^{\circ} 44'$ long. $5^{\circ} 55'$.

(L) Lat. $41^{\circ} 15'$ long. $6^{\circ} 4'$.

(M) Lat. $49^{\circ} 55'$ by observation, long. $6^{\circ} 30'$.

(N) The chief point of this country is in lat. $39^{\circ} 30'$ long. $7^{\circ} 30'$.

made

tude of their flocks. They had beyond the great wall, on Kalka the *Whang-ho*, a city called *Toto*, which seems by the ruins to Mungls have been pretty large; though at present they have no skill in building, nor take any delight that way^b.

ALTHOUGH the several tribes or branches of the *Mungls* Limits lead a roving life, yet they have their respective limits fixed by custom, beyond which they must not pass to settle; for this is reckoned an act of hostility among them.

CHAP. II.

The country of the Kalka Mungls.

OF all the *Mungl* nations depending on *China*, the most numerous and famous are the *Kalkas*, who take their name from the river *Kalka*, written also *Khalkha*, and *Halha*. They possess above 200 leagues of the country from east to west, and the banks of the finest rivers in this part of *Tatary*. They dwell beyond the *Mungls* northward, and have the *Aluths*, or *Ekuths*, on the west. Their country, according to *Gerbillion* the Jesuit, extends from mount *Altay* in the west, to the province of *Solen* in the east; and from the 51st degree of latitude (A) to the southern extremity of the great *Kobi*, or desert, which is reckoned to belong them: for they encamp there during the winter, when they stand less in need of water; which is rarely to be met with in their territories, and generally bad.

THE desert above-mentioned, called *Kobi*, or *Gobi*, by the *Mungls*, and *Sha-mo*, by the *Chinese*, bends about *China*; and *Kobi*, is larger and more frightful towards the west (B). *Gerbillion* passed it in four different parts. From its eastern extremity to the mountains north of the great wall, it is about one hundred leagues, not including the country beyond the *Kerlon*; which, though thinly inhabited, especially the western part, abounds with water and pasturage. The *Kobi* is much larger from north to south, and above 100 leagues over. In some parts it is quite bare, without trees, grass, or water, excepting certain ponds and marshes made by the rains, with here and there a well of water, far from being good.

* DU HALDE, p. 253, 265. for *Altay*.

* See before, p. 10, & seq.

(A) It is said, p. 265 of *Du Halde's History of China*, vol. 2. that they extend from east to west 22 degrees, and but 5 deg. and half from north to south.

(B) This is the great desert of which *Marco Polo* has given us such frightful ideas; and of which, till lately, our geographers had but very imperfect notions.

THE

Kalka Mungls country. THE *Kalkas* are the descendants of the *Mungls*; who, about the year 1368, were expelled *China* by *Hong-wû*, founder of the *Ming* family (which the *Manchews* succeeded); and, retreating northward beyond the great desert, settled chiefly along the rivers *Selinga*, *Orkhon*, *Tula*, and *Kerlon*: where, after being long accustomed to the delicacies of *China*, they returned to the roving and sordid life of their ancestors^b.

The Kalka Pira. THE *Kalka Pira* is not much frequented by the *Kalkas*, although they take their name from thence. It flows (C) from a famous mountain called *Suelki*, or *Siulki*, 84 leagues from *Parin* to the north-north-east, and 64 from *Tsitfikar*, the capital of eastern *Tatary*, to the west. After passing through a lake called *Puir*, it changes its name to *Urson*, and runs due north into a larger called *Kulon Nor*.

The Kerlon. THE *Kerlon*, *Tula*, *Twi*, and *Selinga*, though less famous for their origin among these people, are yet of more account for their clear and wholesome waters, abounding with trout, and other good fish; as well as for the fruitful, large, and populous plains they glide through. The *Kerlon*, or *Kerulôn*, running from west to east, falls also into the (D) lake *Kulon Nor*; which discharges itself into the *Saghalian Ula* by the river *Ergona*, or *Argun*, the boundary of the *Manchew* empire on that side. The *Kerlon*, which is about sixty feet broad, and not deep, washes the richest pastures in all *Tatary*.

The Tula. THE river *Tula*, or *Tola* (E), runs from east to west, and in most places is larger, deeper, and more rapid, than the *Kerlon*; has finer meadows, and more woods: the mountains also on the north side are covered with large fir. This river, having joined itself to the *Organ*, *Orkhon*, or *Urkon*, which comes from the south-west, runs towards the north; and, after being increased with several others, as the *Selingha Pira*, at length falls into the greatest lake in all *Tatary*, called *Baykal*, or *Paykal*, in that part of *Siberia* belonging to the *Russians*.

^b DU HALDE *China*, vol. ii. p. 259.

(C) The most south part is in lat. 47° 28' 48" observed, long. 3°; the most north part in lat. 48° 5' long. 1° 48' east of *Pe-king*.

(D) Mouth of the *Kerlon*, lat. observed 48° 50' 24" long. 0° 45' east of *Pe-king*. Head of it in about lat. 48° long. 7° 30' west.

(E) The *Tola*, or *Tula*, called formerly *Koll-an-naer*. As soon as the karawâns from *Siberia* pass this river, they enter the territories depending on *China*. *Bentink*, apud *Abû'lghaxi Khân bîsh. Turks*, &c. p. 515, & seq. The source of this river is about lat. 48° 10' long. 8° 30' west.

THE

THE *Twi Pira*, whose waters resemble those of the *Kerlon*, *Kalka* makes its way through fertile plains, and, after a pretty long course, loses itself in the ground near a little lake, without appearing any more.

THE river *Selingha* has several sources; the chief of which, called *Werjb Selingha*, issues from a lake, named by the *Mungls* *Kosogol* (F). Its course is nearly in a line from south to north through very fertile plains; and, after receiving many other rivers, falls into the lake *Baykal*. Its waters are good, but do not afford plenty of fish: both its banks, from its springs till within one day of *Selinghinskoy* (a city of the *Russians* built on its south side), are in the hands of the *Mungls*; but the neighbouring country, from that city to the lake, belongs to the *Russians*.

THE *Orkhon* above-mentioned, formerly called *Kalassui*, runs (G) north-north-west into the *Selingha*; and on its banks the Khân of the *Kalka Mungls*, and their khutûktû, (or high-priest) usually make their abode.

THE river *Altay*, at present called *Siba*, has its spring towards the frontiers of the *Kalmûks*, or *Eluths*, in the mountains called *Ufshun-lug-tugra*, to the south of the springs of the river *Jenisea*; and, running from thence east-north-east, loses itself to the north of the *Kobi*, or desert, and south-south-east of the springs of the *Orkhon*. A petty Khân of the *Mungls* usually resides about the *Siba*.

THE *Tjan*, or *Jan Mâren*, has its source in the mountains which cross the *Kobi*; and, running south-south-east, falls into the *Whang-bo*, on the frontiers of *Tibet*. Two petty Khâns dwell on its banks.

THE river *Argun* (or *Ergona*) rises in the country of the *Mungls* (H), from a lake called *Argun Dalay*, or *Kulon Nor*. Its course is nearly east-north-east; and, having run about 100 leagues, falls into the great river *Amur*, as the *Russians* call the *Saghalian Ula*.

THE princes of the *Kalka Mungls* usually inhabit the banks of the rivers already described, with those of *Hara*,

* DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 250, & seq.

Abulghazi Khan. hist. Turk. &c. p. 515, & seq.

^d BENTINK ap.

(F) Or *Kosogol*, called also *Kutuktû-nor*. *Kol*, or *Gol*, and *Nor*, signify a lake, in the *Mungl* or *Turkish* languages, which are in effect the same. Its source is in lat. about 49° 40' long. 15° 20'.

(G) Source about lat. 47° long. 15° west.

(H) About lat. 49° long. 1° 30' east.

Kalka or *Kara Pira*, *Iben Pira* (I), which falls into the *Orkhon*,
Mungls *Karaujir*, *Ira Pira*, *Patarik Pira*, and the *Teguñik Pira* (K),
country. towards the source of the *Irtiſh*, and city of *Hami*; or *Khamil*, in *Little Bukharia*.

Ruins of THERE were formerly several cities in this part of *Tatary*
cities. possessed by the *Kalkas*. The missionaries who surveyed *Chinese*
Tatary, by order of the emperor *Kang-hi*, met with the
 ruins of a large square city, two leagues in circuit, named
Para Ho- *Para Hotun* (L), that is the *Tiger's City*, from the cry of
sun. that animal, which was thought a good omen. Not far from
 thence is a place called *Kara Uſſon*, with a small lake and fine
 spring, in a fertile plain abounding with deer, mules, &c. all
 wild. There may be other monuments in these quarters of
 the early times of the *Mungls* under *Jenghiz Khân*, and his
 four immediate successors: but there do not appear to be any
 footsteps of *Karakoram*, the capital of the whole empire
 during that time; at least those missionaries were wholly at a
 loss about it, supposing it to be *Kara Uſſon* above-mentioned,
 although the situation no ways agrees with that which authors
 have given of *Karakoram*.

Karako- HOWEVER, *Gaubil*, a jesuit who settled at *Pe-king* some-
ram city, time after his brethren return from *Tatary*, by consulting the
Chinese historians and astronomers, found out the situation of
 that city, which they call *Ho-lin* (M). It was in being before
 the time of *Jenghiz Khân*, having been the residence of the
 Khân of the *Kara-its*, the famous *Van Khân*, or *Ung Khân*:
 but when *Jenghiz Khân* took it from that prince it was a
 very inconsiderable place. The conqueror much improved it,
 and his son *Oktay Khân* rebuilt and made it a famous city^f:
 with this account the *Chinese* history agrees^g. So that when
Abû'lfaraj, who says it is same with *Ordubâlik*, affirms that
 it was built by *Oktay*^h, it is to be understood of the improve-
 ments of that prince, who made of it a new city, and built a
 magnificent palace there, in the year 1225ⁱ. Yet *Rubruquis*,

* DU HALDE ubi supr. vol. ii. p. 265.

† DE LA CROIX

hiſt. Gengh. Can. p. 27, 362.

‡ Ap. SOUCIET observ.

mathemat. &c. p. 186.

§ Hiſt. dynaſt. p. 310, 320.

¶ Hiſt. dynaſt. p. 310, 320.

‡ SOUCIET ibid. p. 192. Abû'lghazi Khân hiſt. Turk. &c.

p. 354, 513.

(I) Residence of the khâ-

tûktû of the *Kalkas* on this

river; lat. observed 49° 26' 47''

long. 10° 59'.

(K) Lat. observed 42° 53'

long. 22° 23' 20''.

(L) Lat. 48° 4' 48'' long. 2° 49' 30''.

(M) Latitude observed by the
Tatars 44° 11' long. 10° 11' by
 computation. Souciét. observ.
 mathem. &c. p. 185.

the minorite friar, who was at *Karakoram* in 1253, says it Kalka had then only a mud wall; and that the place itself, and the Mungls Khân's palace, compared with the *European*, were but poor ^{country} buildings; however, he allows it to have been very populous, and to contain a great many palaces, temples, &c.^k

KARAKORAM stood to the north of the great *Kobi*, now or sandy desert, and near the lake *Kuraban Ulen* (N), marked ^{ruined} by the jesuits in their map of *Tatary*, although they looked for it at *Para Hotun*, 420 miles distant to the north-east. It was the imperial seat of the Khâns, till *Kublay* removed it to *Shang-tu* already mentioned; which continued to be the place of their summer residence as long as the *Mungls* were in possession of *China*: but after their expulsion, about the year 1368, it is probable *Karakoram* became again the seat of the Khâns; although, according to *De la Croix*, they resided ever since the time of *Oktay* (*Jenghiz Khân's* immediate successor) at *Ulug Yurt* (O), a city not far distant^l, if it be not the same place. Here *Alchi Timâr*, the thirteenth from *Kublay*, ascended the throne in 1405; and we find it subsisting in the time of *Aday*, the fifteenth successor: but after that we are told no more is heard of *Ulug Yurt* in the oriental authors^m. Yet neither the time nor occasion of the destruction of that city, or of *Karakoram*, is mentioned by any historian yet known to us.

TATARY, according to *Regis* the jesuit, abounds with *Store* of all sorts of game, even of the kinds common in *Europe*; as game. hares, pheasants, deer, and the like: the yellow goats are seldom seen in the plains, except in large herds. They are of the shape and size of common goats, only their hair is yellow, and not so smooth: they are likewise extremely fleet, which makes it difficult to catch them. The wild mules go in small ^{Wild} herds, but are not like the tame ones, nor can be brought to ^{mules} carry burthens. Their flesh is of an agreeable taste; and, in the opinion of the *Tatars*, as nourishing and wholesome as the wild boar's (P). This last animal frequents the woods and ^{Wild boar:} plains

^k PUCH. pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 39.
p. 386.

^m Ibid. p. 401.

^l Hist. Genghis Can,

(N) That city, by the latitude, as well as this lake, stood rather in the midst of the *Kobi*, on the river *Ongbin* (which runs south-east into the said lake), and about 50 miles north-east of a chain of mountains which cross

the *Kobi* from north-west to south-east.

(O) *Ulug Yurt* signifies the great city.

(P) *Gerbillon*, in his second journey into *Tatary*, saw a young wild mule, of a kind which propagates.

Kalka plains beyond the river *Tula*, and is traced by the earth it turns up to come at the roots on which it feeds.

Mung's country. THE wild horse, and dromedary, which is a native of this region, are like the tame. These are found chiefly in the western parts of great *Tatary*, although sometimes they are met with in the territories of the *Kalkas*, bordering on *Khamil* in *Little Bukharia*. The wild horses go in large droves; and when they meet with tame ones, surround and force them away: they are so very fleet, that the swiftest hunters can seldom reach them with their arrows.

The Haute-ban. THE Hauteban is an animal which resembles an elk: the missionaries saw some, which, when killed, were bigger than the largest ox. They are found only in particular districts about mount *Suelki*, in boggy grounds, where they delight to resort; and are very easily killed, their great weight preventing their flight.

The chelison. THE chulon, or chelison, is about the size of a wolf, and seemed to *Regis* a sort of lynx. It has long, soft, and thick hair, of a greyish colour; and their furs are valued at the courts both of *China* and *Russia*, which last abounds with them.

TATARY is infested with tigers and leopards. The tigers found eastwards are surprizingly large and nimble. Their skins are commonly of a fallow red, striped with black lists; some are white, with black and grey lists. The skins of the leopards are whitish, spotted with red and black. Although they have the head and eyes of tigers, they are not so large, and have a different cry.

Deer hunting. THE deer, which multiply exceedingly in the deserts and forests, differ in colour, bigness, and shape of their horns, according to the different quarters of this vast region; and some are like the deer of *Europe*. One way of hunting them, termed the stag-call, is thus: the huntsmen, carrying some stags-heads, counterfeit the cry of the hind, which brings the largest stags towards the place from whence they hear the cry: they then stop, and look about; till, perceiving the stags heads, they tear up the ground with their horns, and immediately run forward, but are shot by some who lie in ambush. The emperor *Kang-hi* took great delight in this diversion. The intrepidity of *Tatarian* horses in encountering tigers is surprizing; and yet it is owing wholly to use: for

Horses. pagates. This was a female, hoofs and feet uncloven, like those of other mules. Collect. slender body, and long legs; voyag. & trav. quart. vol. iv. its hair was ash-colour, and its p. 686.

they

they are as fearful of them at first as other horses. The *Mungls* are very expert in taming and breaking, as well as catching them running, with the slip-knot of a cord. They understand their distempers, but use such remedies as would no more agree with the horses of *Europe*, than their foods. They are of a middle size, yet some are large as well as small; but the *Tatars* wisely prefer strength and hardiness to either largeness or beauty.

THE *Kalkas* are not rich in fable skins, but have plenty of *The tael-pe*, squirrels, foxes, and a creature as small as an ermine, called *pe*. *tael-pe*; of whose skins at *Pe-king* they make mantles to keep out cold. These animals are a kind of land rats, and dig in the earth a range of as many little holes as there are males in the company; one of whom always keeps watch above, but lies underground at any body's approach. When the hunters discover their nest, they surround it; and, opening the earth in two or three places, throw in flaming straw to frighten them out: thus they take great numbers, which makes their skin cheap.

THE rivers in the country of the *Mungls* do not afford *The fish*: any great variety or plenty of fish, like those of eastern *Tatary*. The sturgeon, which they sometimes find in the *Tula*, comes from the lake *Baykal*; and the *Urson*, falling into the *Saghalian Ula*, or *Amur*, receives from thence the fish which is found in the eastern rivers. In the same river you meet with an amphibious animal called *Turbegha*, resembling an otter; but the flesh is tender, and almost as delicious as that of the roe-buckⁿ.

As to uncommon birds, there are bred vast quantities of *Sbonkar*, an extraordinary beauty in the plains of grand *Tatary*. That bird, mentioned by *Abû'lghazi Khân*^o seems to be a kind of heron, which is found in the country of the *Mungls* towards the frontiers of *China*. It is all over white, except the beak, wings, and tail (Q); which are of a very fine red. The flesh is very delicious, and tastes somewhat like that of the wood-hen. However, as the bird which that author speaks of is very rare, *Bentink* thinks it may be the stork, which is very scarce all over *Russia*, *Siberia*, and great *Tatary*: yet some are found in the *Mungls* country near *China*, which are for the

ⁿ DU HALDE's *China*, &c. vol. ii. p. 255.
Turks, &c. p. 37, & 86.

^o Hist.

^p Ibid. p. 500, & seq.

(Q) *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, and p. 86, that the head, feet, in his history, p. 37, that the bill, and eyes are red. feet, eyes, and bill are red;

Eluth
Mungls
country.

general all over white^r. As *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, this bird is called *shungar* in the *Turkish* language (and *kratzhet* by the *Russians*), it is doubtless the same with the *shonkar*, which was presented to *Jenghiz Khân* by the ambassadors of *Kipchâk*. On this occasion we are told, that the *shonkar* is a bird of prey, presented to kings, adorned with precious stones, as a mark of homage; and that the *Russians*, as well as *Krim Tartars*, are obliged, by their last treaties with the *Othmân Turks*, to send one every year to *Constantinople*, adorned with a certain number of diamonds^r.

C H A P. III.

The Countries belonging to the Eluths, or Eluth Mungls.

THE countries belonging to the *Aluths*, or *Eluths*, nicknamed *Kalmûks*, are to be considered, as that nation is at present divided into three branches, viz. the *Dsongari* or *Jangari*, the *Kosboti*, and the *Torguûti*.

Eluth Jon-
gary's
country.

1. THE *Eluths Jongari*, who are the most considerable branch of the three, possess the larger half of what *Europeans* call the western *Tatary*: extending from the *Caspian* sea and river *Jaik*, in 72 degrees of longitude, from *Ferro*, to mount *Altay*, in 110 degrees; and from the 40th to the 52d degree of latitude. Whence it may be computed about 1930 miles in length, from west to east; and in length, at most, from south to north, 650 miles. It is bounded on the north by *Russia* and *Siberia*, from which it is separated by a chain of mountains; on the east by mount *Altay*; on the south by the countries of *Karazm* and the two *Bukhârias* (A); from which also it is separated partly by another chain of mountains, and some rivers, particularly the *Sir*; and on the west by the river *Jaik* and the *Caspian* sea: or rather by *Turkestan*, which lies between.

Mount-
ains.
Tubra-
tubusluk.

THERE are, in the country of the *Eluths* or *Kalmûks*, three considerable chains of mountains, viz. the *Tubra Tubusluk*, the *Uskunluk Tugra*, and the *Altay*. The first, which makes its northern frontier, and is called also *Ulugtâg*, or the great mountain, begins at the eastern bank of the *Irtish*, to

^r Hist. Turks, p. 500, & seq.
Bec, vol. i. p. 350.

^r DE LA CROIX hist. Timur

(A) Little *Bukhâria*, though yet under the dominion of the
out of the bounds of *Tatary*, is Khân of the *Eluths*.

the north of the lake *Saysan*, through which that river passes, and runs due east, as far as the *Selinga*, which it coasts northward, to the lake *Baykal*: then turning east, it proceeds to the *Amur*, or *Saghalian Ula*, about *Nerchinskoy*; and follows the course of that river, on the north side, to the eastern ocean.

Eluth
Mungls
country.

THE second branch, called *Ufkunluk Tugra*, bears also the *Ufkunluk* name of *Kichik-tág*, or *the little mountain*: it commences in *Tugra*, the confines of *Turkestan* and *Great Bukhâria*, to the south of the river *Str*; and running nearly east, makes the bounds between *Great Bukhâria* and the country of the *Eluths*. It continues its course on the same line, till, arriving to the south of the springs of the *Jenisea*, it strikes off to the south-east; and falls in with the frontiers of *China*, as far as the province of *Lyau-tong*. There making an elbow to the north-east, it separates that province, and *Korea*, from the country of the *Mungls*; and ends at last on the shore of the sea of *Japan*, about the 42d degree of latitude.

THE mountain *Altay* (by some called *Kaltay*, and in *Abû'l-Monaz ghazi Khân's* history *Kut*) is a branch of the *Ufkunluk Tugra*, *Altay*: taking its rise to the west of the spring of the *Jenisea*. It runs almost in a strait line from south to north; constantly marching along the western bank of that great river, at a distance of one or two days journey, till it joins the *Tugra Tubusluk*, in about 50 degrees of latitude.

FOR all this region of the *Eluths* is bounded by mountains, *Rivers*. yet it is watered by very few rivers which descend from them. The most considerable known to us are the *Tekls*, and *Ili* (B), *The Tokia* the *Chui*, and *Talas*. According to the Jesuits map, the *Te-* and *Ili*. *kis* rises in the mountain bounding *Little Bukhâria* on the north (C); and having run about 70 miles north-east, falls, by several mouths, into the *Ili*, which has its source in the same hills, and runs north-west about 150 miles: then, shaping its course north 150 miles farther, falls into the lake *Palkati* (D), in about 48 degrees of latitude. On this river the Khân of the *Eluths* has his chief residence or camp, which is called *Harkas*, or, as others spell it, *Urga*.

THE *Chui* and *Talas*, according to the same map, descend *Chui and* from the above-mentioned mountain; and running north-west *Talas*.

(B) *Bentink* makes them the *Issikul* and *Tallass*, mentioned in *Abû'lghazi Khân's* hist. of the *Turks*, &c. p. 33. But the misfioners map makes the *Tallass* descend from the other two.

(C) Which seems to be the *Ufkunluk Tugra*.

(D) In *Strahlenberg's* map named *Chui*.

Eluth about 180 leagues each, fall into different lakes; the *Chui* into *Mungls* to *Kalkol*, and the *Talas* into *Sikirlik Nor*^a.
country.

BESIDES the rivers already described, we meet with none of any great note, except the *Irtish*; nor does more than a part of it run through this country.

The Irtish. THIS river, which is the most considerable in the north of *Asia*, hath its rise (E) from two lakes, thirty miles asunder; in about 45 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, and 113 of longitude, on the west side of mount *Altay*, and to the north of the province of *Khamil*, or *Hami*, in *Little Bukharia*, inclining to the east. The rivers formed by them run westward. The northern stream is called *Khar Irtish*; the southern *Khor Irtish*: and, about 30 miles distance from their sources uniting, form the river called *Irtish*, *Irtis*, or *Erchis*, as the *Eluths* pronounce it. This river, having run west about 50 leagues, makes the lake *Saysan* (+), that is, of the nobility, 40 miles long, and 20 broad. Passing out of the lake it turns northward, as far as *Ushamen*, the first *Russian* fort and settlement on this river, in the borders of the *Eluths* country on that side. The rest of the *Irtish* belongs to *Siberia*; where, after passing by the capital *Tobolskey*, it joins the *Obi*, a little above *Samara*.

The Obi. STRAHLENBERG places the sources of the *Obi*, or *Übi* (F), also in the country of the *Eluths*. It is formed like the *Irtish*, by the confluence of two rivers, the *Khatun* and *Ba*, from which last it derives its name. The *Ba*, or *Bi*, takes its beginning in a lake, to which that author gives the names *Altun Nor*, *Altun Kurke*, *Altin*, and *Telekoy*; perhaps the same called in the *Jesuits* map *Kirkir*. But both maps seem to have been made, in this part, from very uncertain reports.

Soil and produce. THE vast region of *Tatary*, being situated under the finest climate in the world, is every-where of an extraordinary goodness and fertility. But though almost all the great rivers of *Asia* have their springs in the mountains of this country, yet the land being perhaps the highest any-where on earth, it is, in several parts, destitute of water; so that it is inhabitable only near the rivers and lakes. *Verbieft*, the *Jesuit*, in the country of the *Mungls*, about 80 leagues to the north of the great wall, towards the spring of the river *Karga*, found the ground to be 3000 geometrical paces, or three miles, higher, than the sea-coast nearest *Peking*. Hence it is

^a Hist. Turks, &c. p. 522, 524, 526.

(E) In about lat. 46° 4' long.
21° 30' west of *Pe-king*.

(F) Source in about lat. 49°
30' long. 18° 30' west.

(+) Also *Korxana*, by the *Russians*.

that

that *Great Tatory* appears so much colder than other countries in the same latitude. Our author was even assured, by persons of credit, who had travelled there, that in *Midsummer* the north-east wind is so piercing, that one must cover himself well in the night; and often in *August* one night produces ice the thickness of a crown-piece, and sometimes of two. Nay, dig where you will, in summer, in the country of the *Mungls*, four or five feet deep, and you find clods of earth quite congealed, and even intire heaps of ice; which *Verbieft* ascribes to the salt-petre with which the soil is impregnated.

Elúth
Mungls
country.

THE same extraordinary elevation of the earth is also the *Great* reason why there are so many desarts in *Grand Tatory*: but these desarts are not altogether so frightful as *Europeans* fancy them. For setting aside the vast *Kobi*, or *Gobi*, before-mentioned, and a few other small sandy desarts, all the rest afford excellent pasture; producing grafs in abundance, as high as one's middle, which would grow to the height of a man, if it was not for want of water: but, through that defect, most of it decays presently at the root; and as withered grafs quite choaks up the young, the inhabitants, in spring, set fire to the old herbage, which sometimes spreads above 100 leagues round. In less than fifteen days after, the new grafs shoots up every-where to the height of a span; which proves the great fertility of the soil: and so much of this vast country, as is supplied with water, is sufficient for the support of four times the number of its present inhabitants, if it was but well cultivated. But then none, besides the *Mohammedan Tatars*, till their lands (G); while the *Eluths*, and most part of the *Mungls*, have not the use of agriculture, subsisting intirely upon their cattle (H): this is the reason why they can have no fixed habitations, being obliged to change their quarters, according as the seasons change. Yet, for all the soil is so luxuriant, *Great Tatory* does not produce a single wood of tall trees, of any kind whatever, excepting in some few places towards the frontiers: all the

(G) The missioners say, that the lands of *Tatory*, from the country of the *Manchews*, or eastern *Tatory*, westward, as far as the *Caspian* sea, are, for the generality, unfit for tillage; and those of *Kerchin*, *Oban*, and *Nayman*, in the country of the *Mungls*, worst of all. *Du Halde China*, vol. ii. p. 249.

(H) There are no plants to be found in their country. When the missioners asked them why they would not at least cultivate some little herb-garden; they replied, *herbs are for the beasts of the field, and the beasts for men*. *Du Halde China*, &c. vol. ii. p. 254.

Elûth wood, that is found in the heart of the country, consists in Mungls shrubs, which never exceed the height of a pike; and these country. are very rare ^b.

The Khân's residence.

THE Khân of the *Eluths* dwells continually under tents, although he possesses *Little Bukharia*, with its dependencies, wherein there are a good many towns; only when his affairs call him thither, he resides at *Yarkien*, or *Tarkân*, the capital of that country. He has continued about the river *Ila* and *Tekis* for some years past; that he might be near at hand to watch the motions of his cousin *Ayuki Khân*, as well as the *Mahammedan Tatars* and *Mungls*, between whom the *Eluths* are situated. His camp is a great curiosity: it is distributed into several quarters, squares, and streets, just like a town; is a good league in compass; and able, at a minute's warning, to send into the field 15,000 horse. The quarter where the Khân resides, is in the middle of the camp. His tent is made of *Kitayka*, a strong sort of callico; which, being raised very high, and of all sorts of lively colours, exceedingly delights the eye at a distance. In winter the tent is covered with felt, which makes it impenetrable by the weather. His wives are lodged in little wooden houses, which may be taken down in an instant, and set on waggons, when they are going to decamp ^c.

Plenty of rhubarb.

ALTHOUGH, according to the account of the missionaries who surveyed *Chinese Tatory*, there are no plants to be met with in that region; yet we are assured, by a certain curious author, that, in the parts about the rivers *Orkhon* and *Selingha*, towards *Selinghinskoy*, rhubarb grows in great abundance; and that all which *Russia* furnishes foreign countries with, comes from about this city; the district of which yields such plenty, that the treasury of *Siberia* sells 25,000 lb. weight of it at a time ^d.

The glut-ton animal.

THE animals in this division of western *Tatory* are much the same with those to be found in the two former parts; unless we may except one, called, by *Bentink*, the *glutton*, which abounds in the country of the *Eluths*. It is a carnivorous beast, not quite so tall as a wolf, and peculiar to the mountains of northern *Asia*: the hair, which is strong and long, is of a very fine dark brown all over its back. This beast is exceedingly mischievous: for it climbs the trees, and watching the game, which passes underneath, leaps down on its back, where it fastens with its paws, and makes a great

^b Hist. Turks, p. 381, & seq. also collect. trav. 4to. vol. iv. p. 393.

^c ABULG. hist. Turks, &c. p. 543, & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 501.

hole : while the poor creature, quite spent with anguish and struggling to get rid of its enemy, at length falls on the ground, and becomes his prey. It requires three stout dogs to attack this beast, small as it is ; and very often they come off strangely mauled. The *Russians* make great account of its skin, which they use for mens muffs, and borders of bonnets^c. We leave our readers to judge whether this be the *chulon*, found in the country of the *Mungls* ; as well as the same with the *arkhora*, mentioned by *Abû'ghazi Khân* ; since the *glutton* leaves such narrow paths in the hills and forests as are made by that animal^f.

Eluth
Mungls
country.

2. THE *Eluths Kofboti* possess all the kingdom of *Tangut*, *Eluths* and are subject to the *Dalay Lama*, or great pontiff of *Tibet*, *Koshot*, who governs them by two *Khâns* ; of whom one has the government of *Tibet*, the other of *Koko Nôr*^e. These latter are called, by the *Manchews* and *Chinese*, *Tatars of Koko Nôr*.

THE country of *Koko Nôr*, or *Kokonol*, is so called by these *Koko Nôr Eluths* from a lake of the same name, termed by the *Chinese* *country. Si-bay*, that is, *the western sea*. It is one of the largest in all *Tatary*, being above twenty great *French* leagues in length, and more than ten in breadth ; situated between the 36th and 37th degrees of latitude, and between the 16th and 17th of longitude, west of *Peking*^g.

THIS country lies between *Tibet* on the west, and *China* *Extent and* on the east, bordering on the provinces of *Shen-si* and *Se-site. chwen*. It is pretty large, extending from north to south above seven degrees. It is separated from *China* by mountains, so high and steep, that they serve almost every-where instead of the great wall. Those to the south, which separate it from the kingdoms of *Pegu* and *Ava*, are frightful and inaccessible, inhabited by a savage people. They also make so strong a barrier to *China*, by their great length and breadth, that the entrances on that side are left unfortified^h.

3. THE *Eluths Torgaüti* are the least considerable of the *Eluths* three branches. They dwelt heretofore towards *Turkestan*, *Torga*, and were subject to *Kontaisb* : but about the beginning of üti. the present century, *Ayûka*, or *Ayûki*, one of his cousins, flying from his court, under pretence that he was in fear of his life, passed the river *Jaik*, with the tribe of the *Torga-üti*, and put himself under the protection of *Russia*. In winter *Ayûka Khân* usually encamped with his *Ordas* in the sandy ground about *Afrakhân*, to the east of the river *Volga*, be-

^c BENT. ap. Abu'lg. hist. Turks, p. 528.

^f Ibid. p. 26.

^e Ibid. p. 538.

^g DU HALDE's China, vol. ii. p. 265.

^h Ibid. vol. i. p. 29, & vol. ii. p. 258.

Mungls, tween it and the *Jaik*; and in summer he often went to reside on the banks of this river, about *Sarátov* and *Zaritzá* *stoms*. (I). Although the *Kosbóti* and *Torgaúti Eluths* have their own Khâns, yet *Kontaisb* preserves a kind of sovereignty over, and draws considerable aid from them, when he is at war with his neighbours: the *Mungls*, *Chinese*, or *Mohammedan Tatars*.*

C H A P. IV.

Of the Mungls, or Moguls, and their several branches.

S E C T. I.

Their Name, Persons, Manners, Customs, Way of living, Habitations, Language.

Name
Mungls,

and Ta-
tars,
whence:

THE *Moguls*, or rather *Mungls*, derive their name from *Mungl Khân*, one of their ancient emperors; and one branch of them still retain it, called, by our authors, *Mungals* or *Mongals*, of which the word *Moguls*, commonly used by the *Asiatics*, as well as *Europeans*, is a corruption. These people are frequently confounded with the *Tatars*, which may be owing to the following causes: First, The people of the north of *Asia* having been known, for many ages, by the name of *Tatars*, to the inhabitants of the southern countries, particularly the *Chinese* and *Persians*; these latter, seeing the *Mungls* come from the same quarters, and no way different as to features, language, and manners, from the *Tatars*, considered both as the same people, under different names (A). Secondly, there were, in the army of *Jenghiz Khân*, when he invaded those countries, tribes of *Tatars* as well as *Mungls*; which made those nations, who were acquainted with the *Tatars* before, give both names, indifferently, to the followers of that conqueror. Lastly, the *Tatars* having been very serviceable to *Jenghiz Khân* in the battle against *Vang Khân*, or *Ung Khân*, which put him in possession of the sovereignty, to reward them,

* BENTINK ap. Abu'lghazi's hist. Turks, &c. p. 538, & seq.

(I) These *Eluths* still have, or had, considerable territories to the east of *Jaik*, and bordering westward on the *Jongari Eluths*.

(A) The *Chinese* say *Kalka Tatars* and *Eluth Tatars*, as well as *Kalka Mungls* and *Eluth Mungls*.

joined their name^a with that of the *Mungls*, in the title *Mungls*, which he thereupon assumed, stiling himself *grand Khân of their customs, the Mungls and Tatars*.

WHATEVER was the cause of introducing this custom, it is certain that it obtained, and still continues in force. This is what gives a sanction to the liberty taken by most authors, who, by *Mungls* and *Tatars*, mean the same people (†). This we mention, to prevent our readers from falling into any mistake on this head, in the course of their history. It must be confessed, it would be much better to lay aside a practice which tends to breed great confusion, and at least to confine the name of *Tatars* to those commonly called *Mohammedan Tatars*, to whom another custom has in effect appropriated it. After all, those names should be applied only for distinction sake, neither of them being strictly due to the people who enjoy it. For as the name of *Tatars* is given to many tribes who are not *Tatars*; so that of *Moguls* extends to many who are not *Moguls*: the name of the conquering, or most powerful tribes, having passed to the conquered, or less powerful tribes.

THE *Moguls* or *Mungls* are, at present, divided into three *Three* great branches; the *Mungls*, properly so called, the *Khálkas*, *Mogul* and the *Aluths*, or *Eluths*. The first branch retains the an-*branches*cient name of the nation, which has been already accounted for. The *Kalkas*, which may also be written *Khálkha*, and *Hálha*, as the first letter is a deep guttural, derive their name from the river *Kalka*, already described, which runs in their country. Whence the *Eluths* (B), *Aluths*, or *Aluts*, derive their name, it is not so easy to determine. These are the people commonly known by the name of *Kalmák*, or *Kalmúk*, whose etymology is also unknown to us. All which we are certain of is, that it is a nick-name given to them by the *Mohammedan Tatars*, in hatred of their idolatrous religion (C);

^a DE LA CROIX, hist. Gengh. p. 63.

(†) And, after all, they are, in effect, the same people: as being the descendants of the *Huns*, or *Turks*. See before, p. 43.

(B) We are told by *Strahlenberg*, that they call themselves *Derbon Oiret*, or *Oirethb*, that is, the four *Oiration* tribes: and, by the *English* translator of him, that they are called *Elotb*, and corruptly *Lutb*. See *Strabl. desc. of Tartary*, introd. p. 83 & 89.

The *Oirets* seem to be the *Virats* of *Abu'lghazi Khân*.

(C) *Matb. a Micow de Sarmatia Asiana*, cap. 3. and *Herbstein in rerum Muscov. comment.* in the article *de Tartaris*, towards the end, say, that they are called *Kalmuks*, because they are the only Tartar nations who let their hair grow. But this seems very trifling; since the hair they wear is no more than a lock on the crown of their heads.

or

Mungls, or for some other cause. The *Russians* took it from those *Tatars*, and from the *Russians* it came in use among *Europeans*; while the name of *Eluth* was unknown to them. They take it as an affront to be called *Kalmaks*, and say, they have a better title to the name of *Mungls*, than their neighbours, who at present enjoy it; as these latter are sprung from that part of the *Mungls* and *Tatars* who were expelled *China*, by *Hong-wu*, the founder of the *Ming* family, in 1368^b.

Mungls in general. THIS shews, that although the two last branches have, for distinction sake, or some other reason, assumed different names from the first, yet they still retain the name of *Mungls*, which they highly honour; as the *Jews* did that of *Israelites*, to denote their origin and descent. Whether the numerous tribes, into which each of the three branches is divided, be derived from the same stock, is a question which we have discussed elsewhere^c. But let that be as it may; as they have all the same customs, language, religion, and form of government, with little or no variation, what may be said of one branch, will serve for the other two. For this reason we shall connect together, under the general name of *Mungls*, what materials the best travellers, and other authors, afford us, concerning the aforesaid three branches; only distinguishing such things as may be peculiar to each of them.

Their shape: THE *Mungls*, in general, are of a middle size, but exceeding robust, and well-set: they have big and broad heads, flat faces, and complexions of a dark olive colour, pretty near that of *American* copper; very black and sparkling eyes, but too far asunder, and opening but a little, altho' they are very long: the bridge of their nose is quite flat, and almost level with the face, so that there is nothing of a nose to be seen but the end, which is very flat also, with two great holes, which form the nostrils (D): their ears are very large, though without the rims: their beards very thin: hair black, and strong, like horse-hair; but they shave all off, excepting a lock on the crown of their heads, which falls down their backs, and is let grow to its natural length. To make amends for all this homeliness, they have very pretty mouths, with small teeth, as white as ivory, and are perfectly well limbed. Their women have

^b ABU'LG. hist. Turks, &c. p. 259, & seq. p. 61.

^c See before,

(D) Although this description doubtless belongs equally to the proper *Mungls* and *Kalkas*, as well as the *Eluths*, yet our author, speaking of the *Moguls*,

with regard to their eyes and noses, says only, that their noses are flat, but their eyes black and full. *Bentink ap. Abu'lg. hist. Turks, &c. p. 502.*

much

much the same features, only not so large : but then they are commonly of a very clever size, and well-shaped ⁴.

GERBILLON, the Jesuit, says they are quite rude and unpolished in their manners ; yet honest and good-natured : the *Eluths*, in particular, do ill to nobody, if not first provoked : and although extremely brave, yet they do not live by robbery, like their neighbours the *Mohammedan Tatars*, with whom they are continually at war. The proper *Mungls* and *Kalkas* are nasty and slovenly in their tents and clothes, living amidst the dung of their beasts ; which serves them for fuel, for they have no wood (E). They excel in horsemanship and hunting ; and are dextrous archers, either on foot or on horseback. In general they lead a wretched life : and, being averse to labour, they prefer grazing to architecture ⁵.

REGIS, another of the missionaries, observes, that the utmost ambition of the *Mungls* is to preserve the rank of their families. They value things only for their use ; having no regard to their rarity or beauty : are naturally of an easy cheerful temper, always disposed to laugh, and never disturbed with melancholy. Indeed, they find little occasion for care : having generally neither neighbours to manage, enemies to fear, nor lords to please. Perplexed with no difficult affairs, nor business of constraint, they divert themselves wholly with hunting, fishing, and other bodily exercises. However, these people are capable not only of the sciences, but the greatest undertakings : witness their subduing *China*, in 1264 ; which they governed, even in the opinion of the *Chinese*, with great judgment and address ⁶.

As to their dress, according to *Bentink*, they wear very large shirts, and callico drawers : their habits are commonly made of callico, called *Kitayka*, or some other slight stuff, which they line with sheep-skin : and sometimes they wear entire garments of sheep-skin (F). They fasten their garments, which reach to the ancles, with leather straps about the waist. Their boots are exceeding large, and usually made of *Russia* leather : their bonnets small and round, with a fur of four fingers breadth. The women's dress is nearly the same, excepting that their garments are longer, their

⁴ BENT. ap. Abu'lg. hist. Turks, &c. p. 533, & seq. ⁵ Du Halde ibid. p. 256. ⁶ Ibid. p. 253.

(E) Hence their tents have a rankish smell, hardly tolerable, says *Regis du Halde*, ubi *supr.* p. 254.

(F) According to *Regis*, the usual clothing of the *Mungls* and *Kalkas* is sheep and lamb-skins, the wool next the body.

Mungls, boots generally red, and their bonnets flat, with some little ornaments ^g. *Regis* says, they know how to dress and whiten these skins, as well as the skins of stags, deer, wild-goats, &c. which serve the rich for under-garments in the spring: yet, for all their care, you smell them as soon as they come near you; whence the *Chinese* have given them the name of *Tsau-ta-tse* (G), that is, *stinking Tartars* ^h.

winter and summer. THE *Eluths* wear much the same kind of clothes with the proper *Mungls* and *Kalkas*. In the southern provinces they use no shirts in summer, contenting themselves with a kind of sheep-skin doublet, without sleeves; which they put on next their skin, with the woolly side out, tucking their shirt within their breeches; so that all the arm is left bare up to the shoulder. In winter they wear a sheep-skin over their doublet, which reaches to the calf of the leg, and turn the woollen side inward. These upper skins have sleeves so long, that they are obliged to turn them up, when going about any work. Their bonnet is red, and commonly set off with a tuft of silk or hair, of a bright red. Their women go habited much after the same manner; their callico shift making all their clothing in summer, and a long sheep-skin gown, with a bonnet, the same with their husbands, sufficing them in winter ⁱ.

Colour red esteemed. RED is the colour in greatest esteem with the *Tatars*; and how ill clothed soever their princes may be, in other respects, they never fail to have a scarlet robe for state occasions. Their chiefs would rather be without a shirt, than a scarlet coat; and the women of quality do not think themselves well dressed, if the scarlet gown be wanting. The very meanest people affect to wear red cloaths, although the cloth be ever so ordinary. This humour has spread even among the inhabitants of *Siberia*. In short, all over the north of *Asia*, a man may do more with a piece of red cloth, than four times its value in silver ^k.

Mungl arms. THE arms of the *Mungls* consist in the bow and arrows, the pike and sabre, which they wear after the *Chinese* manner. And they always go to war on horseback.

Their cattle. THESE people live intirely on their cattle; which consist of horses, dromedaries, oxen, cows, and sheep. Their horses are very good and mettlesome: their oxen larger than those

^g BENT. ap. Abu'lg. hist. Turke, &c. p. 505. ^h DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 254. ⁱ ABU'LG. hist. ubi sup. p. 533, & seq.

^k Ibid. p. 409.

(G) The *Tsudatfes* of Nieu- of *Tsau-ta-tse*. See *Ogilb. China* *less* are doubtless a corruption *na*, p. 114.

of the *Ukrain*, and the tallest in the world. Their dromedaries are large and strong. Their sheep are very large also, but have very short tails; which are buried in a case of fat, weighing several pounds, and hanging perpendicularly: the wool of them is very long and coarse; they have a bunch or rising on the nose, like the camels, and hanging ears, like hounds¹. This is to be understood properly of the *Eluths*; for although the *Mungls* and *Kalkas* have the same sort of cattle with them, yet they are far inferior, both for goodness and appearance, except the sheep; whose tails are about two spans long, and near as much in compass, weighing commonly between ten and eleven pounds: it is almost one entire piece of very rank fat. They, above all things, abhor swine^m; and the *Eluths* never eat either them or poultry. They, in general, eat nothing but horse-flesh and mutton; not esteeming that of bullocks or cows so good. They are also fonder of mare's than cow's milk, being much better and richer. Indeed, the cows, after their calves are taken from them, will suffer none to draw their teats: they likewise quickly lose their milk; so that necessity has introduced the use of mare's milkⁿ.

GERBILLON says, that, in summer, the *Mungls* feed on milk meats; using indifferently that of cows, mares, ewes, goats, and camels. Their drink is water, boiled with the worst sort of *Chinese* tea, in which they put cream, butter, or milk. They make a spirituous liquor from sour milk, which is distilled after fermentation. The rich lay mutton to ferment with their sour milk. This liquor is strong and nourishing, and they delight to get drunk with it. They also smoke a great deal of tobacco^o. *Bentink* informs us, that the *Kalmuks* have a way of making the milk sour in two nights time; after which, pouring it into an earthen pot, they stop it very close, and putting a funnel to it, set it on the fire. This spirit is as clear and good as that which in *Europe* is distilled from grain: but to make it so, it must be set twice over the fire. They call it *arak*, in imitation of the *Indians* their neighbours, who give all their strong liquors that name^p.

RUBRUQUIS tells us, that, in the time of *Mangu Kosmos*, or *Khan*, the *Mungls*, besides wines which came from foreign countries, made excellent drink of rice, millet, and honey; being well-flavoured, and high-coloured, like wine: but that

¹ *ABU'LGH.* ubi supr. p. 536. ^m *Ibid.* p. 525. ⁿ *Ibid.* p. 403, 536. ^o *Du HALDE*, ubi supr. p. 256. ^p *ABU'LO.* ubi supr. p. 403, 536.

Mungls, their chief liquors were the kosmos (H) and karakosmos; which, according to that author, are made in the following manners. For the kosmos, they fill a great skin-bag with mare's-milk, and beat upon it with a club, which has a knob at the end, as big as a man's head, but hollow. As soon as they beat, the milk begins to boil (or ferment) like new wine, and turn sour: they continue this labour till the butter comes: then tasting the whey, if it be pretty sharp, it is fit to drink; for it pricks the tongue like rape-wine, and leaves a flavour like that of almond-milk. It intoxicates weak heads; is very pleasant, and diuretic.

KARAKOSMOS, or black kosmos, is the drink of great lords, and made thus: they beat the milk, till the grosser part subsiding, like white-wine lees, the purer remains at top, like new whey. The settlings are given to servants, who sleep very sound after it. This, says our author, is a very pleasant and wholesome liquor ⁹.

Great drinkers. THE inhabitants of *Great Tatar*y, in general, are fond of strong liquors; for when they can get any, they never let it rest, while they are able to stand. When they have a mind to make merry, each brings what liquor he can procure; and then they set themselves to drink night and day, never stirring till every drop is out. They are no less fond of smoking; which customs prevail most, in proportion as they live more northerly ^r.

Their traffic. THESE people, having no manufactures, exchange their cattle with the *Russians*, *Bukhârs*, and other neighbours, for what they want: nor is it possible commerce could flourish there as it did in the time of *Jenghîz Khân*, so long as the vast regions they inhabit remain divided among several princes; some of whom will always oppose the designs of others. Besides, the rapines of the *Mohan:medan Tatars*, who rob the karawâns, keep off the merchants of the west. However, on the side of *Siberia*, *China*, and the *Indies*, they may arrive in full safety. Those from *China* resort in great numbers to the *Mungls*, bringing them rice, bohea-tea, which they call *kara-chay*, tobacco, cotton, cloth, and other ordinary stuffs; besides several sorts of household utensils, and other necessities ^s.

No slave trade. As the heathen *Tatars* lead a very harmless life, they are not so earnest to procure slaves for their service as the *Mo-*

⁹ See PURCH. pilgr. vol. iii. p. 5, & seq. ^r ABU'LG. ubi supr. p. 403, 536. ^s Ibid. p. 412, 505, & 536.

(H) By other authors called *Kumis*, or *Kimis*.

Mohammedan Tatars. Besides, having no need of more than their own families to guard their cattle, which are all their riches, they do not care to burthen themselves with useless mouths. Hence it is, that none, except the Khâns and the Tayk, is to have slaves. When they take any from their enemies, all, except those whom they keep, are distributed among their subjects, in order to augment their number; which, at the same time, increases their revenue. On the contrary, the *Mohammedan Tatars* often make war with their neighbours, on no other score but to get slaves; selling those they do not keep. Which humour prevails so much with the *Chircassian*, *Daghestân*, and *Nogay Tatars*, that, when they can't meet with grown up people, they steal children to sell; and, if they cannot get other people's, do not scruple to sell their own: especially their daughters, if beautiful; as they do their wives, on the slightest disgust. In short, the trade of slaves being all their wealth, they spare neither friends nor foes, when they meet with a fair opportunity of carrying them off.

Mungls,
their cus-
toms.

THE *Eluths* take as many wives as they will (I), besides *Polygamy*. concubines, whom they chuse out of their slaves: and whereas the *Mohammedan Tatars* must not contract within certain degrees, the *Pagan* may marry any of their kindred, except their natural mothers. In this our author supposes they are restrained, rather by the age of their female parents, than by any law; because it is not unusual, among the *Eluths* and *Mungls*, for the father to take his daughter to wife: and they give over lying with their wives when they draw near forty; considering them thenceforth as no other than servants, to whom they give victuals, for taking care of the house, and tending the young wives who succeed in their places.

THE children born of concubines are equally legitimate, *Inherit-* and capable of inheriting: only if the father has been Khân, *ance.* or chief of some tribe, the issue of the wives succeed before those born of concubines. The offspring of common prostitutes are looked on with a sort of contempt by every-body; and very rarely succeed their fathers, especially if people of distinction: because there is no knowing if the person, such a creature lays the child to, be the real father. Polygamy is not so inconvenient to the inhabitants of *Tatary*, as it is to the

* ABU'LG. ubi sup. p. 412, 505, & 536.

(I) *Gerbillon* says, that altho' generally but one wife. *Du* polygamy is not forbidden a- *Halde's Chira*, &c. vol ii. p. among the *Mungls*, yet they have 256.

Mungls, rest of the *Asiatics*; their wives being of great use, and little expence, to them. For the old ones manage the housewifery, take care of the cattle, and, in short, provide intirely for the subsistence of the family; so that the husband has nothing to do but sleep, and follow his diversions.

Great filial respect. NOTHING equals the respect paid by children, of all ages and conditions, to their fathers, who are considered as kings of their families: but they make little account of their mothers, unless under some particular obligations to them. They must lament a father for many days, and deny themselves of all sorts of pleasure during the whole time. The sons must even abstain from the company of their wives for several months. Nothing must be spared to render his funeral honourable; and at least once a year they must pay their devotions at his tomb, calling to mind the infinite obligations which they owe to him: but the *Mohammedan Tartars* are not so exact as to their duties paid the dead.

Burials and graves. THE *Mungls* burn their dead, and interr their ashes on some eminence; where, raising a heap of stones, they place thereon little banners *. The greater part of the *Pagan Tartars* bury along with the deceased his best horse and moveables, such as wooden porringers, for his use in the other world. In many parts, towards the borders of *Siberia*, there are to be seen little hills, under which are found skeletons of men, accompanied with horse-bones, and many sorts of small vessels, besides jewels of gold and silver. Likewise the skeletons of women, with gold-rings on their fingers. As this does not agree with the condition of the present inhabitants, they are doubtless the graves of the old *Mungls*, who died after their return with the plunder of the southern countries of *Asia*, into these desarts, where they buried vessels of gold and silver, with other riches, so long as they had any left. The *Swedish* prisoners in *Siberia*, as well as the *Russians*, used to go in great troops to search those tombs, which lie far within the lands of the *Eluths*: but a good number of them having been slain by those people, all farther expeditions were forbidden, under severe penalties. This behaviour of the *Eluths*, otherwise so very peaceable, shews, that they considered them as the tombs of their ancestors; for which all the *Pagan Tartars* have an extraordinary veneration †.

Antient sepulchres. ON this occasion it may be proper to mention what frier *Rubruquis*, who, in 1255; was at the court of *Mangu Khan*,

* *ABU'LG.* ubi sup. p. 406, & seq.
na, &c. p. 256.

† *DU HALDE's* *China*,
‡ *ABU'LG.* ubi sup. p. 556, & seq.

writes,

writes, concerning the sepulchres of the *Komanians*, or people of *Kipchak*. They build a large tomb over their dead, and set his image upon it, with its face towards the east, and holding a drinking-cup before his belly. On the monument of rich men they erect pyramids, or little conic houses. In some places the author met with vast brick towers : in others, stone pyramids ; although there are no stones found in the neighbourhood. Near the grave they generally leave one of the defunct's horses. At one he saw sixteen horse-hides hung up on high posts, four towards each cardinal point ; with *kofmos* (or *kimis*), set for the deceased to drink, and flesh to eat : but could never learn, that they buried treasures with the corps. He observed other kinds of sepulchres towards the east : namely, large stone floors, or pavements, some round, others square ; with four tall stones erected at the sides, facing the cardinal points*.

THE *Mungls* dwell either in tents, or little moveable huts. *their* *Regis*, speaking of the *Mungl* tents, says, that they are tents ; round, and covered with a thick grey or white felt, upheld within by poles, with one end tied round a hoop. They thus form the superficies of a broken cone ; with a round hole at top, to let out the smoke, which ascends from the hearth, placed in the middle underneath. While the fire lasts they are warm enough, and then grow cold again ; and, in winter, would, without care, freeze in their beds. To avoid this, as well as other inconveniencies, they have their tent door very narrow, and so low that they cannot enter without stooping. They have also the art to join these loose pieces so nicely, as to keep out the piercing blasts of the north wind*.

THE *Eluths*, according to *Bentink*, have, in summer, great moveable tents of *ketayka*, a sort of callico ; and, in winter, sheds *houses* ; made of boards, and covered with felt ; which they can set up and take down in less than an hour's time. The huts, or houses, used both by them and the *Mungls*, are made round, with great poles of light wood, joined together with leather thongs (K), for the more easily sitting up and removing them. They cover them on the outside with a thick felt, for defence against the cold and bad weather. In

* PURCH. pilg. vol. iii. p. 6, 7, 8.

* DU HALDE ubi

supra, p. 254.

(K) In the time of *Rubruquis*, they were interwoven with wickers ; and the foundation

(or floor) of the same materials.

Mungls, the middle of the roof, which is conical, they leave an opening, which serves both for a window and chimney: the fire-place being directly underneath, and the sleeping places round the hut against the wall. The chiefs, and persons of distinction, have huts larger and more convenient^b.

carried on waggon. THESE moveable habitations (in their removals) are carried on waggons, with four wheels. These carriages have two shafts, made of a very pliable light wood, and fastened to the axle-tree of the fore-wheels, by means of one of their ends, which is turned back. They put them between the body of the waggon and the wheels, tying a cord a span distance from the foremost end of the shafts. This cord goes into the end of the axle-tree, which passes through the nave of the wheel: so that the wheels, which are pretty small, play on both sides of the waggon, between the shafts and the cord. The horse marches between the shafts; and over his back there goes an exceeding pliable piece of wood, in form of a semicircle, which is fastened on both sides to the harness, and the shafts to its two ends. They pretend, that in this manner the beast is much eased; and indeed one horse will draw a waggon, well loaded, above a hundred leagues: but it must be observed, that these machines are not very large. When they put more horses, they either place them before the first, or fasten them to the hindmost axle-tree. The *Russians* and *Kossaks* make use of much the same sort of carriages^c.

Antient houses THE houses, in the time of *Rubruquis*, were thirty feet in diameter, stretching on each side five feet beyond the wheels. Over the felt they laid mortar, marle, or bone-ashes, to make it shine white; adorning the roof with beautiful pictures, and hanging before the door a felt painted with birds, trees, and beasts. That traveller counted twenty-two oxen drawing one cart, eleven on a side. The axle-tree was as big as the mast of a ship, and the driver stood at the door of the house. Their household stuff and treasure were kept in square wicker chests, rounded at top, and covered with felt, greased over, to keep out rain. They were adorned with paintings, or feathers, and fixed on carts, carried by camels, for crossing rivers; but never taken down like the houses.

how placed. THESE houses, when set on the ground, are placed, as all their habitations are, with the door facing the south, to avoid the north winds, which are very piercing all over great *Tartary*. Then they range the chest-carts at a little distance, on each side, as it were two walls. One rich *Mungl* had one

^b ABULGH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 409.

^c Ibid.

or two hundred such carts with chests; so that such a great Mungls, man's court looked like a great village^d. *their customs, &c.*

THE fixed habitations of the *Eluths*, which are but few, *Fixed habitations.* excepting the roof, which is in the form of a dome, are built in all respects like the moveable huts; without either chambers, windows, or garrets: the whole consisting of one single room, about twelve feet high. But these houses are not near so large and convenient as those of the *Manchews*, who build them square^e.

IN the year 1721, some persons, sent by the emperor of *Needles, or Russia*, Peter I. to discover plants, near the river *Tzulim* (or *spires. Ghulim*), to the west of the town of *Krasnoyar*; found erected, about the middle of the great step or desert, a kind of needle, or spire, cut out of one white stone, about sixteen feet high; surrounded by some hundred small ones, four or five feet high. There is an inscription on one side of the great needle, and several characters on the lesser ones; which time has already defaced in many places, and seem to have no resemblance of any used in the north parts of *Asia*. As there are no stones within an hundred leagues of these monuments, and such works do not agree with the genius of the present inhabitants of *Tatary*, *Bentink* seems to think, that they could not have been executed either by them or their ancestors. But this conclusion will not hold good, if we consider what has been already quoted from *Rubruquis*, who found tombs in that form (L) in his journey through the same parts of *Tatary*.

IN that part of the country between the *Jaik* and *Str*, *A deserted* which is inhabited by the *Eluths*, towards the borders of the town. *Kassatcha Orda*, who possess the other part, the *Russians*, about 1714, discovered a town, quite deserted; in the midst of vast sandy grounds, eleven days journey to the south-west (M) of *Yamishba*, and eight to the west of *Sempalat* (N). It

^d PURCH. ubi supra, p. 3, & seq.
pra, p. 410.

^e ABULOR. ubi supra.

(L) *Paul Lucas*, in his second voyage to the *Levant*, tom. i. p. 126, saw a surprising number of pyramids, no fewer than 20,000, within two days journey of *Cesarea*, in *Asia minor*; with doors, stairs, rooms, and windows; and in the upper part of each a corpse. Which, from their uniformity with those in *Tatary*, may be presumed to

have been built by the *Tatars*, in one of their expeditions on that side.

(M) It should be south-east, according to *Strahlenberg's* map, which places this town in the neighbourhood of *Sempalat*, and *Abluket*, both on the *Irtish*.

(N) *Sempalat*, or *Sedempalat*, that is, *the seven palaces*, is a *Russian* settlement on the *Irtish*.

Mungls, is about half a league in compass, with walls five feet thick, ^{their cu-} and sixteen high: the foundation freestone, and superstruc-
^{stoms, &c-} ture brick, flanked with towers in several places. The
 houses were all built with sun-burnt bricks, and side-posts of
 wood; much after the common fashion in *Poland*. The bet-
 ter fort had several chambers. - There were likewise great
 brick buildings, with each a tower; which, in all likelihood,
 served for temples. These buildings were in pretty good
 condition, without the least appearance of violence having
 been used to them.

*Writings
 found
 there,*

In most of the houses was found a great quantity of
 writings done up in rolls. One fort was in *China* ink and
 silk paper, white and thick. The leaves were two feet long,
 and nine inches broad, written on both sides; and the lines
 ran from the right to left across the same. The writing
 was bounded with two black lines, which left a two-inch
 margin. The second fort was engrossed upon fine blue silk
 paper, in gold and silver, with a line round each, in one or
 the other. The lines were written length-ways, from right
 to left; and varnished over, to preserve them. The first fort
 were found to be in the *Mungl* language: the second in that
relating to of *Tangut* (or *Tibet*); both treating of religious matters.
devotion. Since then, two other towns were discovered, deserted in
 the same manner by the *Ekhths*; probably on account of
 their wars with the *Mungls*. Much of the same kind was
 the discovery made in 1721. Some rustics, sent from *Te-
 bolskoy*, by the governor of *Siberia*, privately to look for
 ruins and ancient sepulchres, found certain images of gold,
 silver, and brass, in all the tombs. And, having advanced
 120 *German* miles toward the *Caspian* sea, met with the ruins
 of splendid buildings: among which were some chambers
 under-ground, whose floors and sides consisted of most shine-
 ing stone. They saw here and there black ebony chests;
 which, instead of treasure, contained writings or books. Of
 these they carried away only five leaves: one whereof, being
 tolerably well preserved, was made publick (O). The learned
 of *Europe*, to whom the emperor *Peter I.* also communicated
 these writings, were much puzzled about them; but at once
 were known by messieurs *Freret* and *Fourmont*, of the acade-
 my of Inscriptions at *Paris* (P) to be the language and cha-

(O) In the *Asia Eruditorum*,
 vol. xlv. p. 375, July 1722,
 and in the literary news of *Leip-
 sick*, the 25th of *June*, the same
 year, p. 414.

(P) In the history of that
 academy, for the year 1725,
 there is a full account of these
 writings.

rafter of *Tibet*. They found it to be a funeral sermon, with Mungls, a moral on the other life, well handled ^f. *their cu-*

THE language spoken by the numerous tribes of Mungls *stoms, &c.* is simply called the *Mungl* tongue. They have indeed several dialects (Q); but understand each other very well ^{Language.}. The characters found on the antient monuments are the same with those in present use; but different from the *Manchews*, which are no older than the family now reigning. They have not the least resemblance of the *Chinese* letters, and are no more difficult than the *Roman*. They are written on tables with an iron pencil: for which reason a book is a great rarity among the *Mungls*. The emperor *Kang-hi*, to please them, had some of their authors translated, and printed at *Pe-king*. But the chief book among them is the *Kalendar*, published by the mathematical tribunal in that capital, and graven in *Mungl* characters ^a.

THE *Mungls*, in the flourishing times of their empire, *Learning.* cultivated arts and sciences; which they learned from the southern nations of *Asia*, whom they conquered. Among the rest, astronomy, geography, and other parts of mathematics, are much indebted to the labours of their countrymen. But, with their dominion out of *Tatary*, they lost their love for learning; and, at present, are involved in their antient ignorance. However, as they are studious to preserve the knowledge of their genealogies, tribes, and other matters appertaining to their own history, they still retain a method peculiar to themselves of computing time, and settling the dates of events. This is a cycle of twelve lunar years, which we *Cycle of* meet with in a work ascribed to one of their emperors, who *twelve* reigned in *Persia* and *Great Bukharia*, with each its name; *years.* taken from some animal, in the following order: 1. *Kesku*, or the mouse. 2. *Out*, the ox. 3. *Pârs*, the leopard. 4. *Tûshkân*, the hare. 5. *Lui*, the crocodile. 6. *Tulân*, the serpent. 7. *Tunad*, the horse. 8. *Kui*, or *Koy*, the sheep. 9. *Pichân*, the ape. 10. *Dak/k*, the hen. 11. *Eyt*, the dog. 12. *Tongûz*, the hogⁱ. The *Mungls* took this cycle from the *Igûrs*, *Oygûrs*, or *Vigûrs*^k, the only people in all

^f ABU'LGH. *hist. Turks, &c.* p. 556, & seq. ^g DUHAÏDE *nbî supra*, p. 256, & seq. ^h *Ibid*, p. 253. ⁱ Ulug. *Beigh Epoch. celebr.* p. 6. ^k HYDE *rel. vet. Pers.* p. 225.

(Q) According to *Bemink*, *bûlghazi hist. Turks, &c.* p. 399, the *Elutbs* are the only people & seq. Among them *Abûlghazet Khân* learned the *Turkish* language, in which he wrote his history, *ibid.* p. 31.

Mungls, *Tatary* who had either learning or letters before the time of their cu-
Jenghiz Khán. And from the *Mungls* the *Japanese* took
 stoms, &c. their *Jetta*, or twelve signs ¹.

S E C T II.

Religion of the Mungls.

Mungl re- **T**HE *Mungls*, before the time of *Jenghiz Khán*, were, in
ligion: all probability, strict deists; since that conqueror, at the
 head of his *Yassa*, or laws, ordained the belief of One God,
 the creator of heaven and earth. But, in the reigns of his
 successors, the *Lamas* of *Tibet* found admission into *Tatary*;
 and, by degrees, so infected the inhabitants, that, at present,
 all but the *Mohammedan* *Tatars* profess the religion of *Fo*,
 called in their language *Fo-shaki*: which, besides the doc-
 trine of the transmigration of souls (A), teaches the belief
 of a future state, purgatory, invocation of saints, worship of
 images, confession, pardons, absolution, and other doctrines,
 so very conformable to those of the *Remish* religion, that it seems
 the counter-part of it, as well in essentials as ceremonies, even
 to crossing, the beads, and holy water. They have not, indeed,
 any thing so absurd as transubstantiation; but they have an ar-
 ticle of faith equivalent to it: for they believe, that the God
Fo, whom they call God incarnate, not only assumes a human
 form, and actually resides in *Tibet*, where he is worshipped
 as the true Deity, or Sovereign both of heaven and earth;
 but that he communicates his divinity to his chosen servants,
 who officiate, in the several parts of his spiritual dominions,
 in his stead. These are the vicars, or deputies, of the *Ti-*
betian god, and are called, in the *Mungl* language, *Khutuktú*.
 There are several of them in *Great Tatary*. The *Mungls*
 have one, who resides among and presides over them. The
Khalkas another. The *Khutuktú*, or vicar of the *Mungls*,
 has his abode at *Khukhú Hotún*, mentioned before in the
 geography of their country; where he lives in great state,
 and receives the adorations of the *Mungls*, who make pil-
 grimages thither, to visit him, with as much devotion as the
Romanists do to *Rome*.

that of
Tibet.

¹ KEMPF. hist. Japan, p. 156.

(A) *Regis* says, they do not but more of wild than tame
 hold the transmigration of the animals. *Du Halde's Chine*,
 soul, at least into brutes: for &c. vol. ii. p. 257.
 that they eat the flesh of beasts;

GERBILLON the Jesuit, who was at *Khakha Hotân* in Mongls, 1688, with the emperor *Kang-hi*, saw the *Khûtuktû*, who ^{their cu-} was then about twenty-five years old. For although they ^{stoms, &c.} believe he never dies, yet they say he from time to time disappears; in which interval, his soul, being separated from his ^{The Khû-} body, immediately enters that of some child, who is dis- ^{tûktû} covered by the Lamas, or priests. Hence they are called *Fâ-shêki*, or the Living *Fo* (B); and worshipped as God on earth. He was flat faced, and very long visaged; sat in an alcove, at the end of the temple, on two large cushions, one brocade, the other yellow fattin. There were several lamps on each hand; but only one lighted. He was covered all over with a gown or mantle of yellow damask, so that nothing could be seen but his head, which was quite bare. His hair was curled, and his mantle edged with a parti-coloured galoon, four or five inches broad, like a priest's cope; which that of the vestment nearly resembled. All the civility he shewed the Mungls; emperor's ambassadors was, to receive standing their compliments, or rather adorations: for when they were advanced within six paces of him, they cast their caps on the ground, and prostrated themselves thrice, knocking the earth with their foreheads. After this, kneeling by turns at his feet, he put his hand on their heads, and made them touch his chaplet, or beads. The ambassadors then paid a second adoration, and, the pretended immortal being first seated, took their places in alcoves, one on each side. Some of their retinue also, after paying their adorations, received the imposition of hands and touch of the beads. Then an entertainment was set; and while the counterfeit god reached a cup of *Tatarian* tea, served in plate, our author observed, that his ^{be-} arms were bare up to the shoulders; and that he had no ^{haviour.} other clothes underneath but red and yellow scarfs, wrapped about his body. The collation being over, and the tables removed, they conversed for some time. During which the living idol kept his gravity very well: he spoke no more than five or six words, and those very softly, in answer to the ambassadors questions; but was continually rolling his eyes, looking earnestly, now at one, then at another; and sometimes vouchsafed to smile. In this temple were no images,

(B) The *Chinese* is *Ho-Fo*. In vol. iv. p. 653. He is called *Tibet* he is called *Lama Konju*; also *Lama Lamalu*; that is, the *Lama of Lamas*; and *Dalay Lama*, God the Father, according to the *Jesuit Grueber*. See collect. the pope of those countries. voyages and travels in quarto.

Mungls, as in other temples; but pictures of their deities, painted on the walls. In a chamber they saw a child, of seven or eight years old, with a lamp burning beside him, dressed and seated like the Khûtûktû, and seemed designed for his successor. When the ambassadors took their leave of this mock deity, he neither stirred from his seat, nor paid them the least civility^a.

Khûtûktû THE Khûtûktû of the *Kalkas* is not subject to the Dalay Lama of *Tibet*, though originally a deputy from him to them of the *Kalkas*; and the *Eluths*: but, having tasted the sweets of spiritual command, he made bold (towards the year 1680) to set up for himself. This he performed with so much address, that there is scarce any mention made at present of the Dalay Lama among the *Kalkas*; who believe their living *Fo* to be no less divine and immortal than him of *Tibet*. The court of *China* had a great hand in this new apotheosis, in order to divide the *Kalkas* from the *Eluths*; which they saw could not well be done so long as both nations continued attached to the same head of religion; who would, at all times, in case of difference, endeavour, for his own sake, to reconcile them^b. With this view the emperor *Kang-hi*, at the intreaty of the Khûtûktû, assisted the *Kalkas* against *Kaldan Pojuktû*, Khân of the *Eluths*, in 1688. But before the *Chinese* forces arrived, *Kaldan* had made great ravages in the country of the *Kalkas*; and, among the rest, destroyed the magnificent temple, which the Khûtûktû had built near the river *Tula*, with yellow, varnished bricks.

his residence:

THIS living *Fo*, who was the chief occasion of the war, by his cruelty and injustice, was named *Chemiszun Tamba Khâtûktû*; and brother to the Khân of the *Kalkas*, called *Tushetu Khân*. After his temple was destroyed, and *Kaldan* was repulsed by help of the imperial troops, he went and dwelt in tents, on the banks of the *Iben Pira*, a little river, which falls into the *Selinga*. As the veneration which the *Kalkas* had for him drew crowds of people thither, the place, in a little time, might be called a large city of tents; the hurry being much greater there than any-where else in that part of *Tatary*: for it is resorted to by the *Russians*, and other nations, for the sake of trade, as well as by the priests of all ranks, from *Hindustân*, *Pegu*, *Tibet*, and *China*^c. *Gerbillon* saw this Khûtûktû, in 1691, at an audience of the emperor *Kang-hi*; who obliged that pretended god to pay him homage. He was a corpulent man, and the only fat *Kalka* out person and manners.

^a DU HALDE, *China*, &c. vol. ii. p. 279.

hist. *Turks*, &c. p. 508.

^b ABU'LGH.

^c DU HALDE ubi supra, p. 252.

author

author had ever seen: of a middle stature; and, though upwards of fifty, had a very ruddy complexion. He was dressed in a long gown of yellow sattin, with a border of rich fur, and collar of the same. Over his shoulder he wore a great linen scarf, of a dark red. His head and beard were shaved. His bonnet was a kind of mitre, of yellow sattin (C), with four red corners turned up, and faced with extreme fine black sabel. He had on red boots, peaked at the toes, a narrow galoon running along the seams. He was followed by two servants; and conducted by the president of the tribunal of the *Mungls*. After this, being sent for by the emperor, he, for all his pride, put on the habit of ceremony appointed him by his *Chinese* majesty, and received a present of about 330 pounds⁴.

THESE *Khûtuktûs* are attended by Lamas, or priests, who have a great ascendant over the people, and are held in great veneration by them: although the Jesuits tell us, if they may be credited, that they are commonly not only ignorant (D), (being accounted learned, if they can but read their sacred books in the *Tibetian* language); but also great libertines; debauching women, with impunity. They sing their prayers, which they scarce understand, with a solemn yet harmonious air: and this makes almost the whole of their religious worship. They make no sacrifice, or offering; but they give absolution to the people, who demand it, bare-headed, on their knees: and are so bigotted to them, that the missionaries say, there are very little hopes of converting them to the *Romish* faith. It is generally believed, that they can call down hail and rain. This was testified to the Jesuits by several Mandarins, as eye-witnesses: and they were told at *Pe-king*, that the Lamas practised sorcery (E). They pretend also to phy-

⁴ DU HALDE *ubi supra*, p. 338. & seq.

(C) The colour of yellow denotes being in the interest of the emperor of *China*, whose livery that is.

(D) On the contrary, we are told by *Bentink*, that one of his popish friends, in his way thro' the *Mungl* country, having reproached some Lamas for deceiving the vulgar, in making them believe the divinity of the *Dalay Lama*, and the *Khûtuktû*; they so smartly retorted on him the *Romish* doctrines, relating to the pope's supremacy and in-

fallibility, that he had much ado to bring himself off with honour. *Asiatick hist. Travels*, &c. p. 489. Now, if they are so well acquainted with the religions of other nations, it is not likely they are ignorant of their own.

(E) The antient travellers, as *Rubruguis* and *Marco Polo*, speak much of their sorcery and magic: but no wonder, since that superstition is still believed by the *Romish* clergy.

Mungls, sic; which they practice. Their dress is like that in which *their cu-* the apostles are painted; and they wear a mitre and cap, *sons, &c.* like bishops. They do not live in community in *Tatary*: but, in some places, have a kind of prebends; being the lands and flocks of those whom they succeed; of whom they are generally the disciples or companions. They go from tent to tent, and repeat certain prayers; for which they have a salary.

S E C T. III.

Government of the Mungls.

Aymaks
and Or-
das.

IN order rightly to understand the nature of government in use among the *Mungls*, it must be observed, that each of the three great branches is divided into Aymaks, or tribes, and although any one of them comes to subdivide into several lesser branches, yet they are always reckoned as belonging to such tribe. Every Aymak is composed of a number of families, who usually encamp together; and never separate, without acquainting their chief, that he may know where to find them. When an Aymak, or tribe, is assembled, whether to go fight their enemies, or for any other particular reason, it is called Orda, or, as *Europeans* term it, an hord.

Tayki
and Khân.

EVERY tribe, or branch separated from it, has its particular chief, who is called Tayki (or Tayghi): which dignity descends regularly to the eldest son. These are all their nobility: and, riches being equally divided among them, there is no other difference between one head of a tribe and another, but that of merit, or the number of families in his Orda. These chiefs of tribes are subject to some Khân, whose vassals they are, as well as by birth his generals and counsellors. Khân, or Hân, is a title given to the sovereign of any state, great or small (A): thus, several petty *Mungl* princes are stiled Khâns, though tributary to the Khân of the *Kalka Mungls*; who is himself under the protection of the emperor of *China*: and this last monarch, originally coming from *Tatary*, is also called Khân; being considered as the Great Khân of the *Manchews*, proper *Mungls*, and *Kalkas*, who are subject to

* DU HALDE ubi supra. p. 252, & seq. & p. 263.
p. 397, & seq.

* Ibid.

(A) In the time of *Jenghiz Khân* every tribe seemed to have its particular Khân; or those chiefs who are now called Tayki

were then called Khân, as being independent, till they were subdued by, or submitted to, that conqueror.

him,

him. It is not permitted to any of the family, excepting the reigning prince alone, to assume the title of Khân^b: that which belongs to the princes of the blood being Tayki^c. *Mungls, their customs, &c.*

WHEN a Khân dies, all the princes of the reigning family, and heads of tribes, which are under the dominion of that house, meet at the usual residence of the deceased monarch; where they proceed to the election of a new one. They only examine who may be the eldest among those princes, without regard to the seniority of the several branches of the family, or to the children of the deceased; and they never fail to elect him who appears to be oldest, unless some extraordinary personal defect be found in him. It is true, force and usurpation may set this order aside: but this case happens much seldomer among the *Pagan* than *Mohammedan Tatars*^d. *The dignity elective.*

THE *Mungls*, for some considerable time after their divide-*The* ing into three great branches, continued independent under *Mungls* their respective Khâns: but, at present, only the *Eluths* re-*submit* tain an absolute sovereignty; the *Mungls* and *Kalkas* having become subject to the *Manchews*, now reigning in *China*, on two different occasions.

AFTER the descendants of *Jenghiz Khân*, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, were driven out of *China*, the princes of his house seized on territories, and formed different hords: however, the title of Khân remained to the chief of them, called *Chabar Khân*, descended from *Hubelay*, or *Kublay*. To this prince the other *Mungl* tribes (who had continued in *Tatary*), and even the *Eluths* themselves, were tributary, till about the beginning of the seventeenth century; when his subjects (B), unable to bear his cruelties and riots, called in the founder of the *Manchew* monarchy in *China*: who obliged him to quit the title of Khân for that of Vang, and intirely subdued the *Mungls* about the great wall^e. *to the Manchews:*

THESE new masters, after their conquest of *China*, conferred on the most powerful of them the titles of Vang, *their government:* Pey-le, Pey-tse, Kong, &c. answering to those of regulo, prince, duke, earl, &c.; divided them into forty-nine standards, and settled a revenue on each chief; fixed the bounds of their lands, and established laws, by which they are go-

^b DU HALDE *ubi supra*, p. 391.
p. 160, note 3.

^d *Ibid.* p. 398.

^c SOUCIET. *obs. math.*
^e DU HALDE, vol. ii.
p. 251.

(B) By this, *Chabar Khân* could not have lived two whole centuries and more.

verned

*Mungls, turned to this day. There is a grand tribunal at Pe-king
their ca- (called that of the Mungls), to which appeals are brought
stoms, &c. from the judgment of the princes themselves; who are
obliged to appear, when cited. The Kalkas, since their sub-
jection, are under the same regulation^f.*

Princes numerous. THE several countries or districts of the *Mungls*, even those which are the worst, being dry, sandy, and cold, such as *Korchin*, *Ohán*, *Nayman*, and *Turbeta*, maintain a great number of princes. The house of *Korchin* only, at the time when the missionaries passed through it (in 1710), had eight or nine distinguished by their several titles above-mentioned; the number of which is not fixed: because they depend on the will of the emperor of *China*, who is, with respect to them, the Grand Khán; and who exalts or degrades them, according to their conduct. When they are without title, or military command, they are called *Tayghi* (C): nevertheless, they are considered as masters of their territories by the *Mungls*, who are no better than slaves to the heads of their respective families.

THESE princes have a politeness which distinguishes them from their subjects: who, though they stile themselves slaves, are not treated with severity; but have ready access on the slightest occasions: yet, formed by education, this familiarity takes off nothing of their respect^g.

The Kalka Mungls IT does not appear at what times that part of the *Mungls* called *Kalkas* assumed the name. These had at first a Khán, who, as well as the other *Mungls* and *Eluths*, was tributary to the *Chabar Khán* above-mentioned: but the *Kalkas* increasing vastly in time, and the descendants of *Kablay*, who had only the title of *Tayki*, growing numerous; the more powerful among them became by degrees independent on each other, and of the Khán himself, to whom they paid only a slight homage. Before the year 1688 they are said to have amounted to 600,000 families, divided into seven standards, under so many chiefs; on three of whom the Dalay Lama of *Tibet* conferred the title of Khán: although the *Tayki's* allowed them no farther superiority than the first place in assemblies. But, in the year above-mentioned, *Kaldan Pojoktu*, Khán of the *Eluths*, having invaded their territories, to revenge himself on the *Khûtúktú*, both for his usurpation, or revolt from the Dalay Lama, and the death of a Khán, which he had con-

submit to Kang-hi.

^f DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 261, 264.

^g Ibid. p. 250.

(C) The *Chinese* pronounce it *Tay-ki*, and the *Russians* *Tayfi*, or *Tayfi-a*.

certed;

certain; the *Kalka Khâns*, after half their subjects had been destroyed by the enemy, implored the assistance of the emperor of *China*, *Kang-hi*; to whom, after the war, two of them submitted immediately, with their subjects. These he divided into *Shaffaks*, or standards, like the *Mungls*; conferring new titles on their princes, and appointing them lands for their maintenance. Mungls, their customs, &c.

TUSHETU, or *Tushetu*, the most powerful of the Khâns *At present* (D), after his defeat by the *Eluths*, fled; but was not followed by many of his people: most of whom retired into the woods, on the north side of the river *Tula*; and afterwards, submitting to the emperor, were divided into three standards, under so many princes^b. However, we are told by other authors, that this submission, obtained by the intrigues of the Lamas, was very precarious, and merely nominal: for that his son *Tushidtu Khân*, who, in 1720, had his urga, or camp, on the river *Orkhon*, twelve days journey to the south-east of *Sekinghinskoy*, was very powerful; and had several petty Khâns, who dwelt about the springs of the *Jenisea*, and the great *Kobi* or desert, tributary to him. Likewise, instead of paying tribute himself, the emperor of *China* sends him every year magnificent presents; and the complaisance with which he is treated, shews, that he is feared more than any of the neighbouring princes: for, should he ever come to an agreement with the *Eluths*, the union might endanger the present family reigning in *China*¹.

THE *Eluths*, who at first were tributary to the *Chahar Khân*, *Eluths* as well as the *Kalkas*, at length became independent also; govern- and are, at present, the most numerous of all the great ment; branches into which the *Mungls* are at present divided. These people grew very formidable in the last century. After subduing *Little Bukharia*, under the famous *Kaldon Pojoktu*, before-mentioned, they ruined the *Kalkas*; and even threatened to attack *China* itself, with a handful of men: but he was overthrown at last, altho' with much difficulty. Since which time they kept themselves within their proper bounds, and have not been so troublesome to their neighbours as before.

THE Khân (called *Kontayki*, or the great lord) is a potent power and prince, being able to bring into the field above an hundred forces.

^b DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 251, 259.
Abu'lg. hist. Turks, &c. p. 505, & seq.

¹ BENTINCK ap.

(D) His territories extended along the *Seinga*, *Orkhon*, and *Tula*, as far as mount *Kentay*.

thou-

Mungls, thousand men *. On this occasion it may be proper to observe, that the Taykis are of account to their Khâns only in proportion to the number of families in their respective Aymaks, or tribes; and the Khâns formidable to their neighbours, only in proportion to the number of tribes which are in subjection to them; and in which consists all their riches and grandeur, as well as power †.

Arms of the Eluths, THE arms of the *Eluths* are chiefly great bows, with sizeable arrows; which they draw very true, and with great force: it having been observed, in the difference which the *Russians* had with them in 1715, on account of some settlements on the river *Irtish*, that they pierced men quite through the body with their shafts. They have also great arquebusses, six feet long, with barrels an inch thick; and yet the ball they carry is hardly so much. They fix them on rests, and never miss at six hundred yards distance; firing them off with a match. When they march they carry them across their backs, fastened to a strap; and the rest hangs on the right side. As they never go to war but on horse-back (having no infantry), they all use lances, and most of them coats of mail, and iron caps. Their commanders, but few else, wear sabres, like the *Chineses*, the handle behind, and the point before, that they may draw backwards, which is the more convenient way. These commanders are usually the heads of Ordas: so that a troop is strong, according as an Orda is more or less numerous. Most of the inhabitants of *Tatary* hang their bow at the left side, in a sort of case, when they take horse: but they carry their quivers at their backs. The left hand is the place of honour with most of the oriental people; particularly the *Mohammedan Tatars*.

Way of fighting; THEY shoot their arrows with as much skill flying as advancing: for this reason they chuse rather to provoke their enemies at a distance, than come to close fight with them, unless they have much the advantage. They have not the method of fighting in lines and ranks: but, upon going to action, divide themselves, without any order, into as many troops as there are Ordas, which compose the army; and in this manner each advances, led by its chief, to charge the enemy, lance in hand. The *Tatars* have been ever very expert in fighting flying, as *Quintus Curtius*, and other antient authors, relate. In this the swiftness of their horses stands them in great stead: for often, when one concludes them intirely routed, they return, and fall upon their enemy with as much vigour as before; and when their adversaries are

* BENT. ap. Abu'lgh. hist. Turks, &c. p. 543, & seq.

† Ibid. p. 398.

eager to pursue them, without preserving order, they run terrible risks of being defeated. The *Eluths* are brave beyond what can be imagined, and want nothing but European discipline to make them formidable. They have not yet learned the use of cannon; and, indeed, as they consist only of cavalry, it would not be of much service to them^m.

EACH Aymak has its particular ensign or banner; which is usually a piece of Kitayka, or some other coloured stuff, or an ell square, set upon the top of a lance, twelve feet long. The *Eluths* and *Mungls* exhibit the figure of a dromedary, cow, horse, or other animal, putting under it the name of the tribe: and as all the branches of the same tribe still retain the figure represented in the ensign thereof, adding thereto only the name of the branch for whose use it is designed, these ensigns serve them, in some measure, instead of a genealogical table. When an Aymak is in march, the ensign proceeds at the head, immediately after the chiefⁿ.

THE present inhabitants of *Great Tatory* in general, who have exactly preserved the manner of living of the antient *Mungls*, carry their whole substance along with them wherever they go. Hence it comes, that when they happen to lose a battle, their wives and children commonly remain a prey to the vanquisher, with their cattle, and generally all they possess in the world. They are, in some measure, necessitated to incur themselves this way; for otherwise they should leave their families and effects a prey to other *Tatars* their neighbours^o.

As there is but little magnificence at present to be found in the court of a Khân, and their subjects are obliged to follow them to war, on the hopes of spoil, which is their only pay, they have no occasion, or rather pretence, for large revenues; which consist wholly in tythes. The *Tatars* of all denominations pay two tythes annually of all their effects; first to their Khâns, and then to their heads of tribes. The *Eluths* and *Mungls*, not cultivating their lands, give the tenth of their cattle, and the booty which they take in war^p.

WITH regard to the government of the other two branches of the *Eluths*, the *Torgaüti* and *Koshöti*: the first who separated from the *Jongari*, in the beginning of the present century, put themselves under the protection of the *Russians*; and still make use of it, although they possess a considerable extent of country, to the east of the kingdom

^m BENT. ap. Abu'lgh. hist. Turks, &c. p. 535.
p. 401.

^o Ibid. 537.

^p Ibid. p. 395, 398.

ⁿ Ibid.

Mungls, of *Astrakhan*, and river *Jaik*. In other respects live under the same form of government with the rest of the *Eluths*, divided into *Aymaks*, or tribes, with their *Taykis*, and a *Khân* over all.

THE *Eluths Kosbati* have been settled in the country of *Koko Nor* ever since the *Mungls* were driven out of *China*. They are subject to eight *Taykis*, or princes, who have their respective territories, but are leagued together for their mutual preservation. They are all of the same family, and dignified by the emperor of *China* with the titles of regulo, or petty king, prince, duke, and earl: they are all vassals to the *Khân*, who resides at *Tibet*, or rather to the Great Lama; on whom one of the ancestors of that *Khân* bestowed *Tibet* about the year 1630, after he had conquered it from the lawful prince. But after the defeat of *Kaldan*, *Khân* of the *Tongari Eluths*, by the troops of the emperor of *China* in 1691, the emperor *Kang-hi* sent to invite these eight *Taykis* to become his vassals. The chief in rank among them, accepting the invitation, was made *Tsing Vang*, or prime regulo. Some of the others submitted to pay him homage by proxy; and the emperor chose to win the rest by presents, and allowing them a trade custom-free¹.



B O O K III.

*History of the Mogul or Mungl Empire,
founded by Jenghîz Khân.*

C H A P. I.

The Reign of Temujin till elected Grand Khân.

Mogul
empire,
1.

THE empire of the *Moguls*, whose history we are now entering upon, is one of the most surprizing phenomena which has appeared on the theatre of this world; and what deserves more than any other to attract the reader's admiration, whether he considers its rise, its extent, or the rapidity of its progress. It was thought that the *Arabs* had carried conquest to its utmost stretch; and that no human power could ever do more than a people, who in the compass of seventy years, subdued more countries than the *Romans* had

¹ DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 29, & seq. and vol. 2. p. 265.

done in 500. But the *Moguls* have gone far beyond the *Arabs*, and from as small a beginning acquired a much larger empire in far less time: for *Jenghiz Khân*, in a few years, extended his dominions, from a small territory, to more than 1800 leagues from east to west, and above 1000 from north to south, over the most powerful, as well as wealthy, kingdoms of *Asia*. Hence he is with justice acknowledged to be the greatest prince who ever filled the eastern throne; and all historians have bestowed on him the highest titles, as well as greatest encomiums, that ever monarch was honoured with. They stile him the conqueror of the world, the only king of kings, the master of thrones and crowns: they likewise say, that God never invested any sovereign on earth with so great authority^a.

BUT for all *Asia* so long resounded with the fame of this hero, his name has been scarce known to *Europeans*, till of late, that his history has been given from the oriental authors: for although some early travellers, as *Rubruquis* and *Marco Polo*, wrote concerning the *Moguls*, and their conquests, yet they have done it in so imperfect and erroneous a manner, as to afford no just idea of them; whilst the fables, which their relations are mixed with, rendered the whole suspected and despised by men of judgment.

THE short but curious account, which *Abû'Isaraj* (A) has delivered of *Jenghiz Khân*, and his immediate successors, first gave the learned of these parts of *Europe* a desire to know more of their history. In this *D'Herbelot* in good measure gratified them in his *Bibliothèque Orientale* (B). Afterwards *M. Petit de la Croix*, the father, wrote the history of *Jenghiz Khân*, compiled chiefly from the oriental authors, by order of *Lewis XIV.* king of *France*; to which his son hath added an abridgment of the history of that monarch's successors in the several parts of his empire (C). Since then a translation has been published of the genealogical history of the *Turks* and *Tatars*, written by *Abû'lghazi Khân* of *Karazm*: wherein is given the history of *Jenghiz Khân*, in some detail from nineteen or twenty oriental authors, of whom *Fadlallah* is the

^a DE LA CROIX hist. Gengh. p. 2.

(A) In his *Historia compendiosa Dynasticarum*, published in 1663, by the learned Dr. *Po-cock*, with a Latin version, and a supplement of his own.

(B) Published in 1690, in folio.

(C) Published in French, in two volumes 8vo, 1722; and in English, in one volume, 1730.

A. D. principal, with that of his successors, chiefly in *Great Bukharia*,
 1163. and *Kapchak* (D). Lastly, *Anthony Gaubil*, a Jesuit at *Pe-king*, obliged the world with a history of *Jenghiz Khan*, and his successors in *China*, till their expulsion; extracted from the *Chinese* annals, and illustrated with very useful notes of his own (E). These are the works of any note, taken immediately from the *Asiatic* writers, which have as yet come to hand; and from them principally have we drawn our materials relating to the *Mogul* affairs.

Disagree-
 ment a-
 mongst au-
 thors.

BUT here it must be observed, that *Abd'lghazi Khan* and *De la Croix*, or the authors they have made use of, proceeded on different plans, or according to different memoirs. The first confines himself to a plain narration of facts, in the order they happened, without enlarging on any thing: the latter improves every thing to the advantage of his hero, in order to make his actions appear with greater lustre. The first leaves him in a state of inactivity, from the death of his father till the fortieth year of his age, that he became in a condition to reduce his revolted subjects, and obtain the empire: the latter fills up that space of time with a great many incidents, and even assigns them their dates, that his reign might not appear with so great a chasm in it. To inhance his future glory the more, he makes him, during that interval, reduced to put himself under the protection of *Vang Khan*, sovereign of many nations; whereas *Abd'lghazi Khan* represents him as quite independent all the while. Lastly, *De la Croix* places *Temujins's* birth ten years earlier than the other, which makes a great difference in the chronology, from thence to the time he became *Grand Khan*.

(D) He brings down the history to year 1663. It was first procured by the *Swedish* prisoners from a *Bukhâr* merchant, who brought it to *Tobolskoy*, capital of *Siberia*. *Strahlenberg* got it translated into the *Russian*; and Mr. *Bentink*, with his approbation and directions, published it in *French*, with curious notes, in 1726, in one volume 12mo; and, in 1730, it was published in *English*, with additional notes, in two volumes 8vo. The first contains the history; the second the notes, con-

nected so as to form a regular account of countries, and their present inhabitants.

(E) This learned and judicious Jesuit transmitted two tracts to *E. Soucier*, of the same society; who published them first in his *Observ. math. astr. geogr. &c.* in 4to, 1719. It is intitled, A brief history of the first five *Mogul* emperors. The second appeared by itself, in 1739, under the title of the history of *Gentchiscan*, and all his successors, who reigned in *China*.

WHENCE

WHENCE this great disagreement arises it is not easy to determine: since *Abûlghazi Khân*, though he made use of twenty authors, never quotes, or even mentions, any, excepting *Fadlallah*; and that only to give some account of his work, as being his principal authority: on the other hand, *De la Croix* commonly cites his authors in the margin, but not distinctly enough to know what belongs to each. However, from thence we are able to discover, that he took not only the date of *Temujin's* birth, but also his history, especially for the beginning of his reign, chiefly from *Mirkond*, *Kondamêr*, and other oriental authors, rather than *Fadlallah*, whom he seldom quotes on the occasion. Now as this is the principal historian made use of by *Abûlghazi Khân*, who also had recourse to several *Mogul* writers; it is probable he follows them in those particulars: and hence may arise the difference between him and *De la Croix*. A. D. 1163. *Whence it proceeds.*

POSSIBLY *Fadlallah* relates no more concerning the first years of *Temujin's* reign than what we meet with in *Abûl-ghazi Khân*; and that the latter historians have swelled it with incidents, and even enlarged the term of his life, for the reason before-mentioned. However that be, it is certain *Abûlghazi Khân* took his memoirs, so far at least, from other authors than those whom *De la Croix* has made use of; and his authority, we think, ought to be preferred: not only because, as being a *Mogul* himself, he was better able to judge what writers were most to be depended on: but also because the account he gives is correspondent with the *Chinese* history, whose authority ought to take place, had all the *Persian* historians, and even *Fadlallah* himself, contradicted it. For although the *Wâzir Fadlallah* wrote his curious work in the year 1294, at the command of *Gazân*, or *Kazân Khân* (sixth successor of *Hâlakû*, *Jenghiz Khân's* grandson, in *Persia*), from the memoirs of *Pulâd*, a *Mogul*, sent by that monarch into *Tatary* to collect them; yet *Kublay Khân*, *Hâlakû's* brother, who reigned in the eastern part of *Tatary* and *China*, had ordered the history of his predecessors to be written several years before^b. So that, supposing oral traditions, rather than written memoirs, were the chief basis of both histories; yet that set on foot by *Kublay Khân* may be presumed to be more complete and accurate than the other composed by *Kazân Khân's* order: as not one person only, but many, doubtless, were employed to collect materials; and being written on *Which of them*

^b See DE LA CROIX hist. Gengh. p. 424.
observ. mathemat. &c. p. 202.

^c SOUCIET

A. D. 1163. the spot, recourse might be easily had, from time to time, to proper persons for information and solving difficulties. Not to mention the advantages it must have received from the Chinese historians, who have been always careful to record, by way of annals, the affairs of their neighbours, especially such as they had any transactions with; so that whatever defects occurred in the *Mogul* traditions, with respect to dates, or otherwise, might have been supplied from thence. It is for these reasons that, in the following history of *Jenghiz Khân*, and the *Moguls*, we have preferred *Abū'lghazi Khân's* history to that of *De la Croix*; and that given us by *Gaubil* from the Chinese historians, to both the others: who yet, with regard to the affairs of the *Moguls* in the western parts, for the same reasons, are preferable to him.

and reasons why.

WE have already given an account of the *Mogul* tribes, their ancient history, and *Khâns*, to the time of *Jenghiz Khân*; with remarks on the same^d: we shall therefore, in this place, only touch on such matters preceding the time of that conqueror, as more immediately relate to him, and may be necessary to complete his history.

Jenghiz Khân's descent.

ACCORDING to the tradition of the *Moguls*, *Jenghiz Khân* was of divine descent, since his family can be traced no farther back than *Alankū*, or *A'ankawa*; who, being got with child by a spirit, brought forth three sons, who from thence obtained the surname of *Niron* (F), which their posterity enjoyed: those of her former children being called *Dirlighin*, to denote that they had no miraculous original. As *Jenghiz Khân* descended in a right line from *Buzenjir* (G), the third of *Alankū's* celestial offspring, and his predecessor in the ninth degree, some authors call him the Son of the Sun (H). According to *Fadlallah* (I), who wrote his life, his descent from *Alankū* is as follows: 1. *Buzenjir Khân*. 2. *Būka Khân*. 3. *Tutumiten Khân*. 4. *Kaydu Khân*. 5. *Baysankar Khân*. 6. *Tumena*

^d See before, p. 19, & 34, & seq.

(F) This, the oriental authors say, is a corruption, or contraction, of *Nūranīyūn*, which signifies children of light.

(G) *Abū'lghazi Khân's* translators call him *Budenfir Mogak*.

(H) According to *Abū'lghazi Khân's* history, something as bright as the sun fell into *Alan-*

kū's chamber, and assumed the shape of a man.

(I) This is the first and most eminent of all who have written of *Jenghiz Khân*, and his successors. An account has been already given of him, vol. iv. p. 20.

Khân.

Khân. 7. *Kabal Khân.* 8. *Purtan Khân.* 9. *Yefukay* (K) A. D. 1163.
Behadr. 10. *Jenghiz Khân*° (L).

AMONG these princes three or four were particularly famous; *Buzenjir*, surnamed the just, was Khân of *Kotan*. *His ancestors.* *Bayfankar* (or *Bassikar*, as *Abû'lghazi Khân* calls him) was a prince of great conduct, and conquered many provinces. *Kabal*, or *Kabul Khân*, made himself the admiration of all *Asia* by his courage (M): he had six sons, in whom the name of *Kayat*, which had been lost for 3000 years, was revived (N). *Bisukay* (or *Yessuki*) *Behadr*, the father of *Jenghiz Khân*, was remarkable for having brought under his command the greater part of the chiefs of the *Mogul* nations, with the kings of *Karakatay*, or *Karakitay* (O), who troubled his quiet. He vanquished them, although they were frequently assisted by the king of *Katay*, which comprised the northern provinces of *China*.

AFTER this, having received an affront from the tribe of *Their cons* *Su Moguls* (P), or *Tatars*, he entered their country, which he *quest* pillaged; and, being met by *Temujin Khân*, lord of several tribes, who came to drive him thence, he put him to flight, after a bloody battle, and returned with honour to his country.

* DE LA CROIX hist. Gengh. p. 9, & seq. † Ibid. See also ABU'LGH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 55, & 63, & seq.

(K) *De la Croix* writes *Pisukay*; and seems to have followed *Mirkond*, and others, who call him *Bissukay*, or *Pissukay*. But *Kondamir*, *Abû'lghazi Khân*, and the *Chinese* annals, name him *Yefukay*; which we have followed.

(L) The names in this succession differ a little from those given by *Abû'lghazi Khân*, probably through some mistake in transcribing.

(M) Page 5, it is said, that the *Moguls* under him made a vast progress, and advanced as far as *Karakatay*, where they obliged some Khâns to pay them tribute: but that, in the twelfth century, in which *Jenghiz Khân* was born, they were tributary to the *Kara-its*. The *Tumena Khân*, in this list of ancestors, must be a different person from

the hero of that name, mentioned vol. iv. p. 45, & seq.

(N) They were called *Niron Kayat*, of which tribe *Jenghiz Khân* was chief. It is called his own tribe, p. 18.

(O) The *Chinese* annals do not seem to make him so powerful: it is only said, that he was chief of the principal hord of the *Moguls*. This hord was contiguous to that of the *Naymans*, near the city of *Holin*, or *Karakorum*, to the north of the sandy desert. *Souciét* observ. mathemat. &c. p. 185. and *Gambil* histoire de Gentchisc. p. 2.

(P) It may be questioned, if this distinction, of *Su Moguls*, or *Tatars*, is to be found in any oriental author; for it seems to be taken from *Carpin* the friar, who was sent into *Tatary* by the pope, in 1246.

A. D. 1163. feat, where he commonly resided, called *Dilon Ildak* (Q.), in *Yeka Mogulistan*. To commemorate this victory, he gave the name of the vanquished Khân to a son, of whom *Olon Ayka* (R), the first of his wives, was soon after delivered (S), calling him *Temujin* (T). As he was born with congealed blood in his hands, *Sughujin*, the Khân's relation and first minister, foretold, by his skill in astrology, that he should overcome his enemies in battle, and, at length, arrive to be Grand Khân of all *Tatary*. On the death of *Sughujin*, *Pisuka* chose his son *Karabser Nevian*, a man of great parts and learning, to educate *Temujin*; who had scarce attained his ninth year, when he would apply himself to no other exercise than that of arms^c.

YESUKAY at length was unfortunately taken prisoner by the Khân of *Kitay* (U); but after a long imprisonment, making his escape by bribing his guard, he resolved to revenge himself: in order to which, he married *Temujin*, though not thirteen years old, to the Khân of the *Naymans* daughter; but died (X) before he could execute his design^b.

A. D.
1175.
State of
Asia.

BEFORE we proceed, it will be proper to acquaint our readers with the state of *Tatary*, and the neighbouring countries, at the time of this prince's death. The whole region between mount *Altay* and the eastern *Tatary*, was divided among a great number of aymaks, or tribes; who had each one or more Khâns, according as it was more or less

^a DE LA CROIX hist. Gengh. p. 12, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 15.

(Q) The same, probably, called in *Abûlghazi Khân's* history *Blunjuldak*.

(R) In *Abûlghazi Khân's* history, p. 48, & 67. she is called *Uluu Iga*. The surname of *Iga*, in the *Mogul* language, signifies *great*. She had also the surname of *Kujin*, which, in the language of *Kitay*, is an *old woman*. She was of the tribe of *Alaknuri*, and had a vast deal of wit.

(S) This date is according to *Abûlghazi Khân*; and agrees nearly with the *Chinese* history, which puts it in 1162: but *De la Croix* places his birth in 549, ten years higher, from *Mirkond*, and other historians.

(T) According to the *Chinese* annals, he was first named *Kyerwen*: but afterwards, in memory of the victory over *Temujin*, chief of a *Tatar* hord, whom his father *Yesukay* took prisoner, he was called *Temujin*. He was born at a mountain near the river *Onon*, or *Amûr*, where *Yesukay* incamped after the battle. *Gaubil* hist. de Gentchisc. &c. p. 2.

(U) *De la Croix* places this in 562 of the *Hijrah*, of *Cbrist* 1166.

(X) According to the *Chinese*, he died in the flower of his age; left five sons and a daughter; and appointed *Temujin* chief of the hord.

numerous,

numerous, and divided into branches. Among these, that of *Kara-its* was most powerful, whose prince assumed the title of Grand Khân: to him most of the other tribes, and, among the rest the *Moguls*, were tributary; but, according to the *Chinese* historians, both one and the other paid tribute to the emperor of *Kitay*, or *Katay*. A. D. 1175.

CHINA was at that time divided into two parts: the *Empire* of nine southern provinces were in the hands of the *Chinese* emperors of the *Song* family, who kept their court at *Hang-chew*, the capital of the province of *Che-kyang*: the five northern provinces, except part of *Shen-si*, with the adjoining parts of *Tatary*, were possessed by the *Kim*, a people of eastern *Tatary*, from whom the *Manchew*, at present masters of *China*, are descended. This vast dominion was named *Kitay*, or *Katay*, and divided into two parts: that which belonged to *China* was properly called *Kitay*; and the part which belonged to *Tatary* was named *Karakitay*; in which some even include the territories of the *Moguls*, *Kara-its*, and other nations, mentioned in this history.

THE western part of proper *Kitay* was possessed by a of *Hya*, prince of *Turkish* extraction, who had lately formed an empire there, called by the *Chinese* *Hya* and *Si Hya*; whose capital city was *Hya-chew*, at present *Ning-hya*, in *Shen-si*, from whence the kingdom took its name. To the west of *Hya* lay *Tangut*; a country of great extent, and formerly very powerful: but at that time reduced to a low state, and divided among several princes; some of whom were subject to the emperor of *Hya*, and others to him of *China*.

ALL *Tatary* to the west of mount *Altay*, as far as the *Caspian* sea, with the greater part of *Little Bukhâria*, which then kept its name, passed under the general name of *Turkestan*, was subject to *Gurkhân*, *Kurkhân*, or *Kavar Khân*; to whom the *Oygârs*, *Vigârs*, or *Igârs*, and even the *Karazm Shâh*, who reigned over *Great Bukhâria*, *Karazm*, and most part of *Iran*, or *Persia*, were tributary. This *Gurkhân* had been prince of the western *Kitân*, or *Liau*; who, driven out of *Kitay* by the *Kim*, settled in *Little Bukhâria*, and the country to the north, between *Turfân* (about which the *Oygârs* inhabited) and *Kâshgar*, where they founded a powerful state in the year 1124.

THIS was the state of the north part of *Asia* at *Pisukay's* at *Pisukay's* death; at what time between thirty and forty thousand *kay's*

(Y) In *De la Croix's* history is script, in putting three points is written thus; perhaps by a under the first letter *p*, instead of mistake of the oriental manu. two.

A. D. families, all from the same stock, were under his obedience.

1175. But *Temujin* being so young, the *Tayjuts* first, and then two thirds of the rest, deserting him, went over to one *Burgani Kariltuk*. All the *Kataguns*, the *Jipjuts* (Z), the *Jaygherats* (or *Jajerats*), and the *Nirons*, excepting a few families, joined him to a man. Hereupon the *Markats*, who never would submit to *Yefughi* (or *Pisfuka*) *Bahadr*, submitted to him. They who continued faithful to *Temujin* were the descendants of his great grandfather, half the tribe of the *Markats*, and several families of the other tribes: there remaining out of some fifty families, one or two hundred out of others, and no more than ten or five out of many. It is true, *Temujin* did all he could to remedy this evil in the beginning: for this end, while scarce thirteen years old, he took the field against those revolters, and fought a bloody battle; but, in regard it was not decisive, he was obliged to temporize till the fortieth year of his age. This is all which *Abulghazi Khan* relates concerning him till that period; but many remarkable transactions happened during that interval, which are mentioned by other authors¹.

*Temujin
succeeds:*

PISUKA's death threw things into confusion: for soon after the Khans of *Tanjat* (A), *Merkit*, and several other *Niron* tribes, his relations, whom he had subdued, with his cousin *Jemuka* (B), revolting, came to attack *Temujin*: who, encouraged by his mother, set up his standard, which displayed a horse's tail, and marched along with her at the head of his forces; which fought the enemy with good success².

THIS affair is related more particularly in the *Chinese* history: which takes notice, that *Temujin* being very young, his mother *Ukun* governed in his stead, and brought back several of his vassals, who had gone over to *Taychot* (C) and

¹ *ABU'LGHAZI KHAN* hist. *Turks*, p. 66, & seq. ² *DE LA CROIX* ubi supra, p. 15.

(Z) In the translation written *Zipzuts*; the *z* being commonly used instead of the *English j* consonant.

(A) The same which in *Abulghazi Khan* is written *Tayjuts*; by some mistake, perhaps, in pointing the letter for a *y* instead of an *n*, or the contrary. If *Tanjut* be the name, it may possibly be the same with *Tan-yu*, in the *Chinese* histories; by which the *Tatars* to the north-west of

China were formerly known to them.

(B) *Abulghazi Khan*, p. 70, calls him *Jamuka Jijon*; which last word signifies *eloquent*. The *Chinese* annals name him *Chamuka*.

(C) This *Taychot* seems to be the *Burgani Kariltuk* of *Abulghazi Khan*, mentioned a little before; but he says not what became of him. Perhaps also 'tis his *Tayjuts*; in note (A).

Chamuka

Chamuka, two princes, enemies to his family. These, having formed an army 30,000 strong, of soldiers chosen out of seven hords, came to attack *Temujin*: but being assisted by his mother, who led a body of troops herself, and by *Porji*, a young lord of the hord of *Orla*, but thirteen years old; after a bloody battle, in which those three did wonders, *Taychot* was slain, and *Chamuka* put to flight. This action made a noise all over *Tatary*, greatly to the advantage of the young *Mogul* prince: who discovered on this occasion much grandeur of soul, in the manner of rewarding his officers and soldiers, making them ride his own horses, giving them habits, and the like. Almost all *Taychot's* hord, which was very numerous, and possessed a large country, submitted to the victor; and *Potú* (D), who was lord of the country about the river *Ergona*¹ (or *Argun*), became his fast ally, marrying his sister *Tumuhun*; upon whose death *Jenghiz Khân* gave him his daughter to wife^m. But after this we are told, that, fortune turning against *Temujin*, he was beaten; and fell several times into the hands of his adversaries: yet had always the luck to escape.

A. D. 1176.

against a victory:

A. D. 1176.

IN his fourteenth year he espoused *Purta Kujin*, daughter to the Khân of the *Kongorats*, and kinswoman to *Vang* (or *Ung*) wife. Khân of the *Kara-its* (E); by whom he had a daughter that same year. But next year, while he was on some expedition from home, the *Merkits* entered *Niron Kayat*, which belonged to one of his tribes; and, having defeated the few forces who guarded it, carried off all that was valuable, with the princess *Purta Kujin*, who was big of her second child. Her they sent to *Vang Khân*, and her husband's enemies pressed him to marry her: but, though she was very beautiful, he declined it, saying, He could not marry his son's wife. He spoke thus, because, at the time when he made a league of amity with *Tesukay*, he called *Temujin* his son.

So soon as the *Mogul* prince heard of his wife's captivity, he sent an ambassador to *Karakorum*, to demand her of the Khân (F); who immediately granted his request. Happening to be delivered of a son on the road, she wrapped him in paste; and so carried him in her lap, without hurting his

¹ See before, p. 285, & seq.

^m GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 2.

(D) Afterwards said to be lord of *I-ki-lye-tse* hord. been in the year 1176, or 1177.

(E) This, following the *Chinese* and *Abulghazi Khân's* computation of his birth, must have

(F) *Hejrab* 567, A. D. 1168, *De la Croix*.

A. D. 1178. tender limbs, to the palace of her husband, who called him *Juji* (G). Two years after this, his own tribe of *Niren Kayas*, seduced by *Tukta Bey*, Khân of the *Merkits*, his most powerful enemy, took up arms against him; and he was himself made prisoner by the tribe of *Tanjut* (or *Tayjut*). He had however the address to escape again from the hands of his enemies. After this, reflecting on the bad posture of his affairs, he offered the Khâns all they could desire to procure an accommodation; but their design being entirely to ruin the house of *Tesukay*, they rejected all his proposals, and seized the greater part of his dominions. Hereupon, resolving to take refuge under the Grand Khân, he sent a *Nevian*, or prince of his court (H), to *Karakorum*, to implore the protection of *Vang Khân*, who readily granted it; in consideration, as he said, of the signal obligations which he lay under to his father *Pisuka*. Upon this *Temujin* married his mother *Ulon Ayka* to *Buzrak* (I), an eminent man, whom he placed on his right hand above all the princes; and leaving the regency of his kingdom to his uncle *Utejekin*, departed with *Karasbar*, and all his faithful servants, escorted by a guard of 6000 men, for the court of the Grand Khân^a; of whom it may be proper to give some account.

Vang
Khân's
descend.

THE predecessors of this prince, whose original name was *Togrul*, had been powerful lords in *Mogulistan*, *Jelayr*, *Turkestan*, and *Karakitay*. Some of his ancestors had even assumed the title of emperor; but their greatness in time decayed. His family, one of the most illustrious in *Karakitay*, contained six great tribes of *Derlighis Moguls*; among whom were the *Kara-its*, who made war with their neighbours. *Mergûs* (K), the grandfather of *Togrul*, whose tribe resided

^a MIRKOND MARAKASHI. ap. De la Croix, ubi supr. p. 16, & seq.

(G) That is, in the *Mogul* language, *happily arrived*. So says *De la Croix*; but *Abû'lghazi Khân* says it signifies a *guest*. This prince was named also *Tufsi*.

(H) About this time he dreamed, that his arms were grown of an extraordinary length; and that, holding a sword in each hand, that in the right pointed to the east, the other to the west. Which the queen, his mother, interpreted,

as prefiguring to him the empire of two parts of the world. *Marakezbi*.

(I) In *De la Croix* he is called *Amir Buzruk*; in *Abû'lghazi Khân*, *Menglik Iska*. He brought the whole tribe of *Kynakmars*, of which he was, to submit to *Janghiz Khân*; and informed him of *Vang Khân*'s design against him.

(K) *Mergûs ili*, in *Abû'lghazi Khân*'s history.

at *Karakorum*, was one of the most considerable and valiant Khāns of the *Kara-its*, but at the same time unfortunate; for several Khāns of *Karakitay* having combined against, and twice vanquished him; one of them, named *Naur*, his relation, drew him into an ambuscade, and sent him to the king of *Kurga* (L) in *China*, who caused him to be sewed up, bound, in a sack, and left to expire on a wooden ass.

KUTUKI, the widow of *Mergis*, enraged at the treachery *Female* of *Naur*, yet feigning to be angry with none but the king of *courage*. *Kurga*, fifteen months after sent to tell the former, that she passionately desired to divert herself in his company; and that, if he retained the affection which he professed for her before her marriage with *Mergis*, she would not scruple to make him her husband. *Naur*, falling into the snare, the lady immediately sets out, attended by waggons laden with great vessels made of ox-hides, filled with *Kammez* (or *Kimis*), a hundred sheep, and ten mares, which were ordered to be dressed. The Khān met the princess with all the demonstrations of joy; and having drank plentifully of the liquor which she presented him, she gave the signal to her attendants: these opening the great barrels, there came forth armed men, and cut to pieces *Naur* (whom she had already stabbed), with all his domestics. After this, she made her retreat, without the least suspicion; and for so great an action was highly esteemed by all the princes of that age.

MERGUS Khān left two sons by his princess, *Kaja Bay-Vang ruk* and *Gurkhān*. The first at his death left several child-Khan's ren; the eldest of whom was named *Togrul* (M): at ten ^{forty} years of age he accompanied his father in the wars, and was in that expedition where his grandfather was taken by *Naur*, and with much difficulty escaped himself. As he had more merit than the rest of his brothers, he succeeded his father, which made them hate him (N). After this, having frequent quarrels with his brothers and cousins, he put some of them to death; which rigorous treatment moved his uncle *Gurkhān*

(L) *De la Croix* says, some pretend that this *Kurga* was *Korea*: but that country is too far distant.

(M) Called, in *Abūlghazi Khān's* history, *Tayrel*, perhaps by some mistake. These translations name him also *Aunak*, which is a corruption of *Vang*; and say his brothers were *Jakakara* (by others, *Erkekara*), *Baytimur*,

Numissay, and *Jukambu*, who is called *Hakambu* by others.

(N) It is added here, that this aversion was increased by the king of *China's* (or rather *Kitay*) honouring him with the title of *Ung Khān*. But this, according to the *Chinese* history, happened not till afterwards, in the time of *Temujin*; as will be related presently.

to

A. D. 1178. to make war upon him. *Vang Khân*, being vanquished, and dispossessed of his dominions, fled to *Pijuka*, *Temujin's* father; by whose assistance he recovered his throne, and pursued *Gürkhan* even to the kingdom of *Kashin*°.

The Prester John; THIS *Vang Khân* (or, as it is commonly written, *Ung Khân*) was the prince who made so great a noise in the Christian world towards the end of the twelfth century, under the title of the *Prester John* of *Asia*, which the *Nestorians* first conferred on him: and there are four letters extant, said to be sent by him to pope *Alexander III.* *Lewis VII.* of *France*, the emperor of *Constantinople*, and the king of *Portugal*. That to the king of *France*, of which there is a *French* copy, begins, “*Prester John*, by the grace of God, the most powerful monarch, king of all Christian kings, wisheth health, &c.” He boasts of his great wealth, and the vastness of his dominions; speaking of seventy kings who serve him, and vaunting of the tribute which he extorts from an *Israelitish* king, who is lord of many dukes and *Jewish* princes. He invites the king of *France* to come and see him, promising to give him great dominions, and make him his successor. He proceeds to name the different kinds of people and rarities that are in his kingdoms. He calls himself a priest, because he performs the sacrifice of the altar; and a king, as he executes the office of a sovereign judge. He speaks of *St. Thomas* according the fabulous notions of the *Indians*; and, at the conclusion, desires the king to send him *some valiant cavalier of French generation* P.

a Nestorian fiction. BUT it is not difficult to discover that this letter is spurious, and written, not by *Vang Khân*, but the *Nestorian* missionaries; who were very numerous, and had been established there in the year 737, by means of those of *Musol* and *Basrah*. These, by their emissaries, had spread a report all over Christendom, that they had converted the greater part of the inhabitants of *Tatary*, and even the Great *Khân* himself; who, they said, was actually become a priest, and had assumed the name of *John*. They invented these fables to make their zeal more conspicuous, and render their sect more respected. There is also a letter of the pope's, which styles him, *a most holy priest*; although, in reality, there is not the least appearance that he was a Christian; but only, that he permitted Christians to live in his dominions, with their bishops; and that some of his subjects had embraced their religion.

° FADHLALLAH ap. De la Croix, p. 21, & seq. P. MATR. PARIS ap. eund. p. 24, & seq.

ALL that can be allowed as true, is, that this prince was the most powerful Khân of the country north of *Kitay*; and that a great many sovereign princes paid him tribute. *Abû'l-faraj* observes, that he was lord over all the eastern *Turks*; for, in his time, the greater part of the inhabitants of *Tartary* were called *Turks*. *Vang Khân* was a native of the tribe of *Kara-its*, whose dependants were the inhabitants of *Jelayr* and *Tendük*, who possessed the largest parts of that region. The capital of this kingdom was *Karakorum* (O), situate about ten days journey from the place where *Temujin* first kept his court, and about twenty days from the borders of *China*. This city, after *Vang Khân's* reign, became the residence of the *Mogul* emperors, and had the name of *Ordubaleg* given it by *Oktay Khân*, the successor of *Jenghiz Khân*.¹

THIS prince was in his twentieth year (P), when he arrived at *Karakorum*, where he was received with great marks of affection by the Grand Khân, whom he assured of his obedience, professing to devote himself intirely to his service. *Vang Khân*, on the other hand, promised him his protection, and to force the *Mogul* Khâns to return to their duty. He sent lords to menace them with war, if they continued hostilities against *Temujin*; and daily heaped honours on his royal guest: called him his son, and even placed him above the princes of his own blood: increased the officers of his retinue; and committed the conduct of his armies to him, in the war he had with the Khân of *Tendük*. *Temujin* made his courage appear on this occasion, and humbled some *Mogul* Khâns, who refused to pay *Vang Khân* the usual tribute. But this success and favour of the sovereign created him many enemies among the courtiers; who, at first, following the example of their master, strove who should please him most.

This enmity was increased by another accident. The princess *Wisûlujine*, daughter to the Grand Khân, charmed with the valour and person of the young *Mogul* prince, fell in love with him; and rejected the offers of *Jemuka*, Khân of the tribe of *Fajerat* (Q), who had, with much earnest-

¹ DE LA CROIX, p. 26, & seq. p. 28, & seq.

² ABU'LFARAJ, ap. eund.

(O) *De la Croix* says, it signifies *black sand*. In *Abû'lghazi Khân*, *karakum* is said to be *Turk-ış* for *black sand*. Perhaps both names may signify the same thing.

ghazi Khân, and the *Chinese* computation, it will fall in 1182 or 1183.

(Q) In *Abû'lghazi Khân's* history called *Joygherats*. This is placed by *De la Croix* in H. 571. A. D. 1175.

ness,

A. D. 1182. *ness*, asked her in marriage. But *Vang Khân* having given her to *Temujin*, *Jemûka* was so enraged, that he vowed revenge; and stirred up many persons, as envious as himself, to join with him: yet the credit which that young prince had with the Grand Khân, who had made him his prime minister, and the great number of his friends, for a long time defeated all their contrivances. However, *Vang Khân*, who wanted nothing but firmness of mind, at last suffered himself to be seduced with calumnies.

THIS is the account given by the *Persian* historians; but the *Chinese* do not speak of *Temujin* as seeking protection of the *Kara-it Khân*. On the contrary, they represent him as in friendship with, but independent of, him, and in good circumstances; ever since the defeat of *Jamûka* and *Taychot*, by his mother's assistance: at which time he seems to have reduced the revolted tribes under his obedience.

Tatars
reduced.

AFTER this, probably about the time that he is said to have retired to *Karakorum*, the *Chinese* history informs us, that the hord of the *Tatars*, who usually encamped along the *Onon* (R), having revolted against the emperor of *Kitay*, this monarch ordered all his tributary princes (S) to assemble near that river, and march against them. *To-li* (T), lord of the *Kara-its* (U), and *Temujin*, having distinguished themselves on this occasion, the first was made a *Vang* or *Wang* (X), which answers to *Khân*; whence afterwards called by his subjects *Vang Khân*; and *Temujin* had a considerable post in the army conferred upon him.

AFTER this, *To-li's* brother, in discontent, fled to the *Nay-mân*, and prevailed on their *Khân* to attack him. This obliged him to fly to the countries of the *Whey-hu* (Y), to the west

* *ABU'LKAYR*, ap. *De la Croix*, p. 30.

(R) Or *Wa-nan*; the same with the *Saghalian Ula*, or *Amûr*.

(S) From hence it appears, that the *Kara-its* and *Moguls* were tributary to the emperor of *Kitay*. And indeed, what is so often mentioned in *De la Croix's* history of *Jenghiz Khân*, from the oriental historians, of the *Moguls* and other tribes inhabiting *Karakotay*, shews this to be so; since with them *Karakotay* was part of the empire of *Kitay*, signifying *black Kitay*, to

distinguish it from the other part, which was cultivated, and inhabited mostly by *Chinese*.

(T) Called, by *Abû'lghazi Khân*, *Tayrel*; by others, *To-grul*.

(U) In the *Chinese*, *Ke-lye*.

(X) *Fadlallab*, and the other authors made use of by *De la Croix*, do not mention the occasion of this title being given.

(Y) The princes of the *Whey-hu*, at first called *Whey-be*, were possessed of the territories to the north or north-west, and west, of

west of the *Whang-ho*, or yellow river, which runs through *Ghina*. In this distress *Temujin* lent his troops to *Vang Khân*; who, marching to the river *Tula*, defeated the *Merkits* (or *Markats*), who were neighbours and allies of the *Naymans*: then joining *Temujin*, both together fell upon the *Naymans*, and routed them. But altho' *Vang Khân* got much plunder in these actions, he gave none to his benefactor, who yet concealed his resentment. The *Persian* historians relate this affair more at large, in the following manner: *Taktabey*, Khân of the *Merkits* (or *Markats*), was at the head of those who fought to ruin *Temujin*; and finding that their plots did not succeed, broke friendship with *Vang Khân*, in order to compass his design by force (Z). With this view he made a league with the Khân of *Tanjut* (or the *Tayuts*), who both against together assembled a formidable army, into which they admitted all who were enemies either to *Temujin* or his protectors: and, to confirm their union, took a solemn oath, usual with the *Moguls* on such occasions. All the Khâns and chiefs, or their deputies, hewed in pieces with their swords a horse, a wild ox, and a dog; after which they pronounced this formula: "Hear, O God! O heaven! O earth! the oath that we swear against *Vang Khân* and *Temujin*: if one of us spares them, when occasion offers, or fails to keep the promise which he has made to ruin them, and assist their enemies against them, may he become as these beasts."

THIS oath was long kept secret: but at length the Grand *Vang Khân*, and *Mogul* prince, having been informed of all by a Khân of *Kongorat* lord, prepared to prevent their enemies. *Temujin*, threatened joining his *Moguls* to one-half of the *Kara-it* army, which was given to him, marched to the borders of the *Tanjuts* (or *Tayuts*); and, by his extraordinary diligence, surprized them with his arrival. However, their general, to avoid fighting, till some of the allies had joined him, amused *Temujin* by various stratagems. Mean time the *Naymans* having learned by their scouts that the Grand Khân had but part of his army with him at *Karakorum*, *Erkekara* (A), a

* GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 3, & seq.

of *Turfân*, in *Little Bukhâria*, Perhaps the same with the *Wbey-ke*, 'p. 47.

and perhaps to the south of that city. They were descended from the *Wbey-hû*, who, during the Chinese dynasty of *Tang*, were so powerful, and afterwards became *Mohammedans*. *Gaubil*. (Z) This is placed, by *De La Croix*, in *Hejrah* 573. A. D. 1177.

(A) Called *Jakakara*, in *Abûlgbazi Khân*; and *Isankula*, in the Chinese annals.

younger

A. D. 1185. younger brother of his, who many years before had retired to that tribe, persuaded their *Khân Tayyan* to attack that prince, in *Temujin's* absence. Accordingly, they entered the dominions of *Vang Khân*, who thought of nothing less than an irruption from that quarter; having, the year before, made peace with *Tayyan Khân*, on terms very advantageous to the *Naymans*.

*Temujin
defeats
them.*

THE Grand *Khân*, at this unexpected visit, made a brave defence; but, after an obstinate fight, was obliged to fly, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. The greater part of his soldiers were either killed or wounded, and the capital city pillaged; where his brother *Erkekara* ascended the throne, as *Khân* of the *Kara-its*. The remainder of his scattered troops, with prince *Sankhûn*, his son, retired to the mountains (B); and *Vang Khân* himself, hastened to seek his son-in-law, whom he found ready to give battle to the *Tanjûts* and their confederates. The *Mogul* prince was much amazed when he saw the king in his camp, and heard of his disaster; but comforting him with the hopes of having now his full revenge; he resigned to the *Khân* the command of the main body, and put himself at the head of the left wing, a *Kara-it* lord being intrusted with the right. The victory was a long time doubtful: but at length *Temujin* broke in with such fury upon the confederate forces, that he put their left wing into disorder; which animating the rest of the troops, the enemy was intirely routed, and the *Tanjût* tribe almost quite destroyed.

*Refuses
the Khân.*

NEXT year (C) *Temujin* got together a formidable army of *Kara-its*, with intent to restore the Grand *Khân*: nor was that of the confederate *Khâns* less considerable. *Tuktabye*, for want of *Tanjûts*, brought *Merkits* with him. *Tayyan Khân* led the *Naymans* in person, and the tribes which *Erkekara* had engaged to his part, helped greatly to augment his army. After skirmishing a while, *Temujin*, at the head of his troops, began a general battle, the most bloody, perhaps, that was ever fought. At last the leaders of the enemy gave way, and fled, followed by their troops; of whom the pursuers made a terrible slaughter. It was not known what became of *Erkekara* (D): but the Grand *Khân*, his brother,

(B) The *Chinese* history says, to the *Wbey-hû* princes, to the west of the *Whang-ho*, as before remarked.

(C) Hej. 575. A. D. 1179.
De la Croix.

(D) *Abûlghazi Khân* says, he was taken and put to death; but places this event in the time of *Yesukay*.

entered victoriously into *Karakorum*, in 1179, and was re-established in his throne^u.

A. D.
1201.

ABU'LGHAZI Khan does not mention this restoration of *Vang Khan* by *Temujin*, but speaks of his dethronement by *Jakakara*, as an event which happened in the reign of *Tessu-kay Behadr*^u. That author leaves *Temujin* in a state of inaction for the space of twenty-seven years. He tells us, that, after the battle which he fought when but thirteen years old, finding himself not able to reduce the tribes which had revolted from him, to *Burgah Kariltak*, he was obliged to temporize till the year *Bars*, or *the tiger*; when entering into the fortieth year of his age, a man belonging to the revolted tribes came to tell him, that the *Tayjuts* and *Nirons* were joined with the *Bayjuts*, the *Markats*, and the *Tatars*, intending to surprize him. On this news *Temujin*, who had already considerably augmented his forces, and acquired great experience in war, gave a general review to the thirteen tribes, which were then under his obedience. After this he ordered the baggage and cattle to be placed in the middle of the camp; and putting himself at the head of his troops, proposed, in that posture, to wait for the enemy: but, at their approach, he ranged his 30,000 men in a line, to cover, by so large a front, his baggage and beasts. Having in this manner engaged his foes, he gained a complete victory, with the slaughter of 5 or 6000 slain on the spot, and a great number taken prisoners.

Hej. 598.
A. D.
1201.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle, he ordered seventy large caldrons of water to be put on the fire, and caused the principal of the revolters to be thrown in headlong, when the water was boiling hot. After this he marched to the habitations of the revolted; and having plundered them, carried away the men, cattle, and all other effects. He condemned to slavery the children of the chief men of the tribes; and distributed the rest among his troops, to serve for recruits.

PRINCE *Chamaka* (or *Jemuka*) envying the reputation of *Temujin*, stirred up several princes, the chief whereof were those of *Hatakin*, *Sachihu*, *Kikupan*, and *Tatar*, who resolved to seize on both him and *Vang Khan*. *Te-in* (E), lord of the

^u *ABU'IFARAJ*, ap. De la Croix, p. 31, & seq.

^u *ABU'LGHAZI*

KHAN, p. 72.

^v *Ibid.* p. 69, & seq.

(E) The same, perhaps, who is by *Abu'lghazi Khan* called *Turk-ili*. This seems to be the same confederacy and discovery by a lord of the *Kongorats*, mentioned before, but out of its place.

A. D. 1202. *Honkirats* (or *Kongorats*), who had been forced into the league, retired to his own lands, and sent notice to *Temujin*, who had married his daughter. Hereupon *Temujin* and *Vang Khân* took the field, when least expected, and defeated the confederates in several battles. The *Moguls* were considerably reinforced by the accession of the *Ukutay*, *Mangu*, *Chalar* (or *Jalayr*), *Honkirats*, and *I-ki-lye-tse*. These five hords, which furnished excellent officers, and sprung from the five sons of *Laching Patâr*, sixth ancestor of *Te-in*, dwelt along the *Onon*, *Kerlon*, *Ergone*, *Kalkâ*, and other neighbouring rivers. At this time *Temujin* and *Te-in* made a treaty, famous in the history of the *Moguls*; by virtue of which the chief of each family was to take his first wife out of the other: which treaty was strictly observed, so long, at least, as the descendants of *Temujin* reigned in *China*.*

raised by *Jamuka*. IN 1202 *Jamuka* having assembled the confederate princes near the river *Tulu Pir* (F), they elected him their chief, and took an oath to obey him. This league was exceedingly strengthened, by the accession of *Boyrak* (G), king of the *Naymâns*. *Temujin*, who was assisted by the princes of his house, and his allies, had in his army four generals, called *Palipankuli*, or the four intrepids, named *Muhuli* (H), *Porchi*, *Porokona*, and *Chilakona* (I). Besides these, there was a stranger called *Say-i*, who was expert in the art of war; and being a fire-worshipper, was called *Chapar* (K).

Vang *Khân's inconstancy*. NEXT year *Temujin* joined *Vang Khân*, near the mountain *Kau* (L), where *Jamuka* and his allies had assembled their forces. But *Jamuka*, fearing the success of a battle, chose rather to render the *Kara-it* prince jealous of *Temujin*, by

* GAUBIL. ubi supr. p. 5, & seq.

(F) Probably the *Toro Pira*, which rises in lat. 47° and long. 3° east of *Pe-king*.

(G) In the *Chinese*, *Po-lo-yu*; he was the eldest brother of *Tay-yau Khân*.

(H) These are the *Mungl* names, in which language they were intitled *Queys*, which is the *Quefitan* of *M. Polo Gaubil*.

(I) The first and last were of the hord of *Chalar* (or *Jalayr*); *Porchi* belonged to that of *Orla*; and *Porokona* to the hord of *Hyn-bâkin*. *Gaubil*.

(K) The *Tatar* pronunciation of the word *Ghebr* (or *Ghabr*): the *Chinese* word is *Cba-pa-sul*. *Gaub*.

(L) It is, according to the *Chinese* geographers, 500 *li* (or 50 leagues), west of the mountain *Tu-kin*; which last is about the 45th or 46th degree of latitude, and the 12th or 13th of longitude, west of *Pe-king*, where the kings of the *Tu-que*, or *Turks*, used to encamp, in the fifth century. *Gaub*.

suggesting

suggesting to him that he was not to be trusted. *Vang Khân* hereupon secretly decamped in the night, and retired first to the river *Hafui* (M), and thence to *Salt*, between the *Tula* and *Onon*. They had scarce separated, when the Khân of the *Naymâns* attacked several parties of the *Kara-its*, and plundered the habitations of that hord. On this *Vang Khân* dispatched couriers to *Temujin*, desiring the aid of his four intrepids; who, on their arrival, beat the *Naymâns*, and recovered the booty. This seasonable assistance begat a firmer union than ever between the two; and each promised a daughter in marriage to the other's son.

MEAN time *Ilabo* (N), *Vang Khân*'s son, who had long envied *Temujin*'s reputation, by the instigation of *Jamuka* (O), persuaded his father, ever wavering and distrustful, that the prince of the *Mungls* had betrayed him. In this belief he resolved to destroy *Temujin* by artifice: with which view he invited him to his camp, with his son *Chuchi* (or *Fuji*), and the princess his daughter; under pretence of accomplishing the double marriage before agreed on. *Temujin* indeed set forward; but returning again, sent an officer to put off the ceremony till another opportunity. Soon after, being informed of the whole plot, he sent to his allies, and took proper measures to prevent a surprize.

THE reason of *Temujin*'s sudden return is not mentioned in the *Chinese* history; nor does *Gaubil* inform us from thence in what manner he came to know of the plot: but both are related by *Abû'lghazi Khân* (P). According to this author,

* GAUBIL. p. 6, & seq.

(M) Which rises lat. 47° 50' long. 15° 40' west of *Pe-king*, and falls into the *Selingba*, lat. 49° 20' long. 13° 25'. *Gaub.*

(N) Or *Ilako*; called by *De la Croix*, *Ilako*; *Sanghin* and *Sungbin*, by *Abû'lghazi Khân*.

(O) According to *De la Croix*, in 1180, the year after *Vang Khân*'s restoration by *Temujin*, *Jemuka*, by *Sankun*'s mediation, obtained leave to return to court, where he persuaded *Sankun* that *Temujin*'s design was to deprive him of the succession; and, for that end, corresponded with *Tayyan*, Khân of the *Naymâns*, *Vang Khân*'s enemy, whose

daughter he had married in his minority. That young *Sankun* hereupon, in 1186, wrote his father an account; who, with reluctance, at last, in Hej. 588. A. D. 1192. resolved to seize *Temujin*. *De la Croix*, hist. Geng. p. 34, & seq. also *Abû'lghazi Khân*, p. 70, 72.

(P) Who, p. 69, places this affair in or after the year 1201, agreeable to the *Chinese* annals: whereas *De la Croix*, in Hejrah 590. A. D. 1193, eighty years earlier; which must be owing to the error in placing *Temujin*'s birth so many years too early.

A. D.
1202.how disco-
vered.Temujin
standsupon his
guard.

Vang Khân, at the same time that he invited *Temujin*, under pretence of making a more strict alliance by the marriage, sent to tell *Menglik Izka*, *Temujin*'s father-in-law: that, as nothing stood between him and the crown but his wife's son, he would come and help him to put that prince to death, and then divide his possessions between them. As *Vang Khân* was an intimate friend of *Pofuki*, and owed great obligations to him, *Temujin*, after receiving his ambassador with honour, set forward to go to his court: but meeting on the road with his father-in-law, who discovered the Grand Khân's proposal to him, he returned back, and dismissed the ambassador, with an apology to his master for putting off his visit for the present.

FIVE or six days after the ambassador's departure, *Badu* and *Kisblik*, two brothers (Q), who kept the horses of one of *Vang Khân*'s chief domestics, came and informed *Temujin*; that the grand Khân, finding he had missed his point, was resolved to set out instantly, and surprize him next morning, before he could suspect any danger. They said they heard their master tell this to his wife, the day before, when they went to carry milk to his house; and, without delay, came to give him notice ^b.

TEMUJIN was then, according to *De la Croix*, encamped at some distance from *Karakorum*, by *Vang Khan*'s order; who had sent him from court, under pretence that his presence was necessary in the army (R); but, in reality, to get him away from his own guards: for all the soldiers adored him for his brave actions in the field, and liberality to them. Although the *Mogul* prince could hardly believe what *Badu* and *Kisblik* had told him, he thanked them for their affection; and having consulted *Karajbar*, with the rest of his friends, it was resolved that they should lie in ambuscade. And as the slaves had assured him that he was to be seized in his tent, he ordered all things of value to be removed out of it; that all his domestics and officers should quit theirs; and that fires should be left burning all night in the camp (S). After which

^b ABU'LGHAZI, ubi sup. p. 49, 72, & seq.

(Q) *Abū'lghazi Khân*, p. 50. makes them of the tribe of *Kalhit*, which, he says, sprung from the third son of *Menglik Izka*, by a former wife; but this does not seem probable. P. 69, he says, *Temujin* then entered his fortieth year.

(R) *De la Croix* places this in Hej. 589. A. D. 1193.

(S) *Abū'lghazi Khân* says, he, on this occasion, sent his women, and children, and effects, out of the way, to a place called *Baluna-balak*.

he

he marched, with all his troops, to possess himself of a narrow lane or pass, called *Jermegab*, two or three leagues distant. A. D. 1202.

THEY were scarce departed from the place, when *Vang Khán's* forces arrived, commanded by *Sankán* and *Jemúka* (T). The prince rode full speed up to the illuminated tents, and, with his followers, shot a prodigious number of arrows at *Temujin's*; not doubting but the cries of the wounded would soon drive out him they wanted: but hearing no noise, they entered the tents; where, to their surprize, they found nobody. Hereupon, concluding that he had fled through fear and guilt, they followed him by the track of his troops, in great hurry and disorder.

MEAN time *Temujin* had posted himself at the foot of a mountain, in the narrow pass, which was covered by a wood, with a brook before him: but when he saw the enemy advancing in disorder, although much inferior in force, having only 6000 men against 10,000 (U), he crossed the stream, and attacked them so hotly, that, after a very slight resistance, they fled before him. In this fight they lost a great number of soldiers and officers: prince *Sankán*, who, with the rest, fled back to *Karakorum*, was wounded in the face with an arrow. This action happened when *Temujin* was forty years of age (X), and had been eighteen years in *Vang Khán's* service.

ACCORDING to the Chinese history, when *Vang Khán* perceived that his plot was discovered, he openly attacked *Temujin* on all sides: but the Mogul prince got the advantage in four battles, in the last of which he fought with *Vang Khán* himself; and *Ilako*, being wounded with an arrow, retired out of the engagement. *Temujin*, after this, went and encamped at the lake *Tong-ko*, from whence he sent an officer to reproach *Tóli* in the following manner: "When your

* DE LA CROIX, p. 37, & seq. ABU'LGHAZI, p. 74.

(T) *De la Croix* places this action in Hej. 590, A. D. 1193; but as the year 589 of the Hejrah is also referred to the same year of Christ, it must be observed, that 589 began the 6th of January, 590, the 26th of December, 1193.

(U) According to *Abu'lghani Khán*, he could get together no

more than 2500 men; but *Vang Khán* had 12,000 with him.

(X) *De la Croix*, or his authors, place this action Hej. 590, A. D. 1193, when he was forty years old: but if *Temujin* was born in 1162, that battle will fall in 1202, near the time to which it is referred by *Abu'lghazi Khán*; and the Chinese authors.

A.D.
1202.

"uncle Kior (Y) defeated you at *Hala-when* (Z) you lost your possessions. My father defeated Kior in *Ho-fi*, and restored you. When your brother armed the *Naymáns* against you, and you were obliged to retire westward, I sent my troops, who beat the *Markats*, and hindered the *Naymáns* from defeating you. When you were reduced to so great misery, I gave you part of my flocks, and every thing else that I had; yet you sent me nothing of all the great plunder which you got from the *Markats*: although it was by the help of my officers that you became so rich, and my four generals brought you out of the plunge you were in. You know what I have done to prevent the ill designs which the confederate princes so often formed against you; will you, after so many obligations, attempt to destroy me in so base a manner?"

All-Tatary
in motion.

THE rupture between *Temujin* and *Vang Khán* put most of the princes of *Tatary* in motion: the first was joined by his brother-in-law *Hasar-Whachin* (A), prince of the *Hong-kirats* (or *Kongorats*), and *Putu*, prince of *I-ki-lye-tse*; *Queli*, *Vang Khán*'s brother; *Chapar*, and several other lords. After many consultations with his four generals, the army set forward; and being arrived at the river *Panchuni*, or *Long-ku*, whose water was very muddy, *Hasar* caused a horse to be killed. Then *Temujin*, taking up some of the water, drank it; and, invoking heaven, promised to share with his officers, during his life, *both the sweet and the bitter*; wishing, in case he ever should be so unhappy as to violate his oath, *that he might become as the water which he drank*. All his allies and officers did the same after him. This ceremony linked them exceedingly firm to his interest; and the families of those who drank the water on that occasion, valued themselves much on account of their fidelity: nor were they held in less esteem by others. After this they marched to fight the enemy^d.

League of
Panchuni.

THESE matters are related with no small variation, and more circumstances, by the western historians. According

* GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. Kan, p. 8.

(Y) *Kior*, according to prince *Kantemir* (*Orb. hist.* p. 303, note 48), signifies one who is blind, or has but one eye. This seems to be *Gurkhán* of *De la Croix* and *Abulghazi Khán*. Perhaps he was blind. We will not say that the western historians have made *Gur* out of *Kior*,

(Z) Straits of the mountains south of the river *Orgbén*; lat. 48° 20' long. 12° 15' west of *Pe-king*. *Gaubil*.

(A) This was doubtless the son of *Tc-in*, *Khán* of the *Hong-kirats*; probably the same with *Turk-iki*, who was dead.

to *Abū'lghazi Khân, Temujin*, after the above-mentioned battle, contenting himself with the honour of having beaten the enemy with such a handful of men, judged it convenient to retreat, before all their forces came down upon him; and shaping his course to *Baljuna-balak*, where he had sent his family and effects for security the night before, found so little water there, that he was constrained to march towards the river *Kalláfui* (B). As the tribe of *Kunkurats* (or *Kongorats*), *The Kunkurats sub-* at this time dwelt on that river, and had a chief named *Turk-ili*, who was a relation of *Temujin*, he sent an officer to acquaint him; that he intended to visit him, and should be glad to know if he was disposed to keep up the friendship which had long subsisted between them. Upon this method *Turk-ili* (who seems to be *Hasar* above-mentioned), thought proper to submit to *Temujin*, and join him with all the *Kunkurat* tribe. From thence they marched towards the river *Kollanuaer* (C), on whose banks they stopped for some time. After this, he sent *Arkayjum Behadr* to upbraid *Yang Khân* with his ingratitude; who confessed the charge: yet as the war had been entered upon by the advice of his son, he sent the envoy to him for an answer: but *Sungun*, resolving to *Sanghin* be revenged for his late hurt, would hear of no accommodation.

DE la Croix relates this affair with a greater number of circumstances, and still farther variation from the *Chinese* history, as follows: *Temujin*, after the battle, retired with his troops to the lake *Bajuta* (D), of salt water, and in no great quantity; where his friends and the discontented *Kara-its* resorting to him, he went and encamped on the frontiers of *China*, at the river *Kakul* (E), near a high mountain. From that place, after some stay, he marched for *Mogulistán* (F), where he was joyfully received by his subjects of *Teka-Mogul*, and *Niron Kayat*. After this, in several kurilities, or

* *ABU'LOHZI KHAN*, ubi *supr.* p. 75.

(B) Now called *Orkhor*, or *Orkon*, according to *Bentink*; whereas it ought to be the river which he names *Argus*, and is the *Ergona*, according to the *Chinese* history.

(C) Now called *Tela*, or *Tula*, according to *Bentink*.

(D) This must be the *Baljuna-balak* of *Abū'lghazi Khân*; by

mistake the same letter being marked for a *t* instead of *n*.

(E) *De la Croix* says, it was also called *Karamuren*: there is such a river, which runs from north to south, within a little of the *Wbang-ba*.

(F) This is placed Hej. 591. A. D. 1194.

A. D.

1202.



The Mo-
guls unite.

assemblies, summoned to sound and animate the people (G), he proposed throwing off the yoke of the *Kara-its*: telling them they had now a fair opportunity; and, to induce them the sooner, pretended he was sent from God for that purpose. This speech had the desired effect: for applauding his enterprise, they promised to obey him. Hereupon he raised only 4500 soldiers more than he had before; and then sent to propose a league with the *Khân* of the *Kongorats*, son to his father-in-law, who was dead; also with the *Khân* of the *Kárlas*: but those of the *Sú Maguls*, or *Tatars*, refusing his offers, he constrained them by force of arms. The *Kháns* of *Merkat*, seeing this, chose to do freely what they would otherwise have been compelled to: and several other tribes followed their example, although solicited to stand out by some *Kháns*, particularly those of *Merkit*; of whom *Tákta-bey*, *Temujin*'s mortal enemy, was the most powerful.

Refuse pay-
ing tribute.

AFTERWARDS, all the allied *Kháns*, by proclamation, forbade paying any more tribute to *Vang Khán*; who, on this, tried gentle means. But finding nothing would reclaim them, freed the *Merkits* from all tribute, and made large promises to *Tákta-bey* (H); hoping that this party of *Moguls* would balance the power of the other. Mean time *Temujin*, seeming to be for peace, advised sending to propose an accommodation to *Vang Khán*, on condition that he should release them from all taxes, as he had done the *Merkits*.

Temujin
proposes
peace:

As they left the management of this affair to himself, he pitched on *Arnijún* to be the ambassador; who, after reciting the obligations he owed to his master, and *Vang Khán*'s ungenerous returns, intreated him to grant peace to the *Moguls*, and renew his friendship with his son-in-law. *Vang Khán*, having referred the affair to his council, for a while (†) put off the envoy; who, in the mean time, suffered a thousand indignities from the friends of *Sankun* and *Jemáka*, which he loudly complained of: but meeting with no redress, sent an account of all to *Temujin*, who ordered him forthwith to return.

which is
rejected.

THE Grand *Khán* would willingly have made peace; but *Sankun*, prejudiced by *Jemáka*'s suggestions, opposed it with all his might; and carrying his father's answer himself, told the ambassador, "that the *Moguls* were to expect no peace," but by submitting absolutely to the *Khán*'s will; and that,

‘ABU’LKAYR ap. De la Croix, p. 41, & seq.

(G) This is referred to Hej.
592. A. D. 1194.

(†) La Croix says for a whole
year.

(H) This is referred to Hej.
594. A. D. 1197.

“ 33

"as for *Temujin*, he would never see him but with sword in hand (I)." The confederate Khâns, exasperated by so haughty a message, prepared for war. Hereupon *Sankhân* sent troops to ravage *Mogulistan*, but they were always repulsed with loss. The Grand Khân, enraged at this disgrace, levied troops all over his dominions, and drew above 30,000 men out of the provinces of *Turkeshân* (K), *Tondokh*, and other parts, depending on the kingdom of *Jelair*. Then sending to summon the *Moguls* to submit, he promised them all the satisfaction they required if they complied; but if not, threatened to treat them with the utmost rigour.

SOME Khâns were at first of opinion to accept of *Vang Prepares Khân's* proposals; but others, less timorous, nobly opposed for war. them. At length, animated by *Temujin's* arguments, who produced letters from *Karakorum*, assuring them that the Grand Khân and his son had sworn the ruin of the confederates; it was resolved by the whole assembly, then met at *Monkerule*, to raise all the forces their tribes could furnish, and to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. Then declaring *Temujin* general, they presented him the *Topuz*, or truncheon of command: but he would not accept of it, but on condition that every man should punctually obey his orders; and that he should have full power to punish those who did not do their duty. Having granted all his demands, they returned to their respective countries, in order to get their troops ready to take the field.

TEMUJIN, the better to secure his friends in his intention, loaded with benefits those who had left *Vang Khân*, to gratitude. follow him; and out of them chose all his general officers: But he in a singular manner rewarded the two slaves who gave him notice of that prince's designs against him: for besides the considerable presents which he made them, he declared them *Terkâns* (L), and assigned them a revenue for

* Mirkond. ap. De la Croix, p. 45, & seq. ABU'BOHAZI, p. 76, & seq.

(I) This is placed, by *Abûlghazi*, in Hej. 598. A.D. 1201. by *De la Croix*, in Hej. 596. A.D. 1199. and *Sankhân's* hostilities in 1200.

(K) This cannot be understood of the country of the *Turks*, in the west of *Tatary*; but there were some *Turkish* tribes who bordered westward on the territories of the *Moguls*, and other

eastern tribes, who probably are meant here.

(L) According to *Abûlfaraj*, the *Terkân*, or *Tarkhân*, is exempt from all taxes; enjoys his whole booty, without giving any to the Khân; goes into his presence without asking leave; and is pardoned nine times, let the fault be what it will.

their

A. D.
1202.Reforms
discipline.

their maintenance; ordaining that these privileges should continue to them and their descendants to the seventh, some authors say to the ninth, generation. These acts of gratitude and liberality were of great service to him. When all the confederate troops were come together; contrary to the custom of the *Moguls*, who used to attack their enemies in one main body, he divided his army into two wings, and in the center placed his own troops, as a body of reserve. Then marching directly towards the Grand *Khân's* dominions, he found that his army was already in motion; but being incumbered with carriages, was slow in his march to the plain of *Tangut*, in the country of the *Kara-its*, where *Temujin* waited his coming^a.

To avoid the confusion which would arise from mixing discording relations together, and to leave our readers to chuse for themselves, we have laid before them separately, as we have hitherto done in the like cases, the accounts of the several authors in view; and shall make no remarks on them, farther than to observe, that neither those made use of by *Abû'lghazi Khân*, nor *De la Croix*, speak of the famous oath taken by *Temujin* and his confederates, at the river *Pauchani*, as mentioned by the *Chinese* historians, to whom we shall now return.

Meets the
Kara-its,

TEMUJIN having marched from that river in quest of the enemy, the two armies met between the *Tula* and *Kerlon*, or *Kerûlon*: and though that of *Vang Khân* was by far the most numerous, yet, after a bloody fight, *Temujin* gained a complete victory: after which the greater part of the vanquished troops joined his. *Vang Khân* had much ado to get off; and many of his own officers would have killed him. He was pursued, however, and taken by one of the parties sent after him; but the same day escaped, and retired into the territories of the *Naymans*: where an officer of that country knowing him, caused the unfortunate prince to be slain. His son *Ilabo* (or *Ilaka Sanghin*) retired first into the kingdom of *Hya*; from whence being driven, and flying to the country of *Kiu-tse* (M), between *Turfân* and *Kashgar*, he was there killed, by order of its prince¹.

WITH

^a JOVINI ap. De la Croix, p. 47. & seq.
supr. p. 10.

¹ GAUBIL, ubi

(M) 'Tis hard to say what place this is: *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, that he retired to the city of *Khatin* (or *Kotan*), in *Little*

Bukhâria, which belonged to *Kalijobara*, a lord of the tribe of *Kallatz*; who, instead of protecting, put him to death. But according

WITH this account the western historians agree, but relate the several matters more at large: they tell us, that prince *Karasbar*, who commanded the van-guard of *Temujin's* army, began the battle, by attacking that of the enemy, headed by *Jemuka*. The conflict was the more bloody, as the personal hatred betwixt those two generals was very great; but *Karasbar* was at length overthrown. Then *Suida Behadr*, at the head of the veteran troops, joined with the *Sâ-moguls*, or *Tatars*, so vigorously charged *Vang Khân's* main body, that they gave back; and *Jemuka*, who advanced to sustain them, was obliged also to give ground. At the same time the two wings of *Temujin's* army, commanded by the princes *Hubba* and *Irka*, attacked the two wings of the enemy, and for three hours both sides behaved with extraordinary bravery. The *Kara-its* fought with so much courage, that the victory seemed often ready to declare in their favour. But, in the end, the *Moguls* gained it (N): for *Temujin*, when he saw it was time to advance with his corps-de-reserve, where he was with the prince his son, fell on with such fury, that the *Kara-its* began to give back, and break their ranks on all sides; nor could their Khân, and prince *Sankun*, rally them again; so that they were at last obliged to follow their flying army, who fell in heaps before the pursuing enemy. This victory greatly enriched the *Moguls*, who, besides the plunder of the baggage, took abundance of prisoners, and a great number of horses.

THIS day, which was fatal to *Vang Khân*, proved the most prosperous to *Temujin*, who was then forty years of age; Khân for it put him into possession of the kingdom of the *Kara-its*, and all *Karakitay*. The vanquished not only lost

² DE LA CROIX, p. 55, & seq.

according to *De la Croix*, after removing in disguise from one country to another, and thinking himself unsafe at *Kâshgar*, he returned to *Tibet*, where he was put to death the same year for a spy.

(N) *Marco Polo* reports, that this prince ordered the astrologers and magicians to try his fate by wands: they split a piece of green cane in two; then writing the name of *Cingis* on one, and of *Umcan* on the other,

stuck them in the ground at some distance. After this they began to read their conjurations, during which the sticks approached; and having fought, *Umcan's* remained undermost; which presaged the victory to *Cingis*. This piece of juggle is still in use among the *Turks*, *Africans*, and other *Mohammedan* nations, which they call *do the book*; whereof *Thevenot* gives an account in his travels to the *Levant*.

A. D.
1202.

40,000 men, killed in the battle; but the best troops which remained went over to his enemy. As he was wounded in the fight, he was obliged to quit the command of his army, with design to retire to *Karakorum*; but seeing himself pursued by a troop of *Moguls*, he fled for refuge to his enemy *Tayyan Khán*. This retreat was much wondered at, as that *Khán* hated him; and there were in his court several great *Naymán* lords, whom he had ill treated: these lords did not fail to aggravate the injuries which he had done their country; and even to allege, that his flying thither was only with a malicious design to ruin them, by drawing the victor's anger upon the *Naymáns*.

is put to
death.

TAYYAN Khán, who was naturally ungenerous, readily gave ear to their advice, to put the *Grand Khán* to death. As soon as he was seized, they held a council, at which their prince took care not to be present; imagining, by that means, to avoid the charge of having violated the law of nations and hospitality. He even pretended to be displeased at his enemy's death; but when *Vang Khán's* head was presented him, he could not conceal his joy, nor contain from insulting him with words full of scorn and spite¹.

SOME authors relate this matter very differently; according to them, *Vang Khán*, being on the road to *Tayyan Khán*, he was met by *Karimaju* and *Tamika*, two *Naymán* chiefs; who knowing there had always been animosity between him and their *Khán*, slew him, with all his attendants: but that, on presenting his head (O) to *Tayyan Khán*, he blamed much the action, saying, that *Vang Khán*, having been a great prince, and venerable for his age, they had much better served for his guard, than been his executioners. Farther to honour the memory of so great a prince, he had his head incased in silver, and placed upon his own seat, with his face turned to the door^m.

His dominions seized.

TEMUJIN, when informed of *Vang Khán's* death, without loss of time continued to seize his dominions, as his right by conquest; and *Sankun* being no-where to be found, he remained peaceable possessor of all the *Kara-it* territories. About

¹ JOVINI ap. De la Croix, p. 56. ABU'LGHAZI, p. 77.

* Ibid. p. 77.

(O) Both *De la Croix* and *Ahū'ghazi Khán* mention the circumstance of the tongue thrusting itself several times out of the mouth; from whence some

presages were drawn in favour of *Temujin*. The first says, this happened when the head was fresh; the latter, when it was dry.

the

the end of the year (P) he returned to his own country, where he was received with acclamations by all the *Mogul Khâns*, who came to pay their acknowledgements to him, for having delivered them from the tyranny of *Vang Khân*, whom they called the persecutor of their nation.

A. D.
1202.

AFTER this *Hakembû*, a brother of *Vang Khân*, came to *Hakem* offer his service to *Temujin*, and a daughter in marriage. *b. sub.* The Grand Khân received him favourably, gave him the employment he desired, and accepted of his daughter with joy: at the same time telling him, "that he owed him a kind treatment, in return for that which his brother had given to him in his misfortunes. That although both *Vang Khân* and prince *Sankûn* had, without cause, conspired against his life, yet he never blamed them, but imputed all their persecutions to *Jemuka*; nor had, on that score, one jot the less respect for their memories, than if they had always continued his friends." *Temujin* fully designed to have married his daughter; but perceiving that the captain of his guards, whom he much esteemed, was fallen in love with that princess, he gave her to him for a wife.

TAYYAN, Khân of the *Naymâns*, one of the most considerable princes of *Karakitay*, was alarm'd and uneasy at his son-in-law's surprizing fortune, notwithstanding the harmony there had been of long time between them. While his thoughts were employed on this subject, *Jemûka*, who had escaped out of the late battle, with the remains of *Vang Khân's* army, and most of the officers, arrived at his court;

(P) In the text of *La Croix*, p. 61, it is, *about the end of the year 1202, being forty-nine years of age*. But, according to *Abûlghazi Khân*, p. 78. he was no more than forty years of age when he gained the victory; and was acknowledged by the *Moguls* for their Khân, in the country of *Nau-mankura*, where he then resided. He places this event in the *Mogul* year of the *Hog*, and of the *Hejrah* 599, which answers to the year of Christ 1202; at the end of which *De la Croix* also puts it: so that here the chronology of these two authors, which disagreed before, coincides, and thenceforward tallies pretty well. On this occa-

sion it must be observed, that the authors followed by *De la Croix*, spin out to ten years length the affairs, which those made use of by *Abûlghazi Khân* comprize within the compass of one year: for the former puts *Vang Khan's* plot to seize *Temujin* in *Hej.* 588, the latter in 598, A. D. 1201. at which time the Khân says he was forty; but *De la Croix*, that he had entered into his forty-eighth year. Whence this difference happened is not so easy to determine; but we conclude *Abûlghazi Khân's* account to be most exact, as the *Chinese* history gives but the space of a year to the same transactions.

and

A. D. 1203. and being known to be a man of great abilities, was very well received. As he had a subtil wit, and was skilled in all the arts of courts, he endeavoured to stir up his jealousy against *Temujin*. He represented him as a man of unbounded ambition, who quarrelled with princes, for a pretence to invade their dominions; as well as the most ungrateful and perfidious: alleging that he contrived to deprive both *Vang Khân* and *Sangun* of their empire and lives, at the same time that they loaded him with their favours. *Tayyân Khân* knew this to be all calumny; yet, urged more by his own fears than *Jemûka*'s sollicitations, he resolved to make war on *Temujin*. To this purpose he proposed a league with some other Khâns, whose interest it was to put a stop to the new emperor's growing greatness: into which *Tuktabey*, and the other *Merkit* (Q) Khâns, the Khân of the *Virats*, and he of the *Kerit*, who was a relation of *Vang Khân*, presently entered; and *Jemûka* engaged for the whole tribe of *Jajerats* (or *Joygherats*)ⁿ.

the other
Khâns.

The plot discovered. AMONG the rest, *Tayyân Khân* had likewise invited *Alaku* (or *Alakus*), to join with him and prince *Jemûka*, in order to curb the power of *Temujin*. This *Alakus* (R) was chief of the white *Tata*, who dwelt to the south-south-east of the mountain *Altay*. These *Tata* are different from the *Tatars*: that name being sometimes given by the *Chineses* to the people in general inhabiting beyond the great wall; and at other times to certain particular hords, whereof some were called *Tata* of the waters (S), situate almost due north of *Korea*; others white *Tata*, of whom we are speaking. Their chief, *Alakus*, was a descendant of the antient *Turkiſh* princes (T); and having had a very great esteem for *Temujin*, he detained the messenger who came from *Tayyân Khân*, and gave the *Mogul* prince notice of the proposal. Hereupon his brother *Kancheikin*, pressing him to take speedy and vigorous measures, he mounted his horse; and, followed by his choicest

° DE LA CROIX, p. 60, & seq.

(Q) In *Abûlghazi Khân*, mentions *Su Moguls*, or *Moguls Markats*. of the water.

(R) In *Chinese*, *A-la-u-tſe*: *De la Croix* says, he was Khân of the *Ankuts*, or *Unkuts*, as *Abûlghazi Khân*. In the text of *De la Croix* the *Karluts* are put in by some mistake.

(T) Called, by the *Chinese*, *Tu-que*. They dwelt to the north west of *Turfan*, and were very formidable to the *Chinese* themselves in the sixth century, as hath been related before, p.

(S) Or *Sui Tata*. *Rubruquis* 35.

soldiers,

soldiers, marched to the mountain *Hang-hay* (U), where *Tayyan* was incamped with his *Naymans*; who, though much more numerous, were defeated, and their *Khân* slain: on which many hords declared for the victor, who before were restrained by fear. This happened in the year 1204; and next year *Temujin* began to make incursions on the territories of the king of *Hya* ⁶.

A. D.
1204.Naymans
routed,

WITH regard to this new victory, the western Asiatic historians tell us, that *Alakus*, having sent *Tayyan Khân's* letter, containing all the particulars of the conspiracy, with the names of the before-mentioned *Khâns*, to *Temujin*; this latter convened a council, in which he would have his eldest son *Juji*, otherwise called *Tusbi*, to assist; and, the designs of the confederates being made known, war was resolved on (X). The army assembled in the beginning of the year (Y): soon after which *Temujin* began his march; and, having passed his own frontiers, came at length to the river *Altay* (Z). Where no troops appearing, to dispute the passage, he was surprized; because he must have suffered much, had there been ever so few to have opposed him. *Jemuka* would have had *Tayyan Khân* go meet the enemy, and not wait their coming; for that in so doing he would prevent the *Moguls* from ravaging his country, and his own men from flying, by leading them far from home. But the *Nayman Khân*, instead of hearkening to his advice, flattered himself, that the farther the *Moguls* advanced, the less able they would be to fight; and, on the contrary, that his troops, being in full strength, would easily get the victory.

and their
Khân
slain.A. D.
1204.

WHILE he deluded himself with these vain imaginations, the *Moguls*, who were well supplied with provisions and forage, approached his camp. But when his officers brought him word how formidable the enemy was, he began to repent that he had not followed the counsel of *Jemuka*; who yet shewed not the least discontent, nor appeared less zealous

• GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 10, & seq.

(U) A chain of mountains, the most eastern part, in lat. 50° long. near 17° west of *Peking*. The chief mountain belonging to it, is in lat. 46° 50' long. 14° 38' west. *Gaubil*.

(X) *Abûlghâzi* says, that the heads of tribes alleged, that they were not in a condition to undertake any thing, till their horses were recovered from the

fatigue of the former expedition: but that *Daristay Oljigan*, or *Bulay*, *Jenghiz Khân's* uncle by the father's side, offered to furnish the whole army with horses of his own; which obviated the objection.

(Y) *De la Croix* places this affair in *Hej.* 600, A. D. 1203.

(Z) Now called *Siba*, according to *Bentink*.

for

A. D. 1204. for the cause P. The two armies being in sight, and drawn up in order, prince *Jaji*, and one of his uncles, *Fujikat*, began the fight, with great vigour: but *Kasbluk*, *Tayyan Khân's* son, sustained the shock without giving ground. These two young princes, whom the love of glory equally inflamed, strove to signalize their skill and valour. The brave resistance which the van-guards made on both sides, by degrees engaged the other corps, and brought on a general battle. The fight lasted from sun-rise to sun-set, with great obstinacy; but at last the *Moguls*, breaking the enemies ranks, put them to flight, and made a terrible slaughter of them. *Tayyan Khân*, who performed all the parts of a good general, was, at the beginning of the battle, mortally wounded, and died soon after. *Kusbluk*, his son (A), and *Tukta Bey* (B), fled, with all those who escaped the swords of the enemy. As for *Jemûka*, spurred on by his hatred to the Grand Khân, he signalized himself by a thousand heroic actions: but his rage made him venture too far, for he was taken prisoner; and after the battle had his head struck off (C), as the principal cause of all the late distractions.

*Kusbluk
flies.*

*Jemûka
executed.*

*The Nays-
mans re-
duced.*

THE kingdom of the vanquished being thus subdued by *Temujin*, who brought under his obedience a vast tract of land, he returned to *Karakorum*; where, during the winter, his court was filled with ambassadors, who were sent by their masters, either to congratulate him, ask his protection, or submit to his government. Almost all the *Kalmûk* (D) tribes in the eastern parts put themselves under his protection: but, to the north, some Khâns, jealous of their liberty, and even some *Mogul* tribes, who were most out of his reach, refused to ask his favour. *Tukta Beg*, who was once a very power-

P DE LA CROIX, p. 70, & seq. ABU'LGHAZI, p. 80, & seq.

(A) According to the *Chinese* history, he was son of *Boyrak*, *Tayyan's* brother.

(B) By *Abû'lghazi Khân* called *Tokta Beghi*, who fled to *Bayrak*, another Khân of the *Naymâns*, and *Tayyan's* eldest brother.

(C) It appears not, from *Abû'lghazi Khân*, p. 86, that he was in this battle: but after *Tayyan Khân's* death he returned to his tribe: who, considering him as the cause of the war, carried him bound to *Jengbiz Khân*,

their present sovereign, who caused him to be drawn limb from limb.

(D) By these seem to be meant the tribes who continued *Pagans*, or who were not *Mohammedans*, when our historians wrote. *De Lisle*, in his map to the history of *Jengbiz Khân*, places them to the north of the river *Saghalian*, or *Amûr*, in *Karakatay*, where *Karakatay* never was. But that map is full of gross errors.

ful prince, could not bear to see the sudden grandeur of the new emperor, strove all he could to foment their hatred against him. On the other hand, *Temüjin*, looking on him as his worst enemy, resolved to turn his arms against this Khân, who had so highly injured him. Accordingly, early in the spring (E), he set out at the head of a powerful army against the *Merkits* (or *Markats*).

A. D.
1205.

TUKTA Bey was not insensible of the provocations he *The Mer-* had given *Temüjin*: yet his envy flattering him with hopes of *kits de-* success one time or other, he also made great preparations of *seated* war; and was joined by some *Tanjuts* (or *Tayjuts*), with prince *Kasbluk*. But when he heard that *Temüjin* approached his capital city *Kasbin*, with an army, the like of which was never seen before in *Mogulistan*, his heart failed him; and he, with his eldest son, fled to *Boyruk*, *Tayyan Khân's* brother, to whom *Kasbluk*, his nephew, had already retired for shelter.

THE Grand Khân by this means found none in the field to oppose him. However, the city of *Kasbin* (F) seemed resolved to stand a long siege: but although, at first, the inhabitants made a vigorous resistance, yet they were in a short time obliged to surrender; and *Temüjin*, having put all to the sword who had been in arms against him, razed the fortrefs. After this he took an oath of fidelity from all the tribe of *Kasbin*, as well as others of the *Merkit* tribe; and all the Khâns whom he pardoned swore to obey him.

THE Grand Khân, having finished the conquest of *Mogul-Military* *istan*, returned to his capital *Karakorum*; where, reflecting *regula-* on the vast number of his acquisitions, he judged it proper *tions.* to regulate his empire. With this view he called a general Hej. 602; dyet, which he appointed to be held on the first day of spring A. D. the next year, when the sun entered *Aries*; to which were 1205. summoned all the great lords, both *Mogul* and *Tatar*. In the interim, to establish good order in the army, he divided his soldiers into several *Tomâns*, *Hezarehs*, *Sedehs*, and *Dehehs*;

1 ABU'LK. ap. De la Croix, p. 74, & seq.

(E) *De la Croix* places this in the spring of the year 1204.

(F) It is not easy to fix the site of this city, p. 92 and 371. The country of *Tangut* is said to have borne that name. *De Lisle*, in his map prefixed, places it to the south of the *Naymân* country; but far from the north-

west borders of *China*, to which it seems to be near: since, p. 91, *Ardiss*, in the borders of the *Naymân* and *Merkit*, was near *Tangut*; and *Kampion* (which is known to be *Kan-chew*, in the province of *Sben-fu*, in *China*), was the capital of *Tangut*.

A. D. 1206. that is, bodies of ten thousand, one thousand, one hundred, and of ten, men : with their respective offices, all subordinate to the generals who commanded the Tomans; and these were to act under one of his own sons. He next turned his thought to making new laws; whereof he ordered a memorial to be drawn up, which he communicated to his privy-council, before he espoused it in the general dyet.

*Temújin
installed,*

AT length, the day of holding it being come, the princes of the blood and great lords met at the place appointed, dressed in white. Then the Grand Khán, clothed like the rest, sitting down on his throne, with his crown on his head, was complimented by the whole assembly, who wished the continuance of his health and prosperity. After this they confirmed the *Mogul* empire to him and his successors; adding all those kingdoms and nations which he had subdued, the descendants of whose vanquished Kháns were deprived of all right or title to any of them. When he had thanked them for these marks of love and respect, he declared his resolution to add to the antient laws some new ones, which he commanded that they should observe; and which we have inserted at the end of his reign.

A. D. 1206. AFTER this, in the tenth month of the year 1206, the princes of the family of *Temújin*, the chiefs of hords, and generals of the army, assembled at the source of the river *Onon*. All the troops were divided into nine bodies, each of which having set up a pavilion and displayed a standard, they acknowledged *Temújin* for their sovereign, by this general cry, *Chinghiz Kohán* (G). After which he nominated *Muhuli* and *Porchi* his two chief generals and prime ministers. From this event the *Chinese* history commences the empire of the *Mongol* (or *Mongl*) conqueror.

ABU' LGHAZI Khán, conformable to the *Chinese* historians, gives *Temujin* the empire and name of *Jenghiz Khán* at the same time: but *De la Croix* places those events three years asunder; the first in 1202, just after the defeat and death of *Vang Khán* (in which year *Abú'lghazi* places both), the latter in 1205. They likewise relate them with different circumstances. With regard to *Temújin* being acknowledged sovereign, *Abú'lghazi Khán* only says, that, in the year 599,

' Mirkond, Kondamir, Abu'l. ap. De la Croix, p. 76, & seq. * GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 11, & seq.

(G) In the *French*, *Tching-ti se*. Which is not a *Mongol* word; but a sound expressing the cry of a bird, to which they ascribe extraordinary qualities, and make its appearance the presage of good luck.

called

called by the *Moguls Tongúz*, or the hog, *Jenghiz Khân* being full forty years old, all the tribes of *Moguls* who had submitted to him, acknowledged him for their Khân in the country of *Naumankura*; where at that time he resided: ^{in a general dyet,} on which occasion he gave his subjects a great feast. *De la Croix* enlarges much on the subject; and informs us, that *Temújin* laid hold of the opportunity which his victory over *Vang Khân* afforded, to strengthen his interest with the people; who, gained by his eloquence, and the encomiums of his friends, resolved to chuse him their Grand Khân. The Khâns who were already in his interest importuned the other Khâns to yield to the request of *Temújin*, whose presents were still more prevalent. Notice having been given to the absent Khâns, of what was agreed on in this great assembly, they repaired to *Dilon Ildak*, in the province of *Yeka Mogul* (H), to perform the ceremony of his inauguration. There *Temújin*, placing himself on a plain seat, set for him for Grand upon an eminence, harangued the people with his usual ^{Khân of} eloquence. After which they set him on a black felt carpet spread on the ground; and then the person who was appointed to give the peoples suffrage pronounced aloud their pleasure: first he told him, "that the authority or power, which was given him, came from God; who would not fail to prosper him, in case he governed his subjects well: but that, if he abused his power, he should render himself miserable, as the black felt, on which he sat, intimated to him." After this remonstrance, seven Khâns lifted him up, with an air of ceremony, and bore him to a throne, which was prepared for him in the midst of the assembly. Then they proclaimed him emperor, with the title of Grand Khân, or Khaan, of all the *Mogul* tribes; and bowed their knees nine times before him, in token of obedience: after which the people performed the same ceremony, accompanied with acclamations of joy.

THE new emperor promised on his part to govern them *Moguls* with as much justice as mercy, and defend them against all ^{and Tatars} their enemies; always to procure their good and ease: to acquire glory for them, and make their names known to all the earth. As he had much reason to commend the *Sá-Moguls*, or *Tatars*, he declared, that, in reward of their

ABU'LOHAZI KHAN, p. 78.

(H) To make this agree with the source of the *Onon*; and in the foregoing *Chinese* account, indeed the country of the *Moguls*, *Dilon Ildak* and *Yeka Mogul* seems to have been there-must have been situate about

A. 2 2

services,

A. D. 1206. services, he would join their name in his title, by styling himself *Grand Khân of the Moguls and Tatars*. When the ceremony was over, he distributed presents, both to great and small. He likewise made magnificent entertainments (I); which, according to the custom of those nations, continued for several days together. After this, he dismissed the assembly^u.

Named
Jenghiz
Khân,

CONCERNING the name of *Jenghiz Khân*, *Abûlghazi Khân* relates, that, during the ceremony of the inauguration, one *Kokza* (or *Kokja*), son of *Menglisb Izka* (or *Izka*), by the first venter, father-in-law of *Temujin*, came to him, and declared, "that he came from God to tell them, that from thenceforth he should take the name of *Jenghiz* (K), and "order his subjects to call him *Jenghiz Khân*" (L). He foretold at the same time, that all his posterity should be *Khâns*, from generation to generation. This *Kokza* used to go bare-footed in winter, and very thin of cloaths: but as he suffered no injury by it in his health, as others would have done, they surnamed him the *image of God*. He gave out, that a white horse came to him, from time to time, which carried him up to heaven, where he conversed with the Deity^v. Many believed that *Kokja* was set on by *Temujin* to play this game. However that be, from this time forward he assumed the name of *Jenghiz Khân*; which we shall use for the future.

by a revelation.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1205 a dyet was called, wherein the *Mogul* lords, who were in the secret of the pretended revelation, supported it so strongly, that the *Moguls* every-where gave credit to it; and already looked upon all the rest of the world as belonging, by divine right, to their

^u DE LA CROIX, p. 61, & seq.
^v XOND, ap. eund. p. 64.

* ABU'LFARAJ, MIR.

ABU'LOHAZI, p. 78.

(I) At this feast, according to *Abûlghazi Khân*, he assumed the name of *Jenghiz Khân*, at the instance of *Kokza*.

(K) Our royal author, explaining this name, says, that *Jin*, in the *Mogul* language, signifies *great*; and the termination *ghiz*, making the superlative; *Jinghiz* is as much as to say *the most great*. *De la Croix* says, it signifies the *Khân* of *Khâns*.

(L) *Abûlfaraj*. p. 281, says,

he named him *Jenghiz Khân Tubt Tangri*; but *Mirkond* and others say, *Tubt Tangri* (or as *D'Herbelot*, p. 379, writes it *Tubi Tangri*) was the name of the prophet. *De la Croix* says, that *Mirkond* calls him *Bar Tangri*. This signifies *the son of God*, and seems designed for an explanation of *Tubt Tangri*; which perhaps, after all, signifies *the image of God*, and was *Kokja's* surname.

Grand

Grand Khân. In this persuasion they breathed nothing but war; and even thought it a crime against heaven in those princes who resisted, in defence of their own dominions¹. A. D. 1208.

BUT to return to the *Chinese* historians. The year 1206 Boyruk was farther memorable for the intire defeat of *Pologu* (or Khân de-*Boyrak*), brother of *Tayyan*, Khân of the *Naymans*. His son *seated* (M) *Kusbluk*, and *Toto* (or *Tokta Bey*), lord of the *Markits*, retired to the river *Irtisb*; where the former had still a powerful party: but, in 1208, *Chinghiz Khân*, having attacked them both, slew *Toto* with his own hand, and *Kusbluk* fled into the kingdom of the *Kitan* (N). This victory put him in a condition to subdue the rest of the hords, which still stood out². A. D. 1208.

THE *Persian* historians say, that *Boyrak*, being pursued, was taken, and put to death in the camp. After this, according to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, *Kusbluk* and *Tokta Beg* retired to the river *Irtisb*. But *De la Croix*, who quotes *Mirkond*, *Kondamtr*, and *Abû'lkayr*, for his authorities, says, they retreated to *Ardisb*, a fortress on the frontiers of their respective territories in the tribe of *Merkit*; where they designed to recruit their scattered forces, with some others who were left behind: but that, two years after (O), *Jenghiz Khân*, to prevent their having time to fortify themselves, marched against them in the midst of winter. Those princes, amazed at his sudden arrival, and not being strong enough to oppose him, retired under the fortress of *Ardisb*: but *Jenghiz Khân*, for all the rigour of the season, and difficult roads, soon appeared before that place, and forcing them to come to an engagement, quickly put them to flight. *Tukta Beg* was killed in the action: but *Kusbluk*, with some expert soldiers, escaped *Kushluk* to *Turkestan*, where he was kindly received by *Gurkhân* (P), *escapes*. a very powerful monarch; who, touched with the misfortunes of this young prince, gave him his daughter in marriage³.

¹ DE LA CROIX, p. 90.

² GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 12.

³ MIRKOND, ABU'LKAYR. ap. De la Croix, p. 91, & seq. ABU'LGHAZI, p. 84, & seq.

(M) The western *Asiatic* writers make him the son of *Tayyan Khân*, as has been observed in a former note.

(N) This must be understood of the *Kitan* settled in *Little Bukharia*; of whom an account will be given hereafter. They were called *Karakitayans*, as

coming originally from *Karakitay*.

(O) This is placed in the year 1207 by *De la Croix*.

(P) He was sovereign both of the *Western Kitan*, or *Karakitayans*, and *Turkestan*; and generally resided at *Kashgar*.

A. D.
1208.Mistake
rectified.

OUR readers cannot but be surprised at the great disagreement among the authors before us, concerning the place of action; some making it to be at a river beyond the regions of the *Moguls*; others at a fortress at a great distance from thence, not far from the borders of *Tangut* and *Kitay*. Whether those who assert the latter as fact (for we take the concurrent testimony of *Abû'lghazi Khân*, and the *Chinese* historians, to be a proof that the *Irtisb* was the scene of action), had it from the memoirs of *Pulâd*, or finding only a bare name of a place, supplied the want of a description by conjectures of their own, we will not venture absolutely to determine: but this latter looks to be the case, since *Ardisb* and *Irtisb* are written with the same *Mogul* or even *Arabic* characters: and *De la Croix* does not cite *Fadlallah*, who wrote his history from the memoirs and assistance of *Pulâd*; which seems to shew, that he says nothing to support the matter in question.

Joygherats
and
Karliks
submit.

JENGHIZ Khân, in his approach to the *Irtisb*, passed near the habitations of the *Joygherats* and *Karliks*: the first subject to *Konaka Beghi*; the latter, to *Arslân Khân*; who, not being in a condition to oppose his forces, both submitted to him, and conducted him to the camp of *Kuchluk* and *Tukta Beghi*. In his return from this expedition he summoned *Urûs Inâl*, chief of the *Kerghis*: who likewise submitted, and sent him a shungar, or shonkar, for a present ^b.

C H A P. II.

Jenghîz Khân invades the Kingdoms of Hya, Kitay, and Turkestan.

Jenghîz
Khân in-
vades

THE Grand Khân, having finished the conquest of *Mogulistan*, or that part of *Tartary* inhabited by the various tribes of people comprehended under the name of *Moguls* and *Tatars*, (extending from the borders of what is called *Eastern Tartary* to mount *Altay* in the west), began to think of invading the countries out of *Tartary* to the south. Which, unlike the deserts he had already subdued, where no works of stone appeared to stop the progress of an enemy, were full of fortified cities, and strong places, as well as inhabitants. A consideration which at once presents to the reader's mind the difficulty of the enterprize, to people as yet, it may be presumed, unexperienced in the art

^b ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, p. 85, & seq.

of taking towns; and shews the genius of the prince who formed so grand a design. A. D. 1209.

JENGHIZ Khan, who, as hath already been observed, had, in the year 1205, began to make incursions upon the territories of the king (or emperor) of *Hya*; in 1209, attacked his dominions, with design to reduce them under his obedience: but, after forcing several posts near the great wall, *Li-gan-tsuen*, to save his capital, which *Jenghiz Khân* was preparing to attack, submitted to become his tributary, as will be related hereafter^a. *the empire of Hya.*

ALMOST at the same time that prince conquered the countries of *Krekir* and *Kasbin*; which last name, we are told, formerly the region of *Tangut* bore^b: but where those countries lay is hard to determine. If any such there were, they must, by the circumstances of the history, have been in the neighbourhood of *Kampion*, either belonging to the province of *Shen-si*, or on its borders.

THE same year, *Parchukorte Yikn* (A), prince of *Ighar*; *The Ighars* filed *Idikut* (B), slew the *Kitan* (C) officers, who were in his revolt; city; and, going in person, put himself under *Jenghiz Khân*'s protection: who gave him a daughter in marriage^c.

THE occasion of this proceeding is related by the *Persian* historians. They tell us, that *Idikut*, Khan of the *Oygurs*; or *Ighars*, though a very powerful prince, was yet tributary to *Gurkân*, king of *Turkestan*; who usually kept a deroga among the *Oygurs*, to gather his tribute. *Shurwakem*, who at that time was his officer, exacting more than his master's due, the prince, on the people's complaints, spoke to him. But the other, instead of forbearing, threatened *Idikut*: who, to revenge the insult, had him assassinated; and, then to screen himself from *Gurkhan*'s resentment, sent to ask the Grand Khân's protection. The envoys overtook *Jenghiz Khân* in

^a In the history of the *Hya* and *Sifan*. ^b DE LA CROIX, p. 92. ^c GAUBIL, p. 13.

(A) *Abulghazi Khân* names him *Banerjik Idikut Khân*, p. 36. porting being sent, and *kut*, the spirit, or soul. *Abulfaraj*, p. 283, writes *Likûb*; that is, the lord of the empire.

(B) *Abulkair* and *Abulfaraj* say, that *Idikut* signifies the reigning prince; but *Abulghazi Khân* explains it, a free man, not subject to any body. So he says it signifies in the language of the *Uzbeks*: but sent by the spirit, in the Turkish. *Idi im-* (C) These were the *Western Kitan*, or *Lyan*, settled to the east of *Kashgar*, then subject to *Gurkân*, king of *Turkestan* and the *Kitan*; whose country was from them called *Karakitay*.

A. D. the country of *Tangut*, where he was gone to reduce *Shi-*
 1210. *dashu*; who, with some other Khâns, had revolted from him :
 among the rest was the Khân of *Krekir*, whose territories he
 intirely ruined.

submit to THE Mogul emperor, glad of an opportunity to make
 Jenghiz Gurkhân uneasy, who was never a friend to him, and had
 Khân. now made an alliance with *Kashluk*, received the *Oygûr* (or
Igûr) envoys much better than otherwise he would have
 done; and sent them back with two persons, to assure their
 Khân of his friendship and protection. *Idikût*, charmed
 with this generous behaviour, strait went himself, with costly
 presents, to offer his service to *Jenghiz Khân* : who received

Hej. 607. him with affection; and afterwards, to reward his fidelity,
 A. D. gave him one of his daughters in marriage. *Gurkhân*, on
 1210. the news of *Shirwakem's* death, had threatened *Idikût* with
 fire and sword : but, hearing he was become the Grand
 Khân's son-in-law, he smothered his rage, for fear of draw-
 ing the Mogul forces against himself^d.

Their IDIKÛT was of an antient family among the chiefs of
 country the *Igûr* tribe, for above 500 years standing. They first
 described. possessed the country where the *Selinga* rises. In process of
 time they became masters of the country of *Kau-chang*, *Igûr*,
 or *Kyau-chew*, being the same with that of *Turfân*, in *Little*
Bukhâria. The Chinese geographers agree, that the country
 of *Igûr* (*Vigûr*, or *Oygûr*), was situated where *Turfân* now
 stands; but seem unacquainted with its extent. The same
 authors farther inform us, that the *Igûrs* understood the
 Chinese characters, and had the books of *Kong-fû-tse*, or *Kon-*
fusius : that they honoured the spirit of heaven, had many
 Bonzas among them, and followed the Chinese kalendar. The
 chief city, where *Idikût* resided, was called *Ho-chew*; the
 ruins of which still remain, seven or eight leagues to the
 east of *Turfân*^e. To the north of this last city lay *Bl/bbâ-*
lig, which all the oriental writers make the capital of the
Igûrs; whose territories, according to *Abûlghazi Khân*, ex-
 tended to the *Irtish* : for they were divided into three
 branches; some living in towns, others in the fields^f.

The Kitân JENGHIZ Khân, being now at peace with all his
 empire. neighbours, and strengthened by the accession of so many
 princes, who either submitted to, or joined in league with
 him, resolved to shake off the yoke of the *Kit*; to whom

^d MIRKEND, ABULKAYR, ap. De la Croix, p. 93, & seq.
 ABULGH. p. 87. ^e GAUBIL, p. 13, 38, & 40. ^f ABULGH.
 p. 35.

at this time the *Moguls* were tributary (D), as they had been before to the *Kitân*. Sometime before the *Mungls* (E) and other hords of *Tatary* had acknowledged that prince for their sovereign; *Tay-bo*, emperor of the *Kin*, sent *Yong-tsi*, a prince of the blood, to the city of *Tjing-chew* (now called *Khukhû-hotun*), to receive from them the annual tribute. On this occasion *Yong-tsi* made slight of *Temûjin*, and advised framing some pretence to put him to death. But the emperor rejected the proposal; which coming to *Temûjin*'s ears, he resolved to be revenged on the author of it.

WANG-YEN-KING, emperor of the *Kin*, dying in the tenth month, *Yong-tsi*, who succeeded him, sent, the following year (1210), an officer to order *Jenghiz Khân* to pay the tribute. That prince demanded, whom he came from? and being told, from *Yong-tsi*, then emperor, he absolutely refused: saying, he was himself a sovereign, and would never pay tribute to *Yong-tsi* for his master. *It is said*, added the *but*. *Khân*, by way of sneer, *that the Chinese ought to have the son of heaven for their master; but, at present, they know not how to chuse a man*. Having spoken these words, he mounted his horse, and rode towards the north. *Yong-tsi* was strangely nettled at these cutting expressions. *Jenghiz Khân* had other reasons to be displeased with the *Kin*. Among the rest, *Ching-pu-hay*, a prince of his house, had been slain by them, in 1206; to revenge which injury (F) the *Mungls* waited for an opportunity: besides, their *Khân* was told, *Yong-tsi* intended to have him seized. These things determined him to go and encamp along the *Kerulon*; where he assembled a formidable army, composed of veteran troops. From thence

* See before, p. 282.

(D) In the tenth month of the year 1147, the emperor of the *Kin*, unable to subdue the *Mongols*, was obliged to make peace with them. Their chief was then *Aolûpûkiliay*, and called himself emperor. This shews, that since then the power of the *Mongols* had been weakened: for the history of *Jenghiz Khân* says positively, that, in his time, they paid tribute to the *Kin*. *Gaubil*. hist. *De Gentchis*, p. 20. There is no such prince as *Aolû-*

pûkiliay among the predecessors of *Jenghiz Khân*, as given by *Abûlgbani Khân*, and other oriental authors.

(E) They are always called *Mongu* in the Chinese history; which shews, that the word *Mogul* had obtained only in the west of *Asia*.

(F) The western *Asiatic* writers mention injuries in general received from *Altûn Khân*, but none in particular.

he

A. D. he ordered *Chepe Noyân* (G), and *Telu Kobay* (H), to march 1211. towards the borders of *Shan-si* and *Pe-che-li*: who, having observed the country, and made some spoils, returned to the main army^b.

THE *Kin* had considerable forces in *Lyau-tong*, which was the bulwark of their empire. In the same province, and countries depending on it, there still remained also a great number of *Ki-tân*, and many princes of the family of the *Lyau*, whom they had deprived of the empire. But as *Tong-tsi* grew jealous of them since the rise of *Jenghiz Khân*, he commanded double the number of *Nyu-che* (or *Kin*) families to be put in all places where they were settled, in order to watch their motions. After this precaution, which gave a general discontent to the *Kitân*, the emperor caused notice to be given every-where, that the *Mu.uls* intended to attack him, raised powerful armies, and posted troops in all the fortified places on both sides of the great wall, from the *Whang-ho* to *Lyau-tong*.

invades
the Kin. IN the spring, and first month of the year 1211, *Arslân*, prince of the *Karluk* (I) in the west, came with a body of troops, to offer his service to *Jenghiz Khân*; and *Idikût*, prince of *Igûr*, to consult the preservation of his country. The army began its march southwards, the beginning of the second month: on which *Tong-tsi* sent to make proposals of peace (K); but they were rejected. *Chepe* with the choicest of

^b GAUBIL, p. 13, & seq.

(G) He was one of the *Mu.uls* best generals. The title of *Noyân* (so also it is written in *Abûlghazi Khân*'s history, but *Nevian*, by *De la Croix*), is given only to princes of the reigning family, sons-in-law of *Khâns*, or great lords, who are chiefs of hords. *Gaubil*.

(H) *Telu Kobay* (written also *Telu Kolay*, perhaps by mistake), was a great mandarin, or officer, of the *Kin* emperor; who, being sent to settle some affairs with *Jenghiz Khân*, was so charmed with him, that he entered into his service. He was a prince of the imperial family

of the *Lyau*, whose name was *Telu. Gaubil*.

(I) So we explain *Aflan*, prince of *A-la-lu*; which last word *Gaubil* was at a loss about. This *Arslân. Khân* of the *Karluk*, or *Karluk*, is mentioned by *Abûlghazi Khân* and *De la Croix*, as repairing to *Jenghiz Khân* about the same time with *Idikût*.

(K) *Abûlghazi Khân* relates, that *Jenghiz Khân* sent to summon *Altûn Khân* to submit; and that this prince, falling into a passion, said to the ambassador, *You believe, perhaps, you have to do with one of your petty Turkish*

of the troops forced the posts of the great wall (L), to the north-west and north-east of *Tay-tong-fû* (M), whilst others seized the fortresses without the barrier. *Mahali* took the posts about *Pau-gan*, and *Yen-king*, in *Pe-che-li*. *Chapar* surprised the garrison of *Ku-yang-quan* (N), an important place: and *Jenghiz Khân* defeated a considerable body of the *Kin*, near *Swen-wha-fû*; which city he took, with the fortresses about *Tay-tong-fû*, then called *Si-king*, or the western court, all in *Shan-si*: in short, the *Mungls* made incursions as far as the capital.

HASAR Wha-chen, prince of the *Honkirats* (or *Kunku-The Kitân rats*), *Jenghiz Khân's* brother-in-law, who had been sent to revolt. the frontiers of *Lyau-tong* (O), to sound the pulses of the *Kitân* lords, and attack the *Kin* on that side; found the prince *Yelu Lyew-ko* at the head of an hundred thousand men, ready to declare in favour of his master. In testimony of his sincerity, that prince, ascending the mountain *Kin* (P), sacrificed a white horse and black ox, broke an arrow, and made an oath to be faithful to *Jenghiz Khân*. *Lyew-ko*, who was of the royal family of the *Lyau*, a good officer,

Turkish tribes. *Abū'lgb.* hist. *Turk*, &c. p. 89. Or, as *De la Croix* has it, *Your master treats me as if he thought me a Turk, or a Mogul.* Hist. *Gengh.* p. 100.

(L) Both *Abū'lghazi Khân*, p. 44, and *De la Croix*, p. 101, say, that *Alakûs*, Khân of the *Ungûts*, or *Ankût*, opened one of the great gates of the wall, of which he had the custody, to *Jenghiz Khân*.

(M) In the province of *Shan-si*, in *China*, lat. $40^{\circ} 15'$ long. $3^{\circ} 15'$ west of *Pe-king*. Note, *Fû*, at the end of the name of a place, denotes a city of the first rank in *China*; *chew*, one of the second; and *hyen*, one of the third rank: *quan*, a fortrefs; *kerw*, a gate or strait of the mountains.

(N) A fortress nine leagues north-north-east of *Pe-king*; and *Yen-king* is three or four north of *Ku-yang-quan*. *Gaubil*,

(O) *De la Croix*, p. 100, says, *Jenghiz Khân* sent three of his sons to attack *Kürje*, which he calls *Korea*: but it must be *Lyau-tong*, as well from the circumstances of the history, as the description of it, which he gives from *Fadlallah*; viz. that it was situate to the north of *China*, and had the sea on the east: that the country contained about 700,000 inhabitants; and had been always governed by its own kings, who were sometimes masters of *China* (rather *Kitay*); which, in its turn, was master of it. That *Lyau-tong* is *Kurje*, appears further, from what is said, p. 108, that *Mukli Goyank* (who is *Mubuli*) was sent to *Kurje*, with a body of troops, to hinder the forces of that country to join *Altûn Khân*.

(P) According to the Chinese geographers, 45 or 50 leagues north of *Mûgden*, capital of *Lyau-tong*. *Gaubil*.

and

A. D. 1212. and had many vassals; provoked at the indignities which the *Kitân* daily received from the *Kin*, took arms, as soon as he heard that the *Mungls* intended to make war upon them. The *Khân*, to prevent *Lyew-ko* from being drawn off again, made him very advantageous offers, and conferred on him the title of king (Q); furnishing *Wha-chen* and *Chepe* with good troops, to assist him. *Lyew-ko* ordered himself to be proclaimed king where-ever he came; and, having taken many places, marched against the *Kin* army, over which he obtained a signal victory. Hereupon many *Kitân* lords shook off their yoke, and several cities submitted to him. After which he reduced *Tong-king* (R), or *Lyau-yang*, a city of *Lyau-tong*. This great success swelled the reputation of the new *Kitân* king; and made the *Kin* raise numerous forces, to save that province¹.

Jenghiz
Khân

IN 1212, *Jenghiz Khân* subdued *Whan-chew* (S); and *Má-háli*, the fortresses without the great wall, near the *Whang-wounded: ho*. When the *Mungls* had reduced all the strong places

A. D. 1212. between that city and the river, they prepared to besiege *Tay-tong-fú*. To prevent them, *Tong-tsi* sent *Hájakú*, or *Ki-she-lye*, and *Wan-yen*, at the head of 300,000 men. The *Khân*, by advice of *Má-háli*, marched to meet this army, which was encamped near the mountain *Tehú* (T), where they were attacked by the *Mungls*; who, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, defeated them. In autumn he invested *Tay-tong-fú*; where, although the governor *Hájakú* fled, he met with more resistance than he expected. At last, having in a vigorous attack lost many men, and been dangerously wounded by an arrow, he raised the siege, and retired into *Tatary*: after which the *Kin* retook *Paugan*, *Swen-wha-fú*, and even *Kú-yang-quan*.

¹ GAUBIL, p. 14, & seq.

(Q) That is, *Khân*, or *Vang*, we presume, of *Lyau-tong*.

(R) That is, the eastern court, lat. 41° 20' long. 6° 56' east of *Pe-king*. In the map of the Jesuits it is placed on the north side of the river *Taksa*, which falls into the *Lyau*; and is a distinct town from *Lyau-yang*, which lies three miles to the south, and was then a great city.

(S) A city of *Tatary*, north-east of *Pe-king*, between the

42d and 43d degree of latitude, now destroyed. But, p. 28, *Gaubil* more justly places it almost north of *Pe-king*, or north-north-west. It seems to have been *Poro-botun*, whose ruins are seen about twenty miles, south by west, from those of *Shan-tu*, one of the ancient capitals of *Tatary*. See before, p. 281.

(T) Seven or eight leagues west, or west-north-west, of *Swen-wha-fú*. *Gaubil*.

JENGHIZ

JENGHIZ Khân, who, in this disgrace, was comforted by the news he received from *Lyau-tong*, being cured of his wound, re-entered *China* in 1213; recovered *Swen-wha-fu* and *Pau-gan*; defeated an army of the *Kin*, after a bloody battle (U), near *Whay-lay* (X); and one of his generals took *Kú-pe-kew* (Y). After this battle, the *Khân*, not able to enter *Pe-che-li* by *Ku-yang-quan*, forced the fortrefs of *Tse-kin-quan*, and took *I-chew* and *Cho-chew* (Z). However, *Chepe*, in his return from *Lyau-tong*, passed on to *Nan-kew* (a place of importance), and took *Kú-yang-quan*, which is not far distant. On the other side, in the seventh month, a great battle was fought at the mountain *U-whay-lin*, near *Quan-chang-hyen* (A); wherein the *Kin* were overthrown, with a great slaughter.

In the eighth month, *Hhjakô*, generalissimo of the *Kin* troops, who had been cashiered in 1212, for bad services, and restored, seized on the person of *Tong-tsi*; and, soon after, caused him to be murdered. The true cause of the successes which attended the *Mungls* was, that general's hatred to those who were the occasion of his disgrace (the year before); which lasted two months. After being replaced, he was ordered to encamp to the north of the court: but, instead of endeavouring to stop the enemies progress, minded nothing but hunting, nor regarded the emperor's order. At length he marched with his army to the imperial city, under pretence of preventing a conspiracy which he had discovered. Being arrived before it, he sent horsemen to the palace, to cry aloud, that the *Mungls* were at the city gates: he next put to death such as he suspected; and, having disposed his troops in different quarters, the officers both civil and military assisted him; not imagining that he had a design to dethrone their prince: but as soon as he had secured the gates of the city, he seized the palace, and confined the emperor; then deposed and put him to death. After this, finding he could not get himself declared emperor, he introned by *Hue San*, a prince of the blood. These distractions determined *Jaku, Jenghiz Khân* to besiege the imperial city. *Chepe*, after

A. D.
1213.
progress in
Kitay.
A. D.
1213.

(U) This was the battle, perhaps, in which the *Persian* writers say, that *Ahûn Khân*, joined by the forces of *Kurje*, lost 30,000 men.

(X) Four or five leagues west of *Ku-yang-quan*. The field was strewed with dead bodies for four leagues together.

(Y) A famous fortress at one of the gates in the great wall. See before, p. 280.

(Z) A city in the west borders of *Pe-che-li*. *Tse-kin-quan* is 25 miles west of *I-chew*.

(A) A city in the borders of *Shan-si* and *Pe-che-li*.

taking

A. D. 1213. taking *Ku-yang-quan*, set forward with 50,000 chosen horse to join the army. But the van-guard, coming to the river *Tsau* (B), and, endeavouring to pass the bridge, was intirely defeated by *Hájakú*; who was carried in a car, being hurt in the foot. Next day, being hindered from marching himself, by his wound opening, he ordered *Chu-bu-kau-ki* to advance with 5,000 troops, to oppose the enemy; but that general coming too late, *Hájakú* would have put him to death; which the emperor, knowing him to be a good officer, would not suffer. Then *Hájakú* said to him, *if you beat the enemy, I will spare you; if you are defeated, you shall die.* *Kau-ki* marched against the enemy; but a north wind arising, which blew the sand into his soldiers eyes, he was obliged to re-enter the city with loss. As he took it for granted, that *Hákatú* would put him to death, he ran with his troops to that general's palace: who, being apprized of his design, got on his garden-wall; but, falling, broke his leg. The soldiers having killed him on the spot, *Kau-ki* carried his head to the gate of the imperial palace, and surrendered himself to the mandarins, in order to be condemned to death: but the emperor published an edict, wherein he charged *Hájakú* with several crimes, and commended *Kau-ki*; whom he made generalissimo in his room^k.

The Kin
hard
pressed.

LI-GAN-TSVEN, king of *Hya*, finding himself pressed by the *Mungls*, demanded aid of the *Kin*; who refused it, as having occasion themselves for more troops than they had. Hereupon the *Hya*, after they had made a treaty with the *Mungls*, before-mentioned, in 1210, declared war against the *Kin*; with whom they had been at peace for fourscore years, and attacked *Kya-chew* (C), in *Shen-si*. The same year, *Li-gan-tsven* dying, *Li-tsun-hyu*, his relation, succeeded him. This prince, more successful than his predecessor, reduced *King-chew* (D), at the end of 1213.

SINCE the time *Jenghtz Khán* began to invade the *Kin* empire, many *Chinese* officers, who had been taken prisoners, entered into his service. These he shewed a great esteem for, and gave them parties of their own nation to command. As he now resolved to attack the enemy on every side, he mixed the *Chinese* and *Tatarian* troops together, forming out of

^k GAUBIL, p. 18, & seq.

(B) A canal, whose waters, (C) Lat. 38° 6' long. 6° 4' coming from *Chang-pang-chew*, west of *Pe-king*.
passed by the imperial city; (D) In *Shen-si* also. Lat. 35°
from which the bridge could 22' long. 9° 5' west.
not be far,

them four armies. One he ordered to incamp to the north of *Ten-king*, the imperial city : another to ravage the country to the north and east, as far as *Lyau-tong* : the third, under three of his sons, was to destroy all to the south and south-west, as far as the *Whang-ho* ; while he himself, with *Tuley*, his fourth son, marched through *Pe-che-li* to *Tsi-nan-fû*, the capital of *Shan-tong*.

A. D.

1214.

THE *Kin*, for their defence, sent their best troops to guard the difficult passages of rivers and mountains ; obliging all people fit to bear arms to retire into the cities. The Khân, being informed of this, ordered his generals to take all the old men, women, and children, out of the villages and unfortified towns, and set them in the front of the army. The people from the walls, on hearing the voice, of their friends and relations, refused to defend themselves, to their destruction. The desolation was general throughout *Shan-si*, that part of *Ho-nan* to the north of the *Whang-ho*, *Pe-che-li*, and *Shan-tong*. The *Mungls* plundered and destroyed more than ninety cities ; reduced to ashes an infinite number of towns and villages ; took all the gold, silvers and silk, they met with ; and massacred thousands of useless people : carrying into slavery a vast number of young women and children. The spoil which they took in cattle was inestimable ; and in all those spacious countries there were but ten cities which the *Mungls* could not subdue : among which in *Pe-che-li* were *Ten-king*, the imperial city, *Tong-chew*, *Ching-ting-fû*, and *Tay-ming-fû*. All this devastation happened in the year 1213.

IN 1214, *Jenghiz Khân*, being returned from *Shan-tong*, assembled all his troops in one body, and invested *Ten-king*, in the fourth month ; pitching his camp on the north side.

A. D.

1214.

His generals pressed him, without delay, to scale the walls, and ruin the city : but the Khân, having had other views in his mind, instead of following their counsel, sent an officer to tell the *Kin* emperor, that his master was willing to return into *Tatary* : however, that, to appease the anger of the *Mungl* troops, it was necessary to make them considerable presents ; adding, that he ought to consider *Ten-king* was almost the only place which remained in his possession to the north of the *Whang-ho*. One of the *Kin* ministers, provoked at this message, proposed to march out and fight the army of *Ta-che* (E) : saying, that many of the *Mungl* soldiers were

(E) One of the names given by the Chinese to that large region, at present possessed by the *Mungls* and *Kalkas*. *Gambel*.

fick 3

A. D. 1212. sick; and that they were not in a condition to withstand a vigorous attack¹.

Buy a
peace:

ANOTHER minister was against this advice: saying, that they had every thing to fear, if they lost a battle; and but little good to expect from a victory. He added, "that the troops in the city had nothing in view but to quit it, as most of them had families of their own: that the best measure therefore was to accept of peace; and when the Mungls were retired, they should be better able to consult what was proper to be done." The emperor, approving this counsel, sent a lord to the Mungl camp, to desire a peace; wherein it was stipulated, that a daughter (F) of the late emperor *Yong-tsi* should be given to *Jenghiz Khan*; with 500 young boys, and as many girls, 3,000 horses, silk, and a great sum of money. As soon as the conditions were performed, the Khan raised the siege; and, departing by the way of *Ku-yong-quan*, commanded all the young children, whom he had taken in the four provinces of *Shan-tong*, *Honân*, *Pe-che-li*, and *Shan-si*, to be massacred.

The emperor
moves the
court.

AFTER the retreat of the Mungls, the emperor *San* declared to his council, that he resolved to remove his court to *Pyen-lyang* (G), in *Houan*. *Tu-sbi-ni*, a wife and faithful minister, represented, that, in such case, the northern provinces would be lost. He observed, that *Lyau-tong* being very strong by situation, it was easy to maintain themselves there: that no more was to be done, than to make new levies, fortify the court, fill the garrison, and recruit the troops of that province. Most of the grandees were of his opinion: but the emperor said, that as the treasury was exhausted, the troops weakened, and cities round the capital destroyed, *Ten-king* was no place of security for him. Accordingly he departed, with his family and some troops; leaving the prince, who was to be his successor, to encourage the inhabitants.

Its bad
consequence.

THE *Kin* monarch had soon occasion to repent this bad step. Being arrived at *Lyang-hyang* (a city five leagues south-west of *Pe-king*) he demanded back from his troops their horses and cuirasses. The major part of them, refusing to obey, slew their general, and chose three others in his stead:

¹ GAUBIL, p. 20, & seq.

(F) The *Persian*, &c. historians say, peace was made on those conditions; but not that *Pe-king*, or *Khân Balik*, was invested.

(G) Called also *Nan-king*, or the court of the south, and still *Pyen*. It stood nearly where *Kay-song-fû*, the capital of *Honân*, at present stands. *Gaubil*.

after

after which they returned, and seized the bridge of *Li-kew* (H). From thence *Kanta*, one of their generals, sent a courier to *Jenghiz Khán*, who was then encamped at the city *Whan-chew*, in *Tatary*, to offer himself and his troops at his service. As soon as that prince was apprised of the emperor's retreat, he was much incensed; complaining that he had been deceived by the *Kin*, and thereupon resolved to re-enter *China*. With this view he sent his general *Mingan*, with a great force, to join *Kinta*, and besiege *Yen-king* (I). When this news reached the emperor, he ordered his son to leave that city, and repair to *Pyen-lyang*. This also was against the advice of his ministers, supported by the example of *Ming-whang*, or *Hivn-tsong*, a *Chinese* emperor of the *Tang* race (K). The departure of the prince discouraged the garrison, not only of *Yen-king*, but of other strong places^m.

THE rapid conquest of the *Mungs*, and retreat of the *Kin* State of *China* emperor, gave great uneasiness to the *Chinese* monarchs of the *Song* race; who were then masters of the southern provinces of *China*, called by some authors *Manji*, viz. *Quan-tong*, and the isle of *Hay-nan*, *Quang-si*, *Yun-nan*, *Se-chwen*, *Quey-chew*, *Hu-quang*, *Kyang-si*, *Che-kyang*, *Fo-kyen*, and almost all *Kyang-nan*, where the *Kin* had a few cities. In *Shen-si* they possessed the country of *Hang-chong-fu*, besides some places in the district of *Kong-chang-fu*, and on the borders of *Se-chwen*. The great wars which they had carried on against

^m GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 23, & seq.

(H) Now called *W'hen-bo*. The *Kyau*, or bridge, is two leagues west-south-west of *Peking*, and a very fine one. *Gaubil*.

(I) Called, by the oriental authors, *Khán-balik*, that is, the city of the *Khán*; or *Khán-pala*, the place, or residence, of the *Khán*. Some write *Báley* and *Hán*, for *Balik* and *Khán*.

(K) Who retiring from *Shen-si* to *Se-chwen*, left his son behind him, to defend the province. In 736, *Can-lo shan* rebelling, 150,000 men from *Turkistan*, and the *Mohammedan* countries, came to aid the empire. The particulars of this

great revolution is one of the most curious parts of the *Chinese* annals; and gives considerable light into the history and geography of the countries between *Shen-si* and the *Caspian* sea. It appears that, in those times, a great number of *Arab* and *Persian* vessels frequented the port now called *Kanton*. *Gaubil*.—This last remark confirms *Renaudot's Anciennes Relations*, &c. p. 8, & seq. of the rebellion above-mentioned. Some account is given by *Du Halde*, vol. i. p. 23, & 199. See new c. llect. voy. & trav. 4to. vol. iv. p. 438. note d.

A. D.

1215:

Conquests
in Lyan-
tong. 1

Lyew-
ko's fide-
lity.

the *Kin*, had forced them to make a shameful peace, where-
by they were to pay a yearly tribute (L) in silk and silver. It
was resolved therefore, at this juncture, to refuse tendering
the tribute any longer : but the proposals made by the king
of *Hya*, to join forces against the *Kin*, were rejected.

THE *Kin* possessed in *Lyau-tong* an army of 100,000 men, who
had retaken many places, subdued the preceding years by king
Lyew-ko ; and, among the rest, *Lyau-yang* : but in the ninth
month, *Müháli*, followed by the general *Wir*, of the hord of
Shan-tsu, entered that province, in order to succour the
prince, and cut off the communication with *Pe-che-li*, which
was effected. The huge army of the *Kin*, being filled with trai-
tors, dispersed ; and the inferior officers killed their general.
King *Lyew-ko* recovered *Lyau-yang* ; and *Pe-king*, now called
Mugden, surrendered to *Müháli*. This general put to the sword
a great number of submitting soldiers, under pretence that they
came in too late : but stopped the slaughter, on being told,
that such a conduct would hinder many other places from
yielding. Towards the end of the year, the city of *Tong-
chew* (M), an important post, to the east of *Yen-king*, sur-
rendered to the *Mungls*. The emperor of the *Kin* having
been obliged to lay taxes on the people, it furnished several
lords with a pretence, some to throw off their dependence,
and others to submit to the *Mungls*.

IN 1215 many of the *Kitán* advised *Lyew-ko* to be declared
emperor, independent of the *Mungls* : but that prince rejected
the proposal, as contrary to the oath which he had taken, to
be *Jenghiz Khán's* subject. At the same time he sent his son
Sye-tá to the Khán, with ninety waggons loaded with rich
presents (N) ; and a list of the families which had submitted
to him, amounting in all to 600,000. Towards the end of
the year he came in person, to do homage to the *Mungl* so-
vereign. Mean time the emperor of the *Kin*, being informed
of the distress *Yen-king* was in, sent a great quantity of pro-
visions, with forces for its relief : but the first convoy, under
the escort of an inexperienced general, arriving at *Pachew*
(O) his army was there defeated ; on the news whereof the

(L) The emperor *Kau-tsung*,
in the articles of peace made in
1144, with the emperor of the
Kin, subscribed himself a sub-
ject, and tributary of his. See
Couplet. tab. chron. linic. p. 73.

(M) In *Pe-che-li*, on the river

Pe-bo, about twelve miles east
of *Pe-king*, and its port.

(N) They were exposed on
felts for seven days, to give
heaven notice of what was
done.

(O) Lat. 39° 3' long. 0° 0'.

other

other generals fled, and left all the provisions a prey to the enemyⁿ.

A. D.
1215.

THE two generals, who commanded in *Yen-king*, were *Wan-yen Chang-why* (P) and *Mo-nyen Chin-chong*; the former of whom, out of all hope of succours, or withstanding the enemy, proposed to the latter to die for their country. *Mo-nyen*, on whom the troops immediately depended, refusing, *Chang-why* retired in a rage, and told a Mandarin his resolution. The first day of the fifth month he wrote a petition to the emperor, wherein he touched on matters of government; and mentioned the crimes of a bad minister, whom his master made use of, meaning *Kau-ki*, who slew *Hújakú*. He finished, by confessing himself guilty of death, for not being able to save the imperial city (Q). This done, with a composed air, he called together all his domestics, and divided all his effects among them: then ordering a cup of poison to be filled, he wrote a few words. After which, commanding the Mandarin who was with him to leave the room, he drank it off; and died before his friend was gotten many paces from the house.

Wan-
yen's
death.

THE same evening the emperor's wives, knowing that *Mo-nyen* was preparing to leave the city, came to acquaint him, that they would go out along with him. He seemed pleased with the proposal; but said he would go before, to shew them the way. The ladies, confiding in his promise, returned to the palace: but *Mo-nyen*, not caring to be troubled with their company, marched off, and left them behind. On that general's departure, the *Mungl* army entering the city, a great number of the inhabitants and Mandarins perished in the disorder which ensued. A troop of soldiers set fire to the palace, which continued burning for a whole month. *Jenghiz Khân*, who was then at *Whan-chew*, in *Tatary*, sent to compliment the general *Min-gan* on the occasion; ordering him to dispatch into *Tatary* the silks, gold, and silver, found in the imperial treasury. *Mo-nyen* arriving at *Pau-ting-fú*, in *Pe-che-li*, told those who accompanied him, that they should never have gotten thither, had he undertaken to conduct the ladies of the palace. When he came to *Pyon-lyang*, the em-

The capital
taken.

ⁿ GAUBIL, p. 25, & seq.

(P) He was a prince of the blood; the family name of the *Kin* being *Wan-yen*.

(Q) It was false patriotism to slay himself on this occasion; he ought to have done his utmost, and died in defence of the city, if he could not save it.

A. D.
1216.

peror (R), though extremely troubled at the loss of his capital city, did not speak to him about it, and gave him a very considerable employment: but shortly after he was put to death, for having been engaged, as it was said, in dangerous designs. On the other hand, his majesty, having read *Chang-whey's* petition, declared him Vang, or Wang, that is, king.

Ho-nan
invaded:

MIN-GAN, who was ordered to search for a Mandarin of the royal race of the *Lyau*, or *Kitan*, called *Tchu-chu-tsai* (S), having found him, conducted him to *Jenghtz Khan*; who, at the first interview, conceived a high esteem for this great man, and set him at the head of his affairs. *San-ke-pa* being sent with 10,000 horse to besiege *Ton-quan* (T), a famous pass in the mountains, between *Shen-fi* and *Honan*, marched through the territories of the king of *Hya*; who still continued the war against the *Kin*, and this year wrested from them the city of *Lin-tau-fu* (U). He took his rout by *Si-gan-fu* (the capital of *Shen-fi*); but failing in his attempt on *Ton-quan*, marched to *Yü-chew*, in *Ho-nan*, through cross roads, full of deep torrents, over which they made bridges with their pikes and halberds. At last arriving, after many difficulties, in sight of *Pyen-lyang* (X), capital of that province, the *Kin* troops sallied, and made him retire to *Shen-chew* (Y), on the *Whang-ho*; which being frozen, *San-ke-pa* crossed it, and escaped. The emperor *San*, after this, sent to desire peace of *Jenghtz Khan*; who proposed such hard conditions, that he could not accept of them. Mean time *Mühüli* and *Wir*, in *Lyau-tong*, dispersed, with much address and courage, several parties which endeavoured to shake off the *Mungl* yoke.

Many
places
taken.

IN 1216 the *Mungls* took their measures so right, that *Ton-quan* was forced in the tenth month: after which they posted themselves between the city *Yü-chew* and the mountain *Song* (Z). The court being greatly alarmed at this, one of the censors of the empire represented to his *Kin* majesty, that

• GAUBIL, p 27, & seq.

(R) The oriental historians say, upon the loss of *Khumbalik* he poisoned himself:

(S) *Lilu* was the family name of the *Kitan* emperors. *Gaub.*

(T) Lat. $34^{\circ} 39'$ long. $6^{\circ} 17'$ west of *Pe king*.

(U) In *Shen-fi*; lat. $35^{\circ} 20'$ long. $12^{\circ} 20'$ west.

(X) Here *Gaubil* says it is the

same with *Kay song-fu*; though in a former note he says it was near it.

(Y) A city of *Ho nan*, fifteen leagues east north east of *Tong-quan*. *Gaubil*.

(Z) A famous mountain, to the north-east of *Yü-chew*. *Gaubil*. Rather, it should seem, to the north-west of that city.

Pyen-

Pyen-lyang would be reduced in the same manner as *Yen-king* was, unless he took the field with the garrison, which was very numerous; seized the post of *Ton-quan*, fortified the frontiers of *Shen-si*, and passages of the *Whang-ho*: unless also he hindered the *Mungls* from gaining footing in *Ho-nan*, and making inroads thither, by which they ruined the inhabitants. On the contrary, the minister *Chu-hû Kau-ki* persuaded the emperor to think only of securing the capital: which conduct, says the history, ruined the dominion of the *Kin*.

A. D.
1216.

MUHULI, after the parts of *Lyau-tong* towards *Lyau-A rebellion* *yang* (A) had been conquered, ordered *Chong-ping*, one of *quashed*, the generals in that province, to march into *China*, and join the other troops: but being informed that he was a traitor, had him put to death, in the end of the year 1215. Hereupon *Chang-chi*, to revenge his brother's death, revolted, and took *King-chew* (B); with most of the other cities of the province, included between the great wall of *China*, the river *Lyau* (C), the wooden palisade (D), and the sea. After this he caused himself to be proclaimed king; and, in 1216, declared for the *Kin*, who gave him the command of their troops in *Lyau-tong*. *Mûhûli*, who had retaken *Quang-ning-hyen* (E) the preceding year, at the end of this besieged *King-chew* (F). *Chang-chi* had good troops; and the place being very strong, *Mûhûli* ordered *Wir* to go and attack an important post on a neighbouring mountain, while another general should be ready to cut off the troops detached from the city to succour it. *Wir* having obeyed his orders, *Chang-chi* sallied out with part of the garrison: hereupon *Monku-pûwha* placing himself between that post and the city, gave notice thereof to *Mûhûli*, who lay towards *Quang-ning*. This general, marching all night, by break of day came up and attacked *Chang-chi* on one side, while *Monkû* did the same on the other; so that he was entirely defeated. Yet escaping back to the city, he defended it gallantly for more than a month; when an officer of the garrison seized and delivered him to the *Mungls*: who cut off his head, and took possession of the place.

(A) Lat. $41^{\circ} 17'$ long. $6^{\circ} 56'$ east; then a great city. with a wooden palisade, or fence.

Gaubil.

(B) Lat. $41^{\circ} 8'$ long. $4^{\circ} 45'$ east. (E) Lat. $41^{\circ} 39'$ long. $5^{\circ} 26'$ east.

east of *Pe-king*. *Gaubil*.

(C) Called also *Sira Mûren*.

(D) *Lyau-tong* is surrounded

(F) Lat. $41^{\circ} 6'$ long. $4^{\circ} 44'$ east.

A. D.
1216.
Honan
abandoned.

THE *Mungls*, after a great struggle to get footing in *Honan*, at last abandoned that province; and passing the *Whang-ho*, under the conduct of *Sa-me-ho* (G), surnamed *Patûrû*, or the courageous, marched towards *Ping-yang-fû*, in *Shen-si*: but *Su-ting*, who commanded the troops there, having gathered those from the dependent places, met and defeated them ^P.

THIS is the account of *Jenghîz Khân*'s first expedition into *Kitay*, transmitted to us from the *Chinese* historians. We shall now subjoin a view of that given by the western *Asiatics*, that our readers may the better compare them, and judge of their merit,

Kurje, or
Lyau-
tong.

THESE authors tell us, that *Jenghîz Khân* being ready to enter *Kitay*, in 1210, divided his army into two bodies; and that, keeping the most considerable with himself, he gave the command of the other to three of his sons, *Fuji*, *Jagatay*, and *Oktay*: that these princes marched through the *Kalmûks* country (H), towards *Kurje*; which being unprovided with troops, who were gone to join *Altûn Khân*, they made terrible devastations in the towns, and carried off all the cattle: that *Jenghîz Khân*, marching by the *Til*, a river of *Karakitay*, entered *Kitay* at the great gate in the wall of *China*, which *Alakûs*, Khân of *Ankût*, to whose care it was committed, opened to him: that he spared all the cities which made no resistance; but plundered those which opposed him: that *Altûn Khân*, with his united forces, hastening to meet *Jenghîz Khân*, a battle was fought, in which the former lost 30,000 men, and the latter more: that *Jenghîz Khân* retired with all his spoils into *Pe-che-li*: and *Altûn Khân*, fearing he might besiege *Pe-king*, sent to propose a peace, with his daughter *Kubkû Khatûn* in marriage, which was accepted: that *Jenghîz Khân*, being returned to his dominions, in 1211, set out, accompanied with his son *Fuji*, to conquer (I) *Kapchâk* (or

A bloody
battle.

Kapchâk
invaded.

^P GAUBIL, p. 30, & seq.

(G) Perhaps *Samûka*, mentioned by *Abûlghazi Khân*.

(H) *De la Croix* tells us, on this occasion, that these *Kalmuks*, who had submitted to *Jenghîz Khân*, were a nation situate on the borders of *Karakitay* to the eastward; and not to be confounded with the *Kalmuks* who dwell in the west, towards the *Volga*. But these

seem to be an imaginary nation of *Kalmuks*, which name came in use long after. See before, p. 352, note (D).

(I) *Abûlghazi Khân* mentions nothing of this *Kipjak* expedition: but, conformable to the *Chinese* historians, says, that, after the peace, he left his son in *Pe-king*, and retired to *Nan-kin*.

Kipjak),

Kapjak), the most western and considerable part of *Tatary*; judging he had a right, by conquest, to several tribes, who inhabited the country, as having been subject to *Vang Khân*: that as soon as he appeared, those tribes, with others inhabiting the country of *Jetab*, or the *Getes* (K), in *Kapchâk*, on the borders of *Mogulistan*, submitted to him, which all together formed a vast army: that, leaving one half of his forces with *Jûji*, who defeated the *Komâns*, *Walâks*, *Bulgarians*, and *Hungarians*, he, with the other half, returned to *Karakorum*: that there, being joined by *Arslân*, Khân of the *Karlûks*, and *Idikût*, Khân of the *Tugûrs* (or *Igûrs*), he resolved to invade *Kitay*, to revenge some threats uttered by *Altûn Khân*; but more by the persuasion of a Khân of *Karakitay*, (L), who, provoked at the ravages made by *Altûn Khân* in that country, had, by means of some rebels, seized a considerable fortress, which opened a way into *China*: that in 1212, *Jenghiz Khân*, being indisposed himself, sent *Samûka Behadr*, with a great army; who seized on all the provinces of *Karakitay* remaining to *Altûn Khân*, and with ease entered *Kitay*, by means of the intelligence which the rebel Khân held in the country: that, at the same time, *Mûkli Gûyank* (M), one of the most able *Mogul* generals, marched to *Kurje*, to hinder the forces of that kingdom from going to assist *Altûn Khân*, and reduced several cities there: that, for all this, *Altûn Khân* advanced to attack *Samûka Behadr*, expecting to obtain an easy victory: but although the van-guard of the *Moguls* gave way at first, they at length obliged the enemy *Altûn* to fly, and shut themselves up in their cities: that the *Moguls*, instigated by the rebels, laid siege to *Pe-king*, or *Khân-feated*, *bâlik*, which was so vigorously defended by *Altûn Khân*'s son, that they assaulted it in vain: that seeing no hopes of taking

(K) This country, placed here in *Kipjak*, is frequently mentioned by the oriental historians, and cited by *D'Herbelot*, and in *Sbariso'ddin*'s history of *Timur Bek*; but they place it to the east of *Kipjak*, between it and *Mogulistan*. Nay, *Kashgar* seems to be included in it; as *Kamro'ddin*, Khân of that country, is called prince of the *Jetab*. It belonged now to one, then to another country.

(L) According to *Abûlghazi Khân*, *Altûn Khân*, before he

left *Khân-bâlik*, cut off the heads of some *Karakitay* lords for slight offences, which made several of them retire with their effects into *Jenghiz Khân*'s dominions. One lord, among the rest, having surprized and ruined some of *Altûn Khân*'s cities, sent to offer his service to *Jenghiz Khân*, and was so well received, that many others followed his example.

(M) The same with *Mûhâli*, as he is called before, from the *Chinese* history.

A. D.
1216.

Kitay
conquered.

by force a city defended by such numerous troops, the siege was turned into a blockade; and when the famine became so great that the inhabitants ate one another, the city was taken by a stratagem, Hej. 610, A. D. 1213: that, on the news of this loss, *Altun Khân* poisoned himself (N); and *Jenghiz Khân* gave the government of *Pe-king* to *Makli Gayank*, who, in two years, finished the conquest of *Kitay*, with that of *Kurje* ¹.

THE authors made use of by *Abû'lghazi Khân* differ from those consulted by *De la Croix* in several particulars, especially touching the second expedition of the *Moguls* into *Kitay*. According to him, five or six months after *Altun Khân's* remove from *Khân-balek* (or *Pe-king*), to *Nan-king* (or *Pyen-lyang*), his son, who had been left to govern in that city, went to *Nan-king*, to acquaint his father with the bad condition of their affairs on the frontiers. That, in the mean time, *Jenghiz Khân*, understanding that the empire of *Kitay* was rent by factions, sent *Jamuka Behadr*, and *Mashkan Behadr*, with a numerous army, to invade the country, and besiege *Khân-balik*: that on the frontiers they were joined by a great number of deserters from *Karakitay*; while *Altun Khân*, hearing of their march, sent provisions to that city, under the guard of a large body of troops, commanded by two of his best generals; but that, being met by the army of *Jenghiz Khân*, they were defeated, and the two generals taken: that *Altun Khân*, overcome with this misfortune, poisoned himself; and, at the approach of the *Mogul* generals, *Khânbalik* surrendered without striking a stroke: that *Jenghiz Khân* afterwards arriving at *Khânbalik*, took, by degrees, most of the cities belonging to the empire of *Kitay*; and having employed five years in this expedition, returned into his hereditary dominions, in order to watch the motions of his enemies ². Let us now return to the *Chinese* historians,

Altun
Khân's
death.

Kuchluk
routed.

IN the year 1216, *Jenghiz Khân*, after resting for some time in the palace which he had built near the river *Luku* (O), in *Tatary*, went and encamped near the *Tula*; from whence he sent *Supátay* against the *Markats*, who had raised new

¹ MIRK. ABU'LK. FADLALLAH, ap. *De la Croix*, hist. Gengh. p. 101—111. ABU'LGH. p. 90. ² Ibid. p. 92.

(N) The death of the emperor *Yang-tsi*, during this expedition, might have been the foundation of this error in the more western historians.

(O) Our author *Gaubil* takes it for the *Kerulon*, or *Kerlon*: if so, perhaps this might be the place where *Parabotun*, or the city of the tiger, was afterwards built.

troops, and always supported the king of the *Naymâns*. This prince (P), after his defeat, had endeavoured to stir up several tribes of the *Kitân*, *Naymâns*, and *Markats*, against the *Mungls*. *Chepe* therefore was detached, in the year 1217, towards the river *Irtîsh*, where he vanquished *Kuchluk*, son of *Boyruk*, late king of the *Naymâns*, who had taken up arms afresh. After this victory, he directed his march westward; but the *Chinese* history mentions no particulars of this expedition. At the same time *Chuchi* (or *Juji*), the emperor's eldest son, took his journey towards a country very remote from *China*, to the north-west. The history does not name this country: but mentions some people, or tribes, whom he subdued; as the *U-se-han*, *Ha-na-sa*, *Kû-lyang-û-ke-she*, and *Tay-mihoynikhân*.

JENGHIZ Khân, having now resolved to carry his arms Expedition westward, declared *Mâhûli*, whose great qualities he publicly westward. extolled, generalissimo of the troops, and his lieutenant-general in *China*: he conferred on him likewise the title of king (Q), and made it hereditary in his family. On this occasion he caused the *Chinese* and *Tatar* troops to be drawn out, with their standards displayed, and ordered them to obey *Mâhûli* as himself; delivering to him, at the same time, a royal seal of gold, to put to all his mandates. That general, the same year, marched with his troops for *China*, where, in a short time, he subdued many cities in *Shen-si*, *Pe-che-li*, and *Shan-tong*. *Li-chew* (R) having held out to the last extremity, *Mâhûli* would have put all the inhabitants to the sword: but, at the intreaty of *Chau-tsin*, one of his best officers, who offered to die himself, to save his mother, brothers, and the rest of the citizens (being a native of that place), they were spared*.

At the end of the year 1217, or beginning of the next, *Kuchluk* Jenghiz Khân put himself at the head of a powerful army, pursued. in order to march into the west. Before he set out, he declared the prince *Tye-muko* (S), called also *Wa-che*, his fourth brother, regent of the empire. Among the chosen generals who accompanied the Khân, there were several *Chinese*; and he formed companies of soldiers, who had the art of casting huge stones against cities. His first enterprize was against

* GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 32, & seq.

(P) *Kuchluk* must be the king here meant.

(Q) It is not mentioned by what title, as that of Khân, or any other,

(R) At present *Li-hyen*, a city of *Pe-che-li*.

(S) Called by *Abûlghazi Khân Tamuka*; in *De la Croix*, named *Usakin*.

Kuchluk,

A. D.

1218.

Kuchluk, who had put in motion all the countries to the north-west of *Turfân*, as far as the rivers *Sihân* and *Jihân* (T) on one side, and on the other as far as the *Obi* and *Irtiſh*. He was leagued with the *Markats*, and princes of *Kichâ* (U), a vast country, to the north and north-east of the *Caspian* sea; besides those of the *Kangli*, who inhabited the country to the north-east of the territories of *Samarkand*.

Bishbâlig
taken.

AN army of 300,000 men, said to be the remains of the *Kitân* (X), of whom there were many tribes about *Turfân*, having advanced with design to oppose the *Khân's* passage, he intirely defeated them. *Ko-pau-yu*, one of the *Chinese* generals in the *Mungl* army, having been desperately wounded in the battle, *Jenghîz Khân* honoured him with a visit in his tent. When recovered, he was sent to besiege *Bishbâlig* (Y), which was taken, with the other cities in that country. At the same time *Gonchor*, a lord of the tribe of *Yong-ku*, in the western parts of *Tatary*, subdued the city and country of *Almâleg* (Z). *Kosmeli*, one of the great officers of the last *Khân* of the western *Lyau* (or *Kitân*), understanding that the *Mungls* were come to make war on *Kuchluk*, persuaded the chief of the city of *Asân* (A), and those of other tribes, to submit to *Chepe* (B). *Jenghîz Khân* being informed of this, sent for *Kosmeli*, and gave him the command of a body of the van-guard. *Kuchluk*, after this, being defeated, his head was cut off by the *Khân's* order; and exposed to view in all the towns and villages of the *Naymâns* (C), and *Kitân*,

Kuchluk
 slain.

(T) These, which are the *Arab* names of the rivers at present called the *Sir* and *Amû* (of old the *Jaxartes* and *Oxus*), we presume, are not in the *Chinese* history.

(U) Elsewhere written *Kincha*: this seems to be *Kipchâk*, or confounded with it.

(X) These were the western *Lyau*, or *Kitân*, called by the oriental historians *Karakitayans*, as hereafter will be observed in their history.

(Y) Or *Pishbâleg*: in the *Chinese* *Pye-cha-pa-li*: a city which lay to the north of *Turfân*, in *Little Bukhâriq*; reckoned, by the *Persian* geographers, as the capital of the *Igûrs* country, and residence of their *Khân Iâikut*:

but, according to the *Chinese*, the capital was *Ho-chew*, some leagues to the east of *Turfân*.

(Z) Or *Almâlig*; so called by *Abû Isfeda*, and other oriental writers. In the *Chinese* pronounced *O-li-ma-li*.

(A) This town, or tribe, seems to have been at no great distance from *Kâshgar*.

(B) Which shews, that this general's design in marching westward was to attack *Kuchluk*.

(C) It must not be understood that the native country of the *Naymâns* was in these parts; but they were possessed of them by conquest, under their *Khân Kuchluk*.

through

through which they passed. Hereupon those tribes, together with the *Kangli* (or *Kankli*), acknowledged *Jenghiz Khân* for their sovereign¹.

A. D.
1218.

THE more western historians of the *Mungl* affairs agree pretty well with the *Chinese*. They inform us, that *Jenghiz Khân*, after the reduction of *Tangut* (or *Hya*), intended to have returned, and finished the conquest of *Kitay*; but that he was diverted by the rumours of his old enemies in *Tatary* beginning to raise new disturbances. The tribes, which had still refused to acknowledge him for their master, had submitted to *Kuchluk* as their Khân: who thus finding himself in a condition of power, by the advice of *Mohammed Karazm Shâh*, the most potent prince at that time in the west of *Asia*², on some pretence of discontent, unexpectedly attacked *Kavar Khân*, *Kâr Khân*, or *Gûrkhân*, his father-in-law, and deprived him of the better half of his dominions. On the other hand, *Kudath*, brother of *Toktabeghi*, Khân of the *Markats*, with the two sons of the latter, had arrived among the *Naymâns*, and began to make the subjects of *Jenghiz Khân* in those quarters uneasy; for the *Naymâns*, being but newly subdued, were the readier to listen to proposals of freeing them from his yoke.

His ingratitude.

HEREUPON the Khân sent two of his generals, *Suida* (D) *Markats Behadr*, and *Kamu Tufbazar*, with a considerable force against *Kudath* (E), and his adherents; who were defeated at the river *Jam Muran* (F), and all of them killed or taken: which put an end intirely to the sovereignty of the *Markats* (G). As the *Tumats* (H) had invaded the Khân's dominions while he was employed in *Kitay*, he sent against them some troops, under *Burgu Noyan* (I), or *Nevian*, who caused some of them to be slain; and treated the rest with so much rigour, that *Jenghiz Khân* was concerned at it. To reduce *Kuchluk*, who appeared a more formidable enemy, he detached *Zena* (K),

or

¹ GAUBIL, p. 24, & seq.

² See before, p. 59.

(D) He is the same with *Su-puhty*, in the *Chinese* history.

(E) *De la Croix* calls him *Kondû Khân*, and says there were with him three of his nephews.

(F) *Bentink* says, it rises in the mountains which cross the Gobi, or sandy desert, and runs south-south-east into the *Whang-bo*, on the borders of *Tibet*.

(G) In *De la Croix*, *Merkits*.

(H) Or *Tomats*, a tribe on the

frontiers of *China*: they were excited to revolt by *Kondû Khân*. *De la Croix*.

(I) Called *Baba Nevian* in *De la Croix*.

(K) Whether this be the same called by the *Chinese* *Chepe*, we cannot determine: for *De la Croix*, from *Mirkond*, names the general sent against *Kuchluk*, *Hubbe Nevian*. According to *De la Croix*, *Jenghiz Khân*.

A. D. (or *Jenz*) *Noyán*, the most experienced of his generals, with a numerous army. The *Naymán* prince, far from hiding himself, advanced to meet *Zena* with superior forces. But the *Mungls* charged him so vigorously that he was constrained to fly, followed only by a small number of his men; the rest having been all cut to pieces. *Zena Noyán*, not content with the victory, set out in pursuit of him; and pressed him so closely, that he even killed all the men who accompanied him, excepting three. His pursuer, arriving soon after in the country of *Sarakol*, was informed by a peasant, that four strangers were newly passed by, who had taken the road to *Badágshán* (L); hereupon, redoubling his speed, he came up with the unfortunate prince before he could reach that city, and had him put to death on the spot. *Zena*, after this, returned to *Jenghiz Khán*; who rewarded him magnificently for the services done him in that expedition *.

Hej. 614.

A. D.

1217.

Kuchluk's
pursuit.

THIS is the account given by the historians of the west of *Asia*, whom we shall almost wholly follow for what regards *Jenghiz Khán's* wars in those parts: the *Chinese* authors having been as little acquainted with what passed in *Great Bukhária* and *Persia*, as the others were with his transactions in *Lyauteng* and *Kitay*.

C H A P. III.

*From the Invasion of Karazm to the Death of Soltán Mohammed.*Jenghiz
Khán's
embassy

JENGHIZ *Khán*, having established peace in his dominions, and completed the reduction of all the *Turkish* tribes under his obedience, resolved to cultivate amity with his neighbours, particularly *Soltán Mohammed Karazm Sháh*. To this purpose, at the end of the year 1217, he sent *Makinut Jalázi*, his ambassador (A), to acquaint the *Soltán*,

* *ABU'LG.* p. 94, & seq. *MIRK.* apud *De la Croix*, p. 112.

Khán first sent to draw *Soltán Mohammed* from *Kashluk's* interest, which was easily effected (the *Karazm Sháh* growing jealous of his power, and willing to weaken *Jenghiz Khán's*); and then sent *Hubbe Nevian* to pursue him, by way of *Kashgar*, which *Hubbe* reduced; and *Kashluk* was taken as he was hunting in the mountains of

Badágshán, where he passed for an inhabitant of the country, but was known by some *Moguls*.

(L) A city in the eastern part of great *Bukhária*, on the river *Amú*.

(A) *De la Croix* says, there were three ambassadors; one a native of *Karazm*, whom the *Soltán* talked to in private; but names

Soltân, "That, having become master of all the countries from the farthest east to the frontiers of his empire, he was desirous to enter into a treaty of amity with him, for their mutual interest; and that the Soltân would consider him as his father; in which case he proposed to look on the Soltân as his son." *Mohammed*, having heard the ambassador's proposal, took him aside, and asked him, "If it was true, that *Jenghîz Khân* had conquered *Kitay*?" and, at the same time, made him a present of a rich scarf adorned with jewels, which he had then on, to induce him to be more open and sincere. Upon this, *Makinut* protested before God, that what he had related was fact; adding, "That he would soon find he told truth, in case he came to have any difference with him." At this answer the Soltân fell into a great passion; "I know not, said he, what your master means, by sending to tell me that he has conquered so many provinces? Do you know of how great extent my empire is? or upon what ground he pretends to be greater than I; expecting that I should honour him as my father, and be content to be treated only as his son? Has he then so many armies?"

THE ambassador, perceiving how disagreeable truth was to the *Karazmian* monarch, although he required it, began to soothe him; saying, "I know very well that you are more powerful than my sovereign; and that there is as much difference between you two as between the true sun and a mock one: but, on the other hand, you know that he is my master, and that I must obey his orders; however, I can assure you, that his intentions are very good." This flattery mollified the Soltân, so that he consented at last to every thing which the ambassador proposed, and a treaty of peace (B) was concluded on^a. He returned with presents both for his master and himself: several merchants of *Karazm*, loaded with the choicest commodities, accompanied him, with a design to traffick in the dominions of *Jenghîz Khân*.

AFTER this there subsisted so great an harmony for some time between the two empires, that a man might have travelled from one to the other, with gold and silver in his hand, without the least danger: but as two great neighbouring princes cannot possibly live long without distrusts and

^a ABU'LGH. p. 97. De la Croix, 119.

names none of them. In all other respects he agrees with *Abû'lghazi Khân* and his authors, *Jenghîz Khân* was sixty-three years old in 1217, when this peace was concluded.

(B) According to *De la Croix*,

jealousies,

A. D. 1218. jealousies, Soltân *Mohammed* soon became uneasy at *Jenghiz Khân's* greatness; and, after his reduction of *Gazna*, he treated the *Mungls* with less respect than before: at the same time his subjects committed such acts of hostility as obliged *Jenghiz Khân* to complain of them. Yet this did not alter his intention to keep the peace^b; nor could even the importunity of *Nasser*, the Khalifah of *Baghdâd*, draw him from that resolution. *Mohammed*, having cut off the heads of above one hundred princes, to make himself master of their treasures and dominions, would needs oblige the Khalifah to grant him the privileges which the *Seljukian*, and other, Soltâns had enjoyed before; particularly that of establishing his seat in *Baghdâd*, to govern and be named in the publick prayers, in the same manner as he was. But *Nasser* refused to comply with his demands, alleging, "That former Soltâns had some right to those privileges, for great services done to the Khalifat; whereas he had no occasion for *Mohammed's* assistance; nor had that prince done any thing to intitle him to such powers."

the Khalifah Nasser.

SOLTÂN Mohammed received the Khalifah's ambassador (who accompanied his own back) very honourably: but was so far from abating any thing of his demands, that he called a general council of the *Muftis*, *Mûlas*, *Kâdis*, *Imâms*, *Sheykhs*, and other lawyers, to depose him; and having nominated another Khalifah, set out with a great army to take *Baghdâd*. By good luck for *Nasser*, this army was almost intirely destroyed by the frosts and rains of a severe winter, which obliged the Soltân to return home. However, the Khalifah, fearing in the end to be reduced to extremities by that powerful prince, resolved to make an alliance with *Jenghiz Khân*; and excite him to invade *Mohammed* on one side, while he attacked him on the other. Part of his council were against this measure: alleging, that it was contrary to the *Mohammedan* law, to bring the enemies of God into the country of the faithful, as it might occasion the ruin both of the *Musulman* religion and empire. But the Khalifah's zeal for the faith could not make him change his sentiments: He answered, "That a *Mohammedan* tyrant was worse than one who was an infidel: that it only became cowards to abandon the care of their preservation to avoid the pains of watching: that, since they saw themselves threatened with apparent ruin, they might attempt any thing to prevent it: that, besides, *Jenghiz Khân* did not hate the *Mohammedan* religion, since he suffered *Mohammedans* to live in his domi-

His army ruined.

Nasser's embassy

^b ABU'LGHE. p. 100. DE LA CROIX, p. 125, & seq:

"nions,

“ nions, and had even one for his Wazîr (or Vizier) : that,
 “ in short, supposing him an enemy to the faith, they had
 “ nothing to fear from the *Mungls*, since it would be many
 “ years before they could enter into those countries which
 “ were really the *Mohammedan*.”

THE opinion of the Khalifah prevailing, an envoy was accordingly sent into *Tatary*, with his credentials impressed on his head (C), to prevent discovery : and having been admitted to a private audience, *Jenghîz Khân* told him, “ The treaty which he had just then concluded would not permit him to make war upon the Soltân at that juncture : but that he knew the restless spirit of *Mohammed* would not suffer things to remain long in the posture they were then in ; and that, on the first occasion given, he would not fail to declare war against him.” The *Mohammedan* historians greatly blame this conduct of the Khalifah : and although it does not appear that he ever gave any assistance to *Jenghîz Khân*, yet his having but excited him to make war on a prince of their religion, was sufficient to draw their reproaches upon him^c.

MEAN time Soltân *Mohammed*, careless of preserving the good harmony on his side, gave much occasion of discontent, by sending, or permitting, his soldiers to enter the borders of the *Mungl* empire, and commit depredations. At last, he seized a province which belonged to *Kasbluk*, but became the Khân's by right of conquest : and one day, by his order, his soldiers attacked the *Mungl* troops, which guarded the borders of the country of *Ardish*. Yet all these injuries could not provoke *Jenghîz Khân* to declare war against *Mohammed* : on the contrary, as he had in view to enrich his subjects by commerce, and polish their manners by conversation with strangers, he resolved, if possible, to live at peace with him, and even cultivate a firm alliance^d.

THE good order and perfect security for travellers, which *Jenghîz Khân* had established in his dominions, drew thither merchants from all parts ; and, among the rest, from *Great*

^c EBN KATUR. NISSAWI. MIRK. ap. La Croix, p. 132, & seq. ^d Ibid. p. 142.

(C) This was done with the point of a needle and indigo, in the same manner that the arms of pilgrims are marked at *Jerusalem* ; so that when his head was shaved, the credentials appeared. *Hissar*, prince of

Miletus, when at the court of *Darius*, king of *Persia*, made use of the same device, to excite *Aristagoras*, his son-in-law, to revolt ; as we learn from *Herodotus*, l: 5.

A. D.
1218.

Bukharia, which was subject to Soltân *Mohammed*. Upon the arrival of some of these latter with very rich commodities, the Khân sent for them : but they set so extravagant a price on their goods as made him very angry ; and having shewn them above a thousand chests, with all sorts of valuable commodities, told them, " They might see by what was before them, that it was not the first time he had cheapened such merchandizes : but that, since they durst exact upon him with so much assurance, he resolved to pay them in their kind ;" and so made them take back their goods without buying any. After this, sending for other merchants of the same country, with the like commodities, he began to cheapen several parcels : but they, warned by what had happened to their countrymen, told the Khân, " That they left it to himself to give them what he pleased for them ; or that, if he paid them nothing at all, his majesty was welcome to take them." This answer pleasing *Jenghîz Khân*, he not only ordered them to be paid double the value of their goods ; but also gave them leave to sell the remainder of them in his camp, without presenting the chief men with the least trifle.

and mer-
chants,

AT the departure of these merchants for their own country, the Khân took that opportunity to put in execution what he had before projected. He sent with them four hundred fifty merchants of his own subjects, to trade in the Soltân's dominions : accompanied by *Mohammed* of *Karazm*, *Ali Khoja* of *Bokhâra*, and *Yusef* of *Otrar*, three officers of his court ; whom he sent in quality of ambassadors to that monarch, with a very obliging letter ; importing, " that he had treated his merchants so well during their stay in his dominions, that he flattered himself the Soltân would do no less by his subjects, who went to trade in his empire : that he engaged his promise always to act the part of a good father by the Soltân ; and reckoned that he would, on his side, prove a good son to him : which obligations being performed by both parties, could not fail to aggrandize their empires, and encrease their common glory."

slain at
Quâr

THE ambassadors, having passed through *Mogulistân*, *Karakitay*, and *Turkestan*, at length arrived at *Otrar*, called by the *Arabs* *Farab*, a city of great trade, seated to the north of the river *Sihân*, now called *Sir*, at the west end of *Turkestan*, but subject to Soltan *Mohammed*. They immediately went to salute the governor, cousin-german to the mother of the Soltân, who had given him the name of *Gaghîr Khân*. The merchants likewise paid him their compliments, and offered him some presents : but one of them, an old acquaintance of his, happen-

happening inadvertently to call him by his former name *Inaljik*, he was so offended at it, that, without farther ceremony, he ordered both ambassadors and merchants to be arrested: and then dispatched a courier to inform the Soltân, that there were arrived at *Otrâr* strangers, who indeed pretended to be merchants and ambassadors; but that, having strong reasons to suspect they came on some ill design, he had caused them to be arrested, till he knew his pleasure concerning them. *Mohammed*, without taking any farther information of the matter, sent orders that they should be immediately put to death: which sentence *Gaghir Khân* executed to the rigour, and confiscated all their effects to the Soltân's use.

A. D.
1217.

THIS affair is somewhat differently related by the authors *by the* *made use of by La Croix*. They tell us, that *Jenghiz Khân* sent but one ambassador with the *Karazmian* merchants, accompanied by one hundred and fifty *Mungl* merchants; four of whom had the principal direction of trade: that he also ordered each of his wives and great lords to send some domestics with the merchants, to buy what they found most curious in the countries as they passed: that most of this large company were *Mohammedans*; and, for their greater security, the guards of the roads, which had been already established through his dominions, were doubled: that, being come to *Otrâr*, the governor, whom they call *Gayer Khân* (D), gave them a very courteous reception, and promised to acquaint the Soltân immediately with the ambassador's arrival: that the ambassador, deceived by his complaisance, having talked too openly of the money brought by the merchants, the covetous governor, with design to enrich himself with their spoil, represented them in his letter to Soltân *Mohammed* as spies, extremely inquisitive to inform themselves of the strength of garrisons and forces of the country; in order, as he pretended, to discover the weakest side for invading his dominions: that hereupon, having received commands to watch the *Mungls*, with a power to act in the matter as to him should seem expedient, he resolved to murder the ambassador, and all his company, four hundred and fifty in number: that, for this purpose, he invited them to an entertainment in his palace, where he caused them to be secretly slain one after the other, and then seized their treasure.

NOTWITHSTANDING the perfidious governor took all possible precautions to conceal his crime, that it might not come to the knowledge of *Jenghiz Khân*; yet one of the merchants had the good fortune to escape the massacre, and carried the

(D) And *Najal Khân*, instead of *Inalzik*, or *Inaljik*.

A. D.
1217.

news of it to that prince: who, at the recital of a fact so unexpected, as well as execrable, fell into an extreme rage; and having given immediate orders for assembling his troops, sent to tell (E) the Soltân, "That since by so infamous an action he had violated all the engagements which were between them; he, from that instant, declared himself his mortal enemy, and would take vengeance on him by a rigorous war." It is related, that the Khân recounted to his children and great lords of his court, assembled for that purpose, the story of the assassination at *Otrâr*: he set forth the matter in such dismal colours, that he filled all their hearts with grief and anger; and represented the murder of his ambassador with such fire, that it inspired nothing but vengeance and fury against Soltân *Mohammed*, whom they looked on as a monster.

Makes regulations

AFTER *Jenghiz Khân* had assembled the forces of his empire, he wrote to the foreign princes who were either his friends or tributaries; acquainting them with the reasons of his marching against the *Karazm Shâh*, and desiring them to join him with their troops: which, when done, upon a review, his army amounted to 700,000 men. Before he set out on this expedition, he ordered levies to be made and sent him from time to time. He likewise established some new laws for regulating his soldiery. He forbade the *Mungls*, under pain of death, to fly without fighting, whatever danger there might be in resisting the enemy. He ordered, that where ten commanders, with their troops, were joined together in one body, if one of such officers, or troops, should offer to break their ranks and fly, without being accompanied by the whole body, they should be killed upon the spot without delay: he also made it death for any out of ten men, who, seeing their companions engaged in fight, did not go to assist them; or who, being present when one of their comrades was taken prisoner, did not do his utmost to rescue him.

in his army.

HE appointed the proper arms which each soldier was to carry; the chief of which were the sabre, the bow, and quiver

* ABULGH. p. 100, & seq. LA CROIX, 144.

(E) According to *Abû Isfaraj*, that *Jenghiz Khân* was so touched with this barbarous proceeding, that he wept, ate nothing for three days, and could take no rest, till he got all things in readiness to revenge the injury.

full



full of arrows, the battle-ax, and some ropes. The officers were to have helmets and breast-plates either of leather or iron, or else an entire suit of armour or coat of mail; nor was it forbidden the private soldiers to wear armour if they were able to buy it. Persons of substance were obliged to arm their horses, so as that arrows could not wound them. It was likewise ordained that the soldiers should, on all occasions in the field, do nothing but what was conformable to the laws, under penalty of the most rigorous punishment. Lastly, he commanded, that in case he died in the expedition, the books, in which the laws were written, should be read in the presence of his children at the election of a Grand Khân: to the end that such election should be made pursuant to those laws; and that the new Khân might regulate his conduct by them.

EVERY thing being now ready for the war, the Khân detached his son *Juji*, or *Tusbi* (F), with a large body of troops towards *Turkestan*, in order to dislodge the friends of *Kuchuk*, who still remained there; after which he marched with his army to attack the dominions of Soltân *Mohammed*. And since it is from the date of this expedition, that the great irruption of the *Mungs*, or *Moguls*, and *Tatars*, into the southern parts of *Asia* is reckoned to commence, it will be proper to acquaint our readers with the state of this part of the world at that remarkable juncture.

Begins his
march.
Hoj. 616.
A. D.
1218.

THE *Indians* were governed by many kings; the most powerful of whom was the king of the *Patans* (G), who reigned in *Multan* and *Dehli*. The southern part of *China*, then called *Manji*, had its own emperors of the *Song* race; and the northern part, named *Kitay*, or *Katay*, was under the *Mungs*; as were also both the eastern and western *Tartary*, with most of *Turkestan*. The rest was possessed by Soltân *Mohammed*, who was also master of *Great Bukharia* and *Karazm*, where the monarchy was first established, and from whence the family took the title of *Karazm Shâh*. Besides these, his dominion extended over the greater part of the

at his in-
vasion.

1. *ABU'LKAIR* sp. *La Croix*, p. 151, & seq.
p. 103.

2. *ABU'L.*

(F) According to *La Croix's* authors, *Tusbi* was in *Kapchat* (or *Kipjak*) at this time; whither he was sent for to be at the rendezvous. Perhaps he came time enough to be detached to *Turkestan*.

(G) These people were of *Persian* extraction, and their kings of the family of *Gaur*; who succeeded that of *Gaxni* in the empire of *Persia* and the *Indus*; to which last their possessions were at length confirmed.

A. D.
1218.

empire of *Irán*, or *Persia* at large; containing, among the rest, *Khorassán*, with the frontiers of *India*, *Párs*, or proper *Persia*, *Irák Ajemi*, and *Azerbiján*. *Georgia*, and the adjacent countries, had their particular princes, who were independent: as for *Armenia*, its king paid tribute to the Sháh of *Karazm*. The Khalifah *Nasser* reigned in *Baghdád*, over *Irák Arabi*, or *Khaldea*, part of *Jazireh*, or *Mesopotamia*, the three *Arabias*, and some countries of *Persia*, contiguous to his other dominions. The Atabek princes of *Musul*, or *Mosul*, the descendants of the great *Náro'ddín*, prince of *Syria*, possessed almost all the rest of *Jazireh*. The successors of *Salah'd'dín* (or *Saladin*) were also very powerful; *Egypt*, with part of *Syria* (where the Christian affairs were in a very bad posture) having submitted to them. *Anatolia*, or *Asia minor*, was for the most part under the power of the *Selákians*, called Soltáns of *Konia*, or *Ikónium*; and of *Rám*, or the *Romans*; and the empire of *Constantinople* was at this time in the hands of the *French*^a.

Soltán
Moham-
med

HISTORIANS do not mention the places through which the *Mungls* marched in their way to the *Karazmian* dominions; nor even the month in which *Jenghiz Khán* left *Mogulistán* in the year of the *Hare*. Mean time Soltán *Mohammed* made great preparations to oppose him; and, having raised 400,000 men (a vast army, though inferior to that of the enemy), marched towards *Samarkand*, and from thence to *Khojend* (H), in order to meet the Khán^b: but being informed at this last place, that *Juji* was returning from *Turkeistán*, he changed his design; and directed his course to attack the *Mungl* prince before he could join his father. Having at length, by forced marches, arrived on the borders of that country, he turned off towards the river *Kabli*, in order to cut off *Juji*'s retreat. Being arrived between that river and the *Kamzi*, he found a great number of men; who, as he was informed by a wounded soldier, had been slain the day before by the *Mungls*: upon this he hastened his march, and overtook them next morning. The generals, who accompanied *Juji*, counselled him to make an orderly retreat: inasmuch as the Khán had not commanded him to fight with the Soltán's whole army; and he was not strong enough for such an undertaking: they added, that, in case the Soltán should pursue them, it was only to be done by small detachments; against which they might easily defend themselves, without running so great a hazard as that of a general battle.

^a LA CROIX, p. 155, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 158.

(H) In the translation *Khadfan*.

THE prince alone was against this advice: "What, replied he, will my father and brothers say, should I return flying in the sight of the enemy? It will, on all accounts, be better to stand our ground, trusting to our valour, than to be slain in flight. You have done your duty, in admonishing me of the danger we are in; I am now going to do mine, by trying to bring you out of it with honour."

A. D.
1218.worsted by
Juji.

After this, he ranged his troops in military order, and led them cheerfully to the charge. In the height of the confusion *Juji* pierced twice or thrice through the enemies ranks; and, having encountered *Soltân Mohammed*, gave him two or three strokes with his sword, which the other parried with his buckler. The *Mungls*, animated by the example of their prince, performed wonders that day: so that, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, they were on the point of flying; if the *Soltân*, finding that his presence could not revive the courage of his soldiers, had not called out to them to stand their ground only for a few minutes, till night came on to part them. They obeyed this command; and thus saved him from the shame of seeing his whole army fly before a small part of the *Mungl* forces.

JUJI, who thought he might be content with the honour acquired in that one engagement, caused great fires to be lighted in several places of his camp, and retired silently in the night. Next day, the enemy, imagining that he still waited for them on the field of battle, marched out again to renew the fight; but finding he had decamped, they retreated likewise. The prince, having rejoined his father with the troops under his command, was joyfully received, and loaded with presents for his gallant behaviour*. This is the account given by *Abûlghazi Khân*: but, according to *La Croix*, *Jenghiz Khân* himself was in the battle, and his whole army engaged in this action. *Soltân Mohammed*, says that author, not doubting but the *Mungl* emperor had a design upon *Otrâr*, as the bloody tragedy was there acted, and it would open him a free passage into the very heart of his dominions, led his army thither. In short, having met the *Moguls* in a place called *Karakû*, the two armies immediately prepared to fight: the great trumpet, *Kerrena*, fifteen foot long, was blown; the brass timbrels, called *Kûs*, the drums, fifes, and other warlike instruments, sounded the charge. The *Karazmians*, who were all *Mohammedans*, implored the assistance of their prophet; while the *Mungls*, trusting to their good fortune,

* ABULGH. p. 103.

A. D. 1218. and the emperor's conduct, promised themselves a complete victory.

of the
battle

JUJI Kassar, *Jenghiz Khân's* second brother, who commanded the Mangalay (I), advancing towards the first ranks of the enemy, defeated the troops which were detached to oppose him. Then *Jalalo'ddin*, the Soltân's son, began the general engagement, and charged prince *Tusbi* (or *Juji*) who was at the head of the first body of *Mungls*. The dispute was long and bloody: at length, *Jalalo'ddin* getting the better, nothing but shouts of joy were heard through the *Karazmian* army, who now deemed themselves secure of the victory. But *Jenghiz Khân*, under no concern at this advantage, sent other troops, under the command of *Tuli*, his fourth son, to succour *Tusbi*, whilst he, at the head of the main body, with his son *Jagatay*, fell upon the Soltân himself, who had very ill-treated his left wing. This shock was terrible: but the *Karazmians*, notwithstanding the example of their king, who fought with extraordinary bravery, began to give way; when *Jalalo'ddin*, after having defeated the other troops sent against him, joined his father, and renewed the fight with greater fury than ever. The prince, did, on this occasion, surprizing things; whilst the officers, and very soldiers, gave proofs of extraordinary valour.

from other
authors.

ON the other hand the *Mungls* never behaved more bravely, and having now to do with men as valiant as themselves, there ensued a dreadful slaughter on both sides, and the victory remained a long time doubtful: but at last, *Jenghiz Khân*, who had still a great body of reserve, under the conduct of his son *Oktay*, bad him march and charge the enemy in flank. The prince executed his orders with much resolution: but although these fresh troops made a terrible havock, yet the *Karazmians* sustained this last attack with great firmness, till night putting an end to the dispute, both parties retired to their respective camps; which they fortified the best they could, to avoid being surprised, with design to renew the battle next morning. But when Soltân *Mohammad* came to examine the state of his troops, and found they were diminished by more than 160,000 men, killed and wounded; whilst, by the report of his spies, the *Mungl* army, though so ill-treated, were still much superior in numbers, he thought only of securing himself from being soon attacked; and accordingly

(I) The Mangalay is taken sometimes for the forlorn hope, sometimes for the van-guard, and sometimes for the scouts.

intrenched his men so well, that *Jenghiz Khan* did not think fit to attempt to force his camp¹.

A. D.
1218.

*The Sultan
retires.*

DURING this short suspension of arms, Soltán *Mohammed*, not daring to risk a second battle, the loss of which would have been the intire ruin of his empire, distributed his army into the most considerable places of strength (K); and kept with him only a flying camp, to be ready to march where there was the most urgent occasion. He gave all the rest of his troops to prince *Jalalo'ddin*, who did not approve of this way of proceeding; and, contrary to his commands, retired to *Khorassan*, where he increased his army with all the troops which he could get together. The truth is, that, in thus dividing his forces, the *Karazm Sháh* yielded the victory to his enemy. Thus *La Croix*. On the other hand, according to *Abúlghazi Khán*, *Jenghiz Khán* was still on his march to *Great Bukharia*; where at length arriving, after he had been joined in the way by *Arslán*, Khán of the *Karliks*, *Idikát*, Khán of the *Vigúrs* (or *Oygúrs*), and *Saknák*, lord of *Amálik* (or *Almálig*), he turned first on the side of *Otrár*: but, understanding that Soltán *Mohammed* had left the country open to him, and distributed his troops into the places of strength, he detached his two sons, *Ugaday* (or *Oktay*) and *Jagatay*, with a considerable body of forces to besiege *Otrár*; and his son *Juji*, with another party towards *Najan* (L). He also ordered two of his generals *Alan* (M) *Noyan* (or *Nevian*) and *Suktu Baka*, with 50,000 (N) men towards *Farnakant* (or *Fenakant*).

¹ *Abul'k. ap. La Croix, p. 160, & seq.*

(K) *Abúlghazi Khán* says, that, after thus distributing his troops into the cities, he returned to his usual place of residence, and gave himself up to debauchery, which was attended with several excesses. Among the rest, that he caused a *Sheykh*, who passed for a holy man, to be assassinated, on suspicion of having a criminal conversation with his mother *Turkhán Khatun*: for which, however, he was much troubled when sober; and would have bought absolution of another *Sheykh*, with a great bafon full of gold and jewels.

(L) The authors, used by *La Croix*, put *Jund*, instead of *Najan*; or *Nadsan*, as in the translation of *Abúlghazi Khan's* history.

(M) This is the same who is called by others *Elak*, or *Alak Nevian*.

(N) *La Croix*, from *Fadh-lallah*, says, *Oktay* and *Jagutay* had 200,000 men with them; that *Tuñbi*, who marched towards *Kapchak* (or *Kipjak*) had 100,000 men under *Elak Nevian*, his lieutenant-general: that many other *Mogul* commanders went with their troops into *Turkestan*, and other countries.

A. D.
1218.

kant) and *Khajend*, reserving with himself the grofs of his army; with which he continued his march, accompanied by his son *Taunday* (or *Tuli*) towards *Great Bukhária*™.

Zarnuk THE first city which *Jenghiz Khán* found in his passage
surrenders. was *Zarnuk* (O), under the walls of which his soldiers encamped with so terrible an outcry, that the inhabitants in a fright shut the gates: but *Hajib*, one of his officers, being sent to advise them to submit, by demolishing their castle, and sending to the camp all their young men capable of bearing arms to serve in his army, they flocked in crouds, loaded with presents, to put themselves under the protection of *Jenghiz Khán*; who received them very graciously, and gave to their city the name of *Kátlúk Bálek*, after which he permitted all the elderly men to return.

Núr sub-
mits.

FROM hence the Khán marched to *Núr*, under the guidance of an inhabitant of *Zarnuk*, who led his army a nearer way, ever since called the Grand Khán's rout. This city, which is situate between *Samarkant* and *Bokhára*, had the name of *Núr*, or light, given to it, on account of the many holy places within it; resorted to from all parts by crouds of devotees. The inhabitants, after several summons to surrender, at last agreed to open their gates: but *Jenghiz Khán*, to punish them for daring to form even a thought of resisting him, allowed them to keep only such cattle and provisions as were necessary for their subsistence; and gave all the rest for pillage to his soldiers. Others say, the governor, through cowardice or bribery, having persuaded the citizens to surrender, they were obliged only to furnish the emperor's troops with some necessaries; and pay him yearly the 1500 crowns of gold, which they before paid to Soltan *Mohammed*,

The Soltán
flee.

THE Khán made no stay here, being desirous to get as soon as possible to *Bokhára*, in regard it was the center of the Soltán's dominions; and he knew that prince had retired thither with the greater part of his riches: but *Mohammed*, too wise to wait his coming, left 20,000 men to defend the place, and retired secretly to *Samarkant* with all his effects. His flight was owing, in great measure, to certain counterfeited letters dropped among his troops; insinuating, that his best

— LA CROIX, p. 163. ABU'LEH. p. 106, & seq.

wies eastward; and yet *Jenghiz* (O) Situate on the south side
Khán had still 200,000 troops, of the *Sibán*, or *Sir*, in *Great*
with which, accompanied by *Bukhária*, not many leagues
Tuli, he marched to besiege southward of *Otrár*.
Bokhára and *Samarkand*.

officers

officers intended to quit his service. These letters, which bred great confusion in the Soltân's army, were written by *Badro'ddin*, formerly one of his officers; to be revenged on him for putting his father, uncle, and brothers to death. *Jenghiz Khân*, to whose court *Badro'ddin* had retired, permitted him to make use of that artifice, after being informed that there was a misunderstanding between Soltân *Mohammed* and his mother; and that several commanders had left him, to follow that prince. The Khân even offered his assistance to this queen, and a settlement in any part of his dominions; but she did not care to trust the promises of an infidel prince.

A. D.
1219.

BOKHARA is situate one day's journey to the north of the river *Jihân*, or *Amâ*, very advantageously for trade, in a delightful country. Besides the city walls, which were very strong, it had an outward inclosure, twelve leagues in compass; which shut in not only the suburbs, but also many pleasant seats and farms, watered by the river *Soghd*: from whence the ancient *Soghdiana* took its name. Arts and sciences flourished no-where-more than in this city, to which students flocked from all parts; and we are told, that the word *Bukhâr*, in the *Mungl* language, signifies a *learned man*. Among the many who have rendered it famous was *Ebn Sina*, commonly called in *Europe* *Avicenna*, of *Afbana*; who was bred in this university, and was master of all the sciences at eighteen years of age. He was afterwards called to court, and made prime minister, yet still followed his studies: and is said to have written above 100 volumes. He died in 1036, at the age of fifty-eight.

Bokhâra
described.

THE *Mungls* arrived in the plain of *Bokhâra* towards the end of July 1219 (P), and continued encamped before the city during the following winter. In March 1220 the *Mungls* forced the outer wall, destroyed the suburbs, and began to besiege the city in form. Soltân *Mohammed* had left in the town a very numerous garrison, under the command of three generals, *Kuk Khân*, *Siunj Khân*, and *Kuchluk Khân*. At the approach of *Jenghiz Khân* these three generals made a sally in the night with all the garrison, consisting of 20,000 men: but being repulsed with great loss, their courage failed them; and, instead of staying to defend the inhabitants, as soon as

The city
besieged;
Hej. 616.
A. D.
1219.

" *ABU'LOH*. p. 108, & seq. *FAPHLALLAH* apud *La Croix*, p. 206.

(P) *Abûlghazi Khân* says, *La Croix*, that they continued that they sat down before *Bokhâra* the first of *Rabiye'l Akbir*, rest of the winter. in the year of the *Hejrab* 616:

they

A. D.
1229.

and sur-
rendered.

they had got into the city by one gate, passed out by the opposite one, with their families, and almost all their soldiers, hoping to escape by the darkness of the night unperceived by the enemy: but their design being discovered, 30,000 *Mungs* pursued, and overtaking them at the river *Amu*, after a bloody dispute, almost all of them were cut to pieces^o.

MEAN time *Jenghiz Khán*, informed of the confusion which the inhabitants of *Bekhára* were thrown into by the desertion of their garrison, ordered the city to be attacked on all sides. But while the engines were getting ready for that purpose, next morning all the magistrates and clergy, attended by the principal citizens, went out and presented the keys of the city to *Jenghiz Khán*: who granted them their lives, on condition that they gave no shelter to any of the Soltán's soldiers, and put out all who could be suspected of being in that prince's interest; which they promised to do upon oath. As for the castle, which was strong, all the young people, who were displeased with the surrender, retired thither with the governor; a brave man, who was resolved to hold out to the last extremity.

The Khán's
behaviour

in the
Jami.

JENGHIZ Khán, having taken possession of *Bekhára*, entered on horseback into the great mosque, and asked mercifully, If that was the Soltán's palace? On being answered, that it was the house of God^p, he alighted; and, giving the principal magistrate his horse to hold, mounted the gallery where the ecclesiastics usually sat; then, taking up the Korán, threw it under the feet of his horses. As soon as he was seated, his soldiers began to eat and drink in the temple, without the least regard to the place. From hence he retired to his camp; and a few days after assembled all the principal men of *Bekhára*, and ascending a pulpit erected for that purpose in the midst of them^q, began his speech by praising God, and recounting all the favours he had received from the Deity. After this, he represented to them the perfidious behaviour of their Soltán towards him, in commanding his merchants and ambassadors to be assassinated: he added, that God had chosen him to punish *Muhammed* for all his cruelties, and to rid the earth of such tyrants. As to them; he testified his satisfaction for their having freely furnished his army with necessaries, and promised that his soldiers should not meddle with any goods, which they made use of in their houses: but com-

^o FADHLAL. apud De la Croix, p. 210. ABULGH. p. 110.
^p Idem ibid. LA CROIX, p. 212. ^q LA CROIX, p. 213.
ABUL. p. 111, & seq.

manded

manded them to deliver up to him all which they had hidden, threatening otherwise to oblige them by torture.

THE inhabitants, for fear of the worst, carried to his officers not only the goods which they had hidden, but those also which they had in use. This compliance satisfied him for that time : but, understanding afterwards, that several of the Soltân's soldiers were concealed in the town, he ordered it to be set on fire ; so that there remained nothing of that great city, excepting the Soltân's palace, called *Ark*, built of stone, and some few private houses built with brick, all the rest having been of wood. After this, he sent to search the said palace and houses, and caused all the soldiers he found in them to be slain. *Bokhâra* continued in this state for some years ; but at length the Khân ordered it to be rebuilt, a little before his death. The castle, which had held out for some time after the city was yielded, surrendered also at discretion, and was demolished ; but the governor and garrison had their lives spared.

A. D.
1220.

*Bokhâra
burned.*

THE reduction of this place gave *Jenghiz Khân* much satisfaction, which was increased by the arrival of the princes *Jagatay* and *Oktay* from *Otrâr*, which city they had taken : Soltân *Mohammed* had left *Gaghir*, or *Gayer Khân* (Q), with 50,000 men, near that place, to oppose *Jenghiz Khân*, in case he turned on that side ; and when he understood that prince had detached two of his sons to besiege it, he sent a further reinforcement of 10,000 men, under the command of *Karaja Hajib* (R), one of the lords of his court. With these 60,000 soldiers the governor shut himself up in the city, and made all the necessary preparations for a vigorous resistance, by strengthening the fortifications, and laying in store of provisions. The *Mungls* began the siege with their battering engines, and attempts to fill up the ditch (S) : which, after

* MIRKH. FADHL. ap. LA CROIX, p. 211, & seq. ABULGH. p. 110, & seq.

(Q) Called *Achir*, in the *Chinese* history ; which only says, with regard to this siege, that *Otrâr* being taken in 1219, the governor *Achir*, who had massacred certain persons sent thither by *Jenghiz Khân*, was put to death. *Gambil. hist. de Gentschif.* p. 216.

(R) By *La Croix*, named *Mariakas*, captain of the Soltân's guards.

(S) *La Croix*, from *Abû'l-hair*, relates, that *Jenghiz Khân*, at the request of the two princes, went to view the place, and gave advice how to proceed in the siege, then departed for *Great Bakhâria* : and this might well be ; for, in his way to *Zornuk*, the first town he besieged, he must have passed near *Otrâr*.

much

A. D.
1220.

much obstruction, they accomplished; and then placed their machines against the walls with more advantage. But the besieged, by their frequent sallies, in which they often burned the engines, and otherwise damaged them, so well kept off the *Mungls*, that for several months they made very little progress. This inclined the princes to turn the siege into a blockade: but as it was necessary to consult their father on the occasion, and he returned no other answer than, *that they must fight*; his orders were obeyed with such indefatigable pains and ardour, that, in less than a month, the besieged saw all their towers and batteries beaten down; their engines broken, and breaches made in their walls: in short, they were obliged to retire behind their inner works; which, however, were no less strong than the outer had been.

and taken.

THE siege had now continued five months, when *Karaja Hajib*, seeing things reduced to this desperate condition, told *Gayer Khân* that it was time to think of capitulating, since it was not possible to defend the place much longer; and, if the surrender was deferred, the enemy would not hearken to any agreement. But the governor, who was conscious of being the sole occasion of the war, and that there would be no mercy shewn to him, absolutely rejected the proposal, and resolved to hold out to the last extremity. He had likewise, by his address, inspired such an aversion against the *Mungls*, on account of their being infidels, that he gained over both the inhabitants and garrison to his sentiments. *Hajib*, finding he had, by this step, made himself liable to suspicion; with the consent of the officers under him, in the night, caused the gate called *Dervasi Sufi*, of which he had the guard, to be opened, and retired, with his 10,000 men, into the *Mungl* camp: but the princes, pursuant to a maxim among them, that a man who was capable of betraying his natural lord, would make no scruple of betraying them also upon occasion, ordered him, with all his followers, to be slain (T). After this, they entered *Otrâr* by the same gate which the deserters had come out of.

The castle reduced.

THE governor, seeing the city taken (U), retired with 20,000 men into the castle; all the rest of the garrison, who were driven out of the town, were put to the sword. *Gayer*

(T) According to *La Croix*, only the general, the officers, and some of the soldiers, were put to death, but the rest were made slaves of.

(U) *La Croix* says, they en-

tered by a breach; and that it was some time before the city could be taken, the besieged having fortified every place, and cast up intrenchments in all the narrow streets.

Khân,

Khân, finding the castle too little for such a number of men, endeavoured to free himself by frequent sallies, which incommoded the enemy extremely: but the princes redoubling their efforts, as the defence of the besieged became more obstinate, the castle, after a month's leaguer, was at last taken sword in hand, and all the garrison slain. The narrow places, which were fortified, held out longer, being difficult of access; and the very ruins of the houses, which were beaten down, afforded means for the remainder of the *Karazmian* soldiers to fight under cover: but the besiegers, still pouring in fresh troops, cut them all off by degrees*.

GAYER KHÂN, seeing all lost, retired with two men to a terrace of his palace, and there defended himself desperately; as *Jenghiz Khân* had given orders to take him alive, the execution of them cost the lives of many *Mungls*. At length his two companions were slain; and although he was in want of arrows to shoot at those who strove to get up to the place where he was, yet he still defended himself a long time with great stones, which his wife brought him for that purpose. At last, being surrounded, he was taken prisoner, and brought before the princes, who ordered him to be loaded with chains; and in their march to *Bokhârâ*, at a place called *Ruk Saray* (X), they had him put to death, pursuant to orders received from their father. The castle of *Otrâr* was rased, but the city walls were rebuilt; and the old men, women, and children, who had been turned out by *Gayer Khân*, permitted to return. It was likewise forbidden, under severe penalties, to the garrison who were left there, any way to disquiet or molest the inhabitants.

As *Jenghiz Khân* perceived it was necessary to reduce several other cities situated on the *Sir*, before he could undertake the conquest of *Great Bukhâria*; when *Otrâr* was taken, he sent orders to *Fuji*, or *Tusbi*, who was in these parts, to begin with the siege of *Saganâk* (Y). As soon as he arrived before the town, he sent *Haji Hassan*, a *Mohammedan*, to summon the inhabitants to surrender, with a promise of kind treatment: but although he had the governor's parole for his security, in a tumult raised by the chief officers, he was torn in pieces. *Fuji*, upon the news of this assassination, made his soldiers swear revenge, and never ceased assaulting the

* MIRR. ABU'LE. FADHL. apud La Croix, p. 164, & seq.

(X) *La Croix* writes *Gheuk*. (Y) *Sagnâk*, or *Signâk*, as in *Seray*; and says it was a palace *Abû'lghazi's* history. in *Samarkant*.

A. D.

1220



place until he had taken it. All the officers and soldiers, with more than one half of the inhabitants (Z), paid with their blood for *Hassan's* murder; the rest of them, with the city itself, would have been destroyed, if it had not been found necessary to keep it for carrying on the war to advantage. *Fuji* likewise, to honour the memory of his unfortunate officer, and remind the people of their barbarity, ordered a stately monument to be erected for him in the most eminent place of the city.

Uzkant
Yield.

IN taking this revenge, the *Mungls* lost more men than the place was worth: but the severity they used produced a good effect, by obliging several cities to yield without resistance: thus the inhabitants of *Uzkant* (A), made wise by the sufferings of *Sagnak*, came out to meet the prince, then two days journey distant, with magnificent presents, and delivered up their town without opposition; the governor, and such as would have defended the place, retired to *Tonkat*. *Fuji* forbade his soldiers to offer those who staid the least insult, or take any thing which belonged to them. From thence he marched to *Alsbash* (B), a very beautiful city, with a garden well-watered to every house. It was situated near the river *Sibun*, now *Sir*, four days journey to the north of *Khojend*. This place refused to surrender to *Fuji*, who therefore besieged it; and, having taken it, caused a great number of the inhabitants to be slain, for daring to defend themselves.

Alsbash
taken.

Jund be-
sieged.

AFTER the reduction of *Alsbash*, the prince marched to *Jund* (C), a city on the borders of *Turkestan* and at a small distance from the *Sir*; famous for the abode of several learned

* ABU'LOH. p. 113, & seq. LA CROIX, p. 171, & seq. ABU'LOH. p. 114.

(Z) *Abulghazi Khan* says, above 10,000 inhabitants were slain on this occasion. It was, doubtless, owing to the cruelty and treachery of the people of these countries, that *Jenghis Khan*, who, at first, was so merciful as even to spare the inhabitants of *Otrar*, where his ambassadors and merchants had been murdered, afterwards became so severe, and made such destruction wherever he came.

(A) *Ukend*, or *Urkend*; *Abulghazi Khan* writes *Ugan*; for it stands on the east border

of *Turkestan*, about ninety miles north-east of *Tonkat*.

(B) Thought to be the same which is at present called *Tashkent*, the present capital of the eastern part of *Turkestan*, possessed by the *Kassats*, or *Kassacha Orda*.

(C) In the translation of *Abulghazi Khan* we find *Najsan*, in *English*, *Najan*, instead of it: which place, according to that author, must have been near *Alsbash*; whereas *Jund* is placed by authors several degrees to the westward.

men.

men. The governor was named *Kütük Khân*; which title was given him, because the town, with the adjacent country, belonged to him by inheritance. He possessed great riches, and had promised to make a brave defence, if attacked: but as soon as he heard the *Mungls* were advancing towards him, he crossed the *Str* with his treasures, and retired through the desert into the kingdom of *Karazm*. However, the inhabitants resolved to defend the place to the last; and although part of them would have surrendered, on the promise of good treatment, offered by *Jitmâr*, a commander sent from *Fuji*, or *Tusbi*, yet the majority were against it; and he had certainly lost his life like *Hassan*, if those who approved his proposals had not helped him to escape. *Jitmâr*, who was a good engineer, and had observed the strength of the place, judging that it would cost much time and men to take it by force, proposed laying bridges over the ditch, which was full of water; and, scaling the walls, in a part where the besieged thought themselves most secure, become masters of the town by surprise.

THE matter was referred to a council of war: and although *Taken by Elak Nevian* recommended force, as the noble way of taking *stratagem* cities, yet the rest approved of *Jitmâr's* stratagem: and, to second it, resolved to amuse the besieged with three false attacks on the weakest part of the town. The attacks began a little before night, with great shouts; and as soon as the battering engines began to play, all the garrison ran on that side, and abandoned their other posts. When it was dark, *Jitmâr* caused his bridges to be laid across the ditch, and two wooden ladders to be raised against the wall, one of which he mounted himself, followed by his men, who soon fastened so great a number, that the troops entered the town, and seized a gate without much noise. The army, being thus let in, seized the principal posts; while the besieged, quite stunned at this surprise, abandoned the care of the places assaulted, and fled where they could, to hide themselves.

THUS was *Jund* taken, without any loss on either side: *The inhabitants* for the *Mungls*, not having lost any men of their own, destroyed none of the inhabitants, excepting two or three; who *spared* were put to death for having abused *Jitmâr*, when sent to summon them. However, they imagined they were going to be massacred, when a message was brought from the prince, commanding them all to repair to a neighbouring plain: but the design was only to take the number of them; after which they had leave to return to their houses, where they found nothing which the *Mungls* could take away. To keep them in obedience likewise, a strong garrison was placed in the

A. D.
1220.

Tonkât
besieged.

the city, and *Ali Kôja*, a *Mungl* officer, although a *Mohamedan*, was appointed governor *.

AFTER the reduction of this place, *Jaji*, or *Tajli Khân*, dividing his army into two bodies, gave 50,000 men to *Elâk Nevian* (C) to subdue the countries of *Ilâk*, *Alsbâjb*, and *Kerjend*; and ordered the rest of his troops to keep the open country, to facilitate the taking of this last city, which was a place of great importance. That general marched with such speed into *Ilâk*, that several towns surrendered without opposition. Among those which resisted, *Tonkât*, called by *Abû'l-kair*, *Dar'ol Ilm*, or the palace of the sciences (D), was the most considerable. It depended on *Alsbâjb*, and served to secure the frontiers of *Ilâk*: it was also a common mart for the merchants of both countries. This city was rather a place of pleasure than of strength; full of springs, gardens, and delightful walks: insomuch that it became a saying, *that God never made a more delicious dwelling than Tonkât*. The garrison was composed of *Kanguli* (E), native *Turks*, a brave people; and the Bey, named *Ilenko Malek*, who was lord of the place, answered fiercely, when the *Mungl* summoned him to open the gates: but on the first attack retired into the castle, with the principal inhabitants.

and taken.

THE besieged resisted vigorously for three days; while *Elâk Nevian*, who thought it necessary to take this place before he attempted *Khejend*, gave several assaults to the city; and having, on the fourth, made a breach in the walls with his engines, the frightened defendants desired to capitulate, but the *Mungl* general obliged them to surrender at discretion, thinking he had cause to be displeased with the garrison, they were put to the sword, and the inhabitants made to go out

* MIRK, ABULK. ap. La Croix, p. 177, & seq. ABUL'LOH. p. 114, & seq.

(C) According to *Abû'lghazi Khân*, *Alân Noyan* (who, as we have observed in a former note, is the same with *Elâk Nevian*), and *Şuktu Bûka*, were both sent on this expedition, as hath been already mentioned.

(D) On account of an academy of arts and sciences founded there. *Abû'lghazi Khân*, instead of *Tonkât*, puts *Farnakant*: which shews that some authors mention one place, some the other. And this, perhaps, is

the reason why *La Croix*, in other places, though not in this, says, *Tonkât* is called also *Feneket*; for *Feneket*, or *Farnakant*, is a different town from *Tonkât*: being the same which afterwards, on its rebuilding, was named *Shâb Rukbiya*, between *Tonkât* and *Kojend*. See before p. 74.

(E) Doubtless the same with the *Kangli*, or *Kankli*, a tribe of *Turks*, often mentioned before.

ci

of the town, that their houses might be more conveniently plundered (F). *Ilenko Mâlek* had the good luck to escape before the rendition, or he had fared like the soldiers. The *Mungl* built there a considerable magazine for warlike stores, and then marched towards *Khojend* *.

A. D.
1220.

KHOJEND, or *Kojend*, was situated along the south *Khojend* bank of the river *Sir*, in a fruitful and beautiful country, *described*. large, and well fortified. It traded chiefly in musk, and other odoriferous commodities: was seven days journey north from *Samarkant*, and the key of *Bukhâria* on that side. In short, a city in high esteem, on many accounts; particularly for the bravery of its inhabitants: and the valour of the chief, who at this time commanded in it, made it still more renowned. This illustrious person was *Timûr Mâlek*, sovereign prince of the place, and a Khân; who paid tribute to the *Karazm Shâh*, and had often commanded his armies. As soon as *Elâk Nevian* sat down before *Tonkat*, the Khân, who expected to be attacked next, omitted nothing which might be necessary for his defence; laid in stores, broke down the bridges, spoiled the roads, and caused the corn, fruits, and cattle, of the circumjacent country to be carried away. The *Mungl* general began the siege of *Khojend*, by building a bridge of communication a little below the city: after which, he sent part of his army beyond the river, and began to play his battering engines; shooting whole mill-stones, if you will believe the historians, against the city, and exposing himself to a thousand dangers.

On the other hand *Timûr Mâlek* contrived a thousand methods to destroy the enemy's machines. He had twelve *Kerûd*, *Timûr Mâlek*, a kind of large boats (G) or barks, six of which he sent armed on each side the river, to shoot stones, darts, and arrows, into the *Mungl* camp, which killed and wounded abundance of men. The garrison was likewise supplied, from time to time, with recruits, by means of a marsh, which hindered the besiegers from surrounding the city; so that the Khân was in hopes to have wearied them out: but as *Elâk Nevian* received fresh troops from prince *Juji*, he, with redoubled assaults, so harraressed the besieged, that they despaired of re-

* *MIRK. ABULK. ap. La Croix, p. 182, & seq. ABULGH. p. 114.*

(F) According to *Abûlghazi Khân*, he had only four boats, which were covered, with port-holes on the sides.

(G) According to *Abûlghazi*

A. D.
1220.

sisting him much longer. On this occasion *Timur Mâlek* had recourse to stratagem. A little before the siege, he had caused to be built a kind of fortress, at the farther end of the city, in a little island (H), very difficult of access, in which he put a thousand soldiers; and then sent certain persons into the *Mungl* camp, who, under pretence of being deserters, should advise them to attack that fort, with an assurance that, as soon as it was taken, the city must surrender. The general, suffering himself to be deceived, turned his engines on that side: but the castle being extremely high, as well as strong, and at too great a distance from the shore, after several days battering to no purpose, their stones and other materials began to fail. This delayed them much, and the difficulty of supplying themselves, a great deal more; for they were obliged to go above three leagues to fetch them.

his brave
defence;

HOWEVER, this difficulty did not discourage the *Mungls*, who went cheerfully about that labour. But, when a vast quantity of stones was brought together, the general employed them another way to reduce the fort; and, instead of throwing them against it out of reach, ordered them to be cast into the river; so to form a jetty, or bank, by which they might approach nearer with their engines. The greater part of the army was employed in this work (I), which the holes in the river rendered extremely laborious. The foot-soldiers carried the stones to the brink of the water, and the horse went and threw them in, among the earth and trees tied together, laid before-hand for the purpose. Over these were placed fascines, and other materials, to finish the bank, and render it firm. The work was interrupted greatly by the besieged; who, by their engines, and sallies made in their barks, often threw down the pier, and destroyed all they had done. In short, *Timur Mâlek* opposed this enterprize by all sorts of contrivances: but when he found he could dispute the passage of the channel with the *Mungls* no longer, he betook himself to his barks, with all his men. He had, during the siege, increased their number to seventy; plastered over with a composition made of wet felt, worked up with clay and vinegar, which defended the vessels both from missile weapons and fire. To destroy the bridge of communication, which was an obstacle to his escape, he one night caused a sally to be made; and while the commanding officer attacked those who kept the head of the bridge, several

quits the
place;

(H) *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, this island lay right before the city; and that the castle was extremely strong.

(I) *Abû'lghazi Khân* says, the captive inhabitants of *Farrukant* were put upon this work.

barks,

barks, filled with tar and nafta, set fire to the pontoons of which it was composed; and opened a way for the Khân, and the rest of his fleet, which drove swiftly down the stream.

As soon as the *Mungl* general was informed of *Timûr Mâlek's* escape, he ordered him to be pursued by a great body of horse, who followed the barks along the river, and attacked them from time to time with arrows and wild-fire; often advancing into the water, to get nearer their enemies. In these engagements many men were killed on both sides: but the bloodiest disputes were, when any rocks or sand-banks on the north side the river obliged the fleet to approach the south shore. On these occasions the Khân appeared a prodigy of valour; especially at a flat, where the river being fordable, the horsemen had an opportunity of coming nearer the barks: but, after a furious fight, they were obliged to make a shameful retreat.

SOME authors relate, that the *Mungls* contented themselves with observing the motions of *Timûr Mâlek*, in his passage down the river, imagining that he could not escape them; as a chain had been drawn across the channel at *Farnakant*, or, as others say, at *Tonkat*. But the Khân found means, by hatchets and files, which he had brought for the purpose, to cut the chain in the night, and pass through, tho' not without great loss of men. However, at length coming to a place where the river was extremely narrow and shallow, he was obliged to quit his barks, and try to escape by land. Some authors say, he was under no necessity of going ashore, but did it of choice, to attack the *Mungls*; which he did from an eminence, with great success, and then retired from one difficult place to another, to fatigue his pursuers. Mean while the barks, neglected by the *Mungls*, escaped with the Khân's family to a town on the river, belonging to *Soltân Mohammed*. As for *Timûr Mâlek* himself, his followers being at length all cut off, and finding himself closely pursued by three *Mungls*, he let fly an arrow at the foremost; which hitting him in the eye, so scared his companions, that they all stopped, and let him escape to a neighbouring town called *Kent*. There, gathering a small body of men, he went and surprized *Farnakant*; and, having cut the throats of the *Mungl* garrison, returned to *Soltân Mohammed*, who loaded him with praises, and conferred on him the government of that city (K).

KHÔ.

† ABULK. FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 186, & seq.

(K) After this he fought entered *Karazm*; till, seeing all against the *Mungls* when they lost on that side, he retired into *Persia*

D d 2

A. D.
1220.



Samar-
kant de-
scribed.

KHOJEND having surrendered the day after *Timûr Mâlek's* departure, *Elâk Neviân* settled matters there, and then went along with prince *Juji*, or *Tûsbi*, to rejoin the Grand *Khân*; whom they found within a day's journey of *Samar-kant*, in a place where they had encamped the latter end of *May* (L) 1220, *Hejrah* 617.

SAMARKAND, supposed to be the *Marakandus* of the ancients, was at this time the capital of *Great Bukhâria*, and seventy furlongs, or three leagues, in compass; though in the time of *Alexander* it was more than twelve. It was likewise inclosed with an outer wall, which was more regularly built, and better fortified, than those of *Bokhâra*. In it were twelve iron gates, a league distant from each other; and at every two leagues there was a fort, able to contain a good body of troops: the walls were likewise fenced with battlements and towers, to fight under shelter, and surrounded with a very deep ditch, through which an aqueduct was laid, conveyed thither by leaden pipes, from a little river called *Sogd*, and thence into the city, which stood on the south side of it: so that every great street had a canal of water running through it, and every house a fountain, as well as garden. Besides this, there was a rising ground, from whence several rivulets descended, forming jettées and cascades. The inner city or inclosure had four gates, but the walls were defenceless: within it stood the great mosque or temple, and palace where the prince used to reside. As within the outer inclosure there were ploughed lands, fields, hills, and an infinite number of gardens; so, in viewing the city from the top of the fortress, one could see nothing but trees, and the roofs of some houses.

Its present
state.

THEY are mistaken who ascribe the founding of this city to *Alexander*, for it existed before his expedition; or to a king of *Yamman* (*Arabia felix*), named *Tobay*; for he only built one of the gates, called that of *Kasb*. It had been the

Persia: from thence, in a religious disguise, he retired to *Syria*; and when the *Mungls* were become masters of *Persia*, returned thither, and submitted to the reigning prince; who gave him leave to retire to *Khojend*, where he found but one son living, who had permission from *Batû*, *Khân* of *Kipchâk*, to recover his father's estate. This making those who had possessed

it his enemies, they found out the man whom *Timûr Mâlek* had wounded in the eye; which man one day shot him dead with an arrow, under pretence that he spoke disrespectfully to a prince of the blood, who had expressed some slight of the great actions he had performed.

(L) *Abûlghazi Khân* places the taking of *Samar-kant* in the preceding year.

residence

residence of *Mohammedan* princes, of several races, from the time of the *Arabs*, who conquered it very early : and, about 140 years after *Jenghiz Khân*, *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlane*, made it the seat of his empire. At present it is the seat of one of the three *Uzbek* Khans, who reign in *Great Bukhâria*, the other two residing at *Bokhâra* and *Bâlkh*. Its publick structures and market-places are very handsome, being built and paved with very fine stone. It carries on a great trade with *Great Tatory*, *Persia*, and *India*; furnishing *Hindustân*, in particular, with the best fruits, especially excellent melons. The finest silk-paper in the world is made here; and an academy of sciences helps to render it famous ².

A. D.
1220.

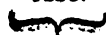
SOLTAN Mohammed, to secure this city against the *Mungls*, *The city* had sent thither 110,000 men, under 30 generals : 60,000 *besieged* : were *Turks*, commanded by officers of great renown : the rest were *Taji's* (M) men, brave enough to face lions or elephants; of which last there were twenty large ones : besides, the inhabitants, joined to those who had retired thither for shelter, were so numerous, that the city, though so extensive, could scarcely contain them. On the arrival of so powerful a reinforcement, they drew round the town a broad ditch, which they dug till they came to water, and caused the troops to encamp behind it, as a re-trenchment. On *Jenghiz Khân's* approach, the enemy made a furious sally; but having been driven back to the city, after a bloody action, he went next day, and encamped under the walls. When the engines were ready, he caused several places to be attacked at the same time, to terrify the besieged : but they not only sustained the shock with great resolution, but made repeated sallies, in which they cut off a great many *Mungls*; who, in a general assault, which was given from morning till night, could not gain one inch of ground. Nor possibly would they have taken the city, if discord had not happened between the principal inhabitants and the commanders of the troops : the former, headed by the *Mufti* and *Kadhi*, joined by several lords,

*its brave
deserve :*

² ABULGH. p. 116. FADHL. MOHAM. NISSAVI, YAKUT. AL HAMAVI, ABULF. ap. La Croix, p. 196, 219.

(M) *Taije*, according to *Fadlallah*, signifies a *Turkmân* : but the *Persian* and *Turkish* dictionary of *Nimetallah* says, they were natural-born *Persians*, who could not speak the *Turkish* language. *La Croix*. — The word, we presume, should be *Tajik*, which is a nick-name given by the *Turks* and *Tatars* to the natives of any country which they have brought in subjection; and particularly to those who prefer ease and trade to war. They also give that name often to the *Persians*, by way of malice.

A. D.
1220.



who were desirous to save their estates, seized one of the gates, and carried the keys to *Jenghiz Khân*, imploring mercy for the besieged : but that prince would grant it to none, excepting those of their party ; who, on the return of their deputies, to the number of 50,000, put themselves under their protection.

taken and
plundered.

MEAN while the governor *Alub Khân* had seized those places in the city which were of most difficult access ; and, expecting no quarter, resolved to hold out to the last against the *Mungls* ; who, having entered by the gate which was delivered to them, attacked him vigorously in his strong-holds. *Alub Khân* sustained their assaults for four days, with extraordinary courage : but having, by this time, lost all the posts but that which he in person defended ; he, on the fifth, accompanied by the principal officers, and one thousand chosen horse, on a sudden broke through the *Mungl* camp, and escaped. The remainder of the garrison, to the number of 30,000, losing all courage, on the governor's retreat, were soon over-powered, and all put to the sword ; among whom was the prince of the *Kangâli* himself, with five or six inferior princes. After this expeditious event the *Khân* ordered the city to be plundered ; and made a present to his generals of 30,000 inhabitants, with their wives and children. The rest were pardoned, and permitted to live in the city as before, paying him a tribute of 300,000 dinars, or crowns of gold *.

The Soltân
pursued.

WHEN *Jenghiz Khân* was going to besiege *Samarkant*, he sent a detachment of 30,000 troops to pursue *Soltân Mohammed* ; who, he was informed, was fled by way of the river *Amû*, to the country of *Termed*. These troops were commanded by *Hubbe Neviân*, *Suida Behadr*, and *Amir Tâher* (N), who held the rank of princes : and the orders they received were, “ to treat all those cities kindly which should “ open their gates ; but to plunder such as resisted, and carry the inhabitants into captivity : to pursue *Soltân Mohammed*, even to *Dârbend* in *Shîrwân*, and force their way through the territories of all such princes who should “ oppose their passage. In short, to subdue all the countries bordering on the *Caspian* sea, and then to rejoin him

* LA CROIX, p. 321. ABU'LGH. hist. Turks, p. 116, & seq.

(N) By *Abû'lghazi Khân* named *Zena*, or *Jena Nojan*, *Suday Bayadur*, and *Togâzar Kantaret*.

" in *Kipjak*, or *Kapchak* ; adding, that he did not intend to stay long in those southern provinces."

A. D.
1220.

THESE three generals departed in June 1220 ; and, led by a false report, marched towards *Balk* : but hearing no news of the Soltân, *Tûker* advanced still towards *India* ; and the other two struck off towards *Herat*, the capital of *Khorassân*. The governor *Amîn Mâlek*, a relation of the Soltân, being in no condition to resist on so sudden an invasion, sent to tell them he was a servant of *Jenghiz Khân*. Upon this the generals, without making any stay, or committing the least disorder, went forwards towards the city of *Zâveh*, situate between *Herat* and *Nisâbâûr*. *Tûker*, some time after, having returned from the borders of *India*, arrived in the country of *Herat*, where he committed some hostilities, not knowing, or pretending not to know, that the governor had submitted to his colleagues. Hereupon the prince *Amîn Mâlek* sent a messenger to them, to complain of the injury. Mean time some troops, belonging to the city, joining the country people who had taken arms, formed an army so superior to *Tûker's*, that he was defeated, and killed with an arrow. After which the remainder of his troops went and joined the other two generals ^b.

Affair of
Herat.

WHEN *Hubbe* and *Suida* came to *Zâveh*, the inhabitants shut the gates against them ; nor would the governor, by any persuasion, supply them with provisions, of which they were in want. This so incensed the *Mungls*, that they immediately fell to attack the city, with such fury ; that, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the besieged, they took it in three days, though not without great loss ; which they repaid themselves, by putting to the sword all who fell into their hands, and plundering the houses. The army from hence marched to *Nisâbâûr*, on advice of a spy that the Soltân was there. But *Mohammed* had left that place some time before, and gone into *Persian Irâk*, by persuasion of his grandson *Amedo'ddîn* (O) ; whose father *Rokno'ddîn* being prince of that rich and populous province, he might then be enabled to revenge himself on *Jenghiz Khân*. But *Amedo'ddîn* deceived both the king and himself ; for *Irâk* was not by much so powerful a country as *Khorassân*, which contained the most populous cities, as well as most beautiful and wealthy provinces.

^b LA CROIX, p. 229, & seq. ABU'LO. p. 123.

(O) According to *Abûlgbaxi Kbân*, he marched to *Irâk*, by advice of his council ; and sent the Soltâna, with his son *Kiya-so'ddîn*, to the town of *Karendâr*, by *La Croix* called *Kaendâr*.

A. D.

1220.

Nishâbûr
submits.

ON the approach of the *Mungl* generals to *Nishâbûr*, three lords were sent to meet them, and, in the name of the governor, made their submission (P); promising to pay the money demanded, besides tribute, to furnish all sorts of refreshments, and not to assist or succour their enemies. The generals, satisfied with these marks of obedience, continued their pursuit of Soltân *Mohammed*; who, from *Nishâbûr*, went to *Bastâm*, a very pleasant and strong city of *Tabarestân*: where he delivered to the Amir *Omar*, one of the stewards of his household, ten coffers, sealed with the royal signet, filled with jewels, several of an inestimable value. None in the world, excepting two more then present, knew what was in these coffers, which he ordered *Omar* to carry forthwith to the strong fortress of *Ardahân*. From *Bastâm* he proceeded to *Irâk*, and stopped (Q) at *Maradawlet Abâd*, a town depending on *Hamadân*, where his son *Rokno'ddin* came to meet him with some troops: which, being joined with those the Soltân had levied in the way, made above 20,000 horse.

The Soltân
undertaken.

MEAN time the *Mungls* followed him with so much diligence, that they surpris'd him at *Farzîna*, not far from *Maradawlet*, where they cut to pieces the greater part of his army: yet both *Rokno'ddin* and the Soltân escaped; the first fled to *Kermân*; and *Mohammed*, with a small number of officers, got by several bye-ways into the province of *Ghilân*; and from thence to *Esfâdâd*, the strongest city in all *Mazanderân*, and most difficult of access. There he might have lain concealed from the parties sent out to get news of him; if a lord of that country, to revenge his uncle's death, had not, with a small party of *Mungls*, found out the road he had taken. But being near *Esfâdâd*, he learned from some peasants that the Soltân was in a town near the *Caspian* sea, where he daily assisted at the public prayers; promising a mighty reformation, in case God would deliver him from the present danger, and re-establish him in his throne,

(P) According to *Abûlghazi Khân*, the generals summoned four lords, left to command in that place by Soltân *Mohammed*; and that their answer was, for them to proceed in their pursuit of the Soltân; and that, at their return, they would deliver up the city to them: with which answer the generals were satisfied.

(Q) *Abûlghazi Khân* says, that he went for *Kazvin*, where his son Soltân *Rokno'ddin* commanded, with a body of 30,000 men: and that, at his approach, *Rokno'ddin* went to meet him, with a detachment of his troops, and conducted him into the city with the greatest marks of respect.

But

A. D.
1220.

BUT while he flattered himself with the vain hopes of good effects from a late repentance, news was brought him that the *Mungls*, with the *Persian* lord at their head, were approaching the town. The Soltân, on this advice, abandons his prayers, to provide for his safety; and had scarce gotten on board the bark which he had provided for the purpose, when the enemy appeared on the shore: and finding they had misfired of their prey, endeavoured in vain to reach him with their arrows. The miserable monarch, overwhelmed with affliction, fell ill of a pleurisy, which obliged him to stop at an island called *Abiskân* (R), and at length carried him off, maugre all the skill of his physicians. A few days before his death, prince *Jalâlo'ddîn*, being informed that he was in this island, came secretly thither, with two of his brothers. On his arrival, the Soltân said to him, "Prince, you are the person among all my children who are the most able to revenge me on the *Mungls*; therefore I revoke the act which I formerly made, at the request of the queen my mother, in favour of my son *Kothbo'ddîn*." Then he appointed him to be his successor, and commanded the other princes his sons to obey him. At the same time he gave him his sword, and sent him to look after the affairs of state. After this he expired, under the covert of a little tent, which had been set up for him. The first gentleman of his bed-chamber washed his body, and wrapped it in a shirt; having no other linen, to bury it. But some years after Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn* had his bones taken up, and carried with great pomp into the fortress of *Ardahân*. *flies to Abiskân.* *dies there;*

C H A P. IV.

The Conquest of Karazm, Great Bukhâria, and Irân (or Persia at large), till the Defeat of Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn Mankberni.

THIS is the account given by *La Croix*; but *Abû'l-Progressi ghazi Khân* relates matters with no small variation. *of the* He tells us, that the two *Mungl* generals, having left *Nisâbâr*, marched to the city of *Mazânderân*, and having carried it by force, cut the throats of all the inhabitants:

* FADHL. NISSAVI in *Jalâl. ap. La Croix*, p. 232, & seq.

(R) Or *Aboskûn*: *Abû'lghazi island*. It lies not far from *Ast-rabâd*, in the south-east corner of the *Caspian* sea. *stead of Jézira, which signifies*

that

A. D.
1220.Mungl ge-
nerals.

that then they proceeded towards *Kasvin*, and did the like to all towns which resisted, but treated kindly such as submitted: that they passed by the town of *Ilán*, where the Soltán's mother and youngest children were shut up, without attacking it, because it was very strong by situation, and appeared resolved to defend itself vigorously; but that the town of *Rudin* was plundered, and all the inhabitants slain, for offering to resist: that Soltán *Mohammed*, on the approach of the *Mungl* to *Kazvin*, resolved to retire to the town of *Karendár*, but by the way fell among some *Mungl* troops, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner, having had his horse shot under him: that, some time after, hearing the *Mungl* were advancing also to *Karendár*, he retired into the province of *Ghilán*: that the general, leaving some troops about *Karendár*, pursued the Soltán with the rest, while he went to *Istádtra*, in *Ghilán*, having in his way lost his money, and all his equipage: that from *Istádtra* he embarked on the *Kulsum*, or *Caspian* sea, and arrived in the island of *Aboshám*: that being thus escaped, the generals returned, and took *Karendár*, after a very vigorous resistance; where the Soltána, wife of *Mohammed*, and his son *Kiyasó'ddán*, fell into their hands: that from thence they went and took *Ilán*, where they found the mother and children of the Soltán, whom *Jenghíz Khán* caused to be slain on the spot: lastly, that, on this afflicting piece of news, Soltán *Mohammed* fell down dead; and, for want of things convenient to bury him honourably, was interred in his clothes*. In this account of matters, besides other variations, *Abú'lgházi Khán* has joined transactions together, which *La Croix* relates to have been done in different expeditions, as the reader will see hereafter.

Kingdom of Karazm. THE *Mungl* generals, who had been in pursuit of him, believing that he had put to sea with design to retire into the country of *Karazm*, or some neighbouring territory, gave notice of his flight to *Jenghíz Khán*, then at *Samarkant*; who thereupon had him searched for all over that kingdom, and in every other place where he judged him likely to be found. After this he sent three of his sons, *Juji*, *Oktay*, and *Jagatay*, with a numerous army, to attack the capital of *Karazm*. This is the country called by the ancient *Greeks* *Khorasmia*. It has on the west the *Caspian* sea; on the north *Turkestan*; on the east *Great Bukhária*, from whence it is separated by deserts; and on the south the province of *Khorassán*, in *Persia*. There is in it, to the north, a vast lake, then called the lake of *Karazm*, and at present *Arál Nor*, or

the lake of eagles. The river *Amu*, called by the *Arabs* *Jihân*, which divided *Great Bukhâria* from *Persia*, ran into it; and, after a progress of fifty or sixty leagues to the north-west, parted into two large branches, both which, after a long course between the west and south, discharged themselves into the *Caspian* sea. Most of the cities and towns of this kingdom were situated on this great river, all built of brick, and some very beautiful, especially on the south side. Those which were farthest up in the country were of least consideration. The capital city was called *Karazm* by the natives, *Korkanj* by the *Persians*, and *Orkani*, or *Urgheij*, by the *Mungls*; which name it still retains. It stood on the south side of the most northern of the two branches of the *Amu*, which, about 100 years ago, forsook its antient channel, and now falls into the lake of eagles. The country of *Karazm*, whose name extended to all the other provinces which composed the empire of *Soltân Mohammed* and his predecessors, abounded with learned men, skilled in philosophy and the sciences. Poetry reigned there: and few orientals were more polite than the inhabitants. They applied themselves much to music: or rather were naturally musicians. In short, it became a common saying over the east, with regard to their children, that they discovered something of harmony even in their crying.

A. D.
1221.

THE *Mungl* princes had orders to march, without stopping, to the capital of *Karazm*, and besiege it; that, by taking it, the rest of the cities might be struck with terror, and the country reduced at one blow. They had made vast preparations for this purpose, expecting to meet with a vigorous resistance, as it was the metropolis of the *Karazmian* empire, and the constant residence of the queen-mother *Turkhân Khâtûn*, ever since the death of her husband *Takash*. This princess was daughter of *Hankâshi*, a *Turkish* king (A), who dying without issue, his subjects submitted to *Soltân Mohammed*; who, by that means, extended his empire far among the *Turks* inhabiting *Tartary*. She was a woman of superior wit, and wrote finely. For these reasons she had almost an absolute authority in the *Soltân's* dominions. She took the title of protectress of the faith, and of the world: also that of the queen of women. She protected the weak against the powerful; administered justice impartially; and examined matters with such application, that her judgments were always right. She was very charitable to the poor.

Hej. 618.
A. D.
1221.

(A) He was probably Khân inhabited the eastern parts of the *Kangali*, or *Kashli*, who *Turksân*, towards *Kâshgar*.

But

A. D. 1221. But these good qualities were blemished by her cruelty. She loved to shed blood : and when, on the approach of the *Mungls*, she resolved to quit the kingdom, she put to death twelve children of sovereign princes, whom she kept prisoners ; among whom was the son of *Togrul*, the last of the *Seljuks* of *Iran*, whom *Takasb* her husband had before put to death. She afterwards caused *Omar Khân* to be slain, who conducted her to the castle of *Elâk*, in *Mazânderân*. She hated *Jalâlo'ddin*, and had even prevailed on her son *Mohammed* to disinherit him, in favour of his brother *Kothbo'ddin*, whom she loved : but when she was informed that he had cancelled his will, she took no more care to strengthen *Karazm* ; and the same cause made her resolve to abandon the country, as soon as she heard that the *Mungls* were advancing towards it.

Jalâlo'ddin's misfortune. HER departure bred great confusion in the capital. Some lords took on them the government, in behalf of *Jalâlo'ddin* : but by the time that prince arrived there, the most considerable persons in the kingdom had formed a conspiracy against him, in favour of *Kothbo'ddin*. This made the prince retire from *Karazm*, with only 300 horse out of 7000, whom he had brought thither : yet with these few he defeated 700 *Mungls*, who attacked him near *Nesa*, in *Khorassân* ; and then took his way to *Nisbâbûr*, in the same province. There *Jalâlo'ddin*, who had assumed the name of *Soltân*, gave orders for raising an army ; but hearing the enemies were on their march towards him, after a month's stay, he left that city, in order to avoid them : yet had the ill luck to meet with two parties of them. The first he defeated ; the last, which was more numerous, surrounded him : and though he escaped out of their hands, yet they killed two of his brothers, who were with him, and almost all his men. But we shall leave him for a while, to attend the siege of the capital of *Karazm* ^b.

Karazm invaded. THE *Karazmians*, surprised at the unexpected approach of the *Mungl* princes, the factions re-united for their mutual safety, and gave the management of affairs to a lord of that country, and relation of the queen, named *Himar Takîn* (B). As this lord had no news of their march, and believed them still at a great distance, he had given the inhabitants leave to

^b LA CROIX, p. 237, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 118.

(B) *Abû'lghazi Khân* calls him *Firiduni Gberi* : but the chief *Khamar* ; and gives him three associates, *Mogul*, *Hajib*, and

let their cattle graze in the meadows near the town ; which gave the van-guard of the *Mungls* an opportunity, on their arrival, to surprize the greater part of them. The *Karazmians*, upon this, made a sally with 10,000 men, and coming up with the enemy, who retired leisurely towards a garden belonging to the city, attacked them briskly : but when they were so far engaged as not to be able to get back, the *Mungl* troops, who were placed in ambush on both sides of that garden, coming out of their concealment, fell upon them in the rear ; while the rest charged them in front so vigorously, that scarce one hundred of them escaped the slaughter. After this, the *Mungls* marched as far as the suburbs of the city, where they put to the sword all they found in arms : and, after plundering, set fire to it. Next day the whole army came before the place, and laid siege to it in form.

As there was no fear of any army coming to relieve the city, they made no intrenchments or lines. When all things were ready for an attack, the princes sent to summon the governor to surrender ; and let him know that, if he refused, he was to expect no quarter. This menace having no effect on *Himar Takn*, the *Mungls* made a general assault, which was sustained by the besieged with equal bravery. The very women did the duty of soldiers ; and not only assisted those who defended the walls, but, mounting on horseback, put themselves among the troops which sallied forth : for the women in those countries can ride and draw the bow, as well as the men. The *Mungls*, though still repulsed, never failed repeating their assaults, till at length they fell short of stones to supply the engines ; and were forced to batter the town with the trunks of mulberry trees, cut in pieces.

THE princes, believing this place would be as easy to take as they found others, to save time and labour, neglected to fill up the ditches, which now they saw there was a necessity of doing : but as they were filled with water from the river, this could not be done without diverting the stream, by means of a canal. The siege had now lasted seven months, when they begun this work with 3000 men ; and had made a considerable progress, when one night the besieged making a sally, cut them almost all to pieces. However, the canal was at length finished ; and the river being turned into it, the ditch was soon filled up with earth, straw, and faggots, in spite of all opposition (C). This obstruction being removed,

(C) According to *Abū'lghazi Khān*, their design in turning off the river was to cut off the water of the besieged : but they did not accomplish their design ; the 3000 soldiers, employed in that work, having been cut off to a man.

A. D.

1261.

the batteries were redoubled, and several breaches made. Hereupon ensued a general assault, in which the *Mungl* standards were planted on the walls : but such was the courage of the besieged, that they quickly tore them down again ; drove back the assailants ; and even repaired their breaches.

to the last
extremity.

THIS ill success bred a misunderstanding between *Juji* and *Oktay* ; each accusing the other with being the cause of the siege lasting so long, through too much care of his own safety. This dissention made the siege go on more heavily than before ; and *Jenghiz Khán*, hearing of it, ordered them to resign the whole command to *Oktay*. After this, the face of things began to change : although the besieged were not less valorous, yet they had not so good success in their sallies as before. On the other hand, the *Mungls*, having made new breaches, gained the outworks in a furious assault, and set up their standards on the towers ; while the besieged, unable to pluck them down, retired into the city, to the places they had fortified. Many of these were at length taken, and the citadel itself : yet still the governor rejected the proposals made by *Oktay* to surrender, because no mention was made of giving liberty to the inhabitants.

Terrible
slaughter.

THE *Mungls*, enraged at this refusal, set fire to the houses on every side, which consumed great numbers of people, and immense riches. As this was a loss to them, they soon forbore, and applied themselves to attack the several quarters of the city : while the *Karazmians* had so intrenched themselves, that one quarter succoured another ; and when one was forced, the defendants found shelter in the next. The attacks continued night and day, with extreme fatigue on both sides. At last, the brave *Himar Takin* was killed by an arrow : yet still the remainder of the citizens held out to the utmost extremity ; and when they saw they could no longer resist, they set fire to the houses which remained, to disappoint their enemies of the plunder. But the *Mungls*, in revenge, put to the sword all the *Karazmians* they met with, amounting to 100,000, some say 200,000, persons ; and *Oktay* had much ado to make the slaughter cease. After this, the rest of the inhabitants were ordered to go out of the town ; and, with their wives and children, were condemned to slavery. Some say, the men amounted to 100,000 : others, that the number of the whole was so great, that, in the distribution which *Oktay* made of them among his troops, every soldier had twenty-four to his share.

Instance of
virtue.

AMONG those who fell a sacrifice on this occasion, was *Sheykh Hafreti Kubru*, surnamed *Nájmo'ddín*, whose rare example deserves our elogy. *Oktay*, who had a great respect

for

for this person, from the report of his piety, sent first to offer a passport for himself and ten; then for a thousand; of his friends; but he refused to accept of that bounty, unless all the *Mohammedans* in the city were permitted to share with him: sending the prince for answer, "that he was obliged to take his lot with the rest, by ties too strong to be so easily broken." Accordingly he was slain among the thickest of them, after he had defended himself with the utmost bravery. This was true patriotism! this was love for his countrymen!

THE capital of *Karazm* was taken and ruined towards the end of the winter 618: after which, fear seizing the rest of the people, all the other cities, as *Kât*, *Ferâhr*, *Dargân*, or *mit. Durân*, and *Zamâk/bâr*, surrendered without making any resistance. Then leaving troops in the country, to keep it in subjection, *Oktay* departed, with the remainder of his army, to join his father.

IN the mean time *Jenghiz Khân*, after staying all the spring about *Samarkand*, delighted with the country, began to think of pursuing his conquests. He set out from *Samarkand* about the same time that his three sons marched for *Karazm*. On his approach, several towns opened their gates to him; among which was *Nakhbâb*; where, pleased with the air and soil, he stayed most part of the summer. Then setting forward towards *Termed*, by way of *Kolâga*, or *the iron gate*, a passage cut in the rocks, he was some weeks on his march to that city, which is the last belonging to *Great Bukhâria*, towards *Tokhârestân*. It was situated on the river *Amâ*; and, being very commodious for trade, had a port much frequented by barks. Soltân *Mohammed* had conquered it, not long before, from *Bahrâm Shâh*, who was among those princes put to death by the queen-mother, at her leaving *Karazm*. It was dependant on *Kasb*, or *Kesb*, although it had a great many places under its jurisdiction. The walls of *Termed* were cased with bricks; and it had a castle, defended on one side by the river: so that the inhabitants believed themselves strong enough to amuse the *Mungls* till the arrival of Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn*, who had given them hopes of coming to their relief.

JENGHIZ Khân, being informed of their resolution, shut them up close, by very deep and wide lines, which he ordered to be cast up round the place. For eleven days the besieged defended it, with the utmost bravery: but their walls being by that time battered down, and *Jalâlo'ddîn* not

* ABU'LO. p. 119. LA CROIX, p. 247, & seq.

A. D.
1221.

appearing to succour them, the *Mungls* stormed and took the city; with a most cruel butchery of all the garrison and inhabitants, excepting some young people reserved for slavery. Some say, all were massacred, excepting one old woman, who offered a great pearl to save her life. Being asked, where the pearl was? and telling them, she had swallowed it, they ripped her up; and, finding it, opened the bellies of all the rest whom they had slain, in expectation of finding jewels. The Grand Khân caused the town to be razed, and then went into winter-quarters. Among the towns which had submitted on this side were those of *Langherta*, *Samanda*, and *Badakshân*. The two first, shewing a regret for what they had done, were plundered, and very ill treated, by the ravaging *Tatars*: but the last city was only stripped of its wealth; consisting chiefly in hyacinths and rubies, with which the hills in its territory abound. They likewise produce fine azure, good bezoar, and excellent chrystal of the east^a.

Affairs of
Khoras-
sân.

BEFORE the army went into winter-quarters, *Jenghîz Khân* sent a detachment of 20,000 of his best troops to *Hubbe Nevian* and *Suida Behadr*, for the ensuing year. The two generals were on the northern borders of *Khorassân* when they received their master's orders: but, not to be idle while the expected supplies were on the road, they divided their troops; *Hubbe* marching towards *Mazânderân*, and *Suida* directing his course to *Helvâs*. After they had ravaged those countries, they returned to *Khorassân*, where *Aynanje Khân*, one of *Soltân Mohammed's* officers, with some troops, gave the *Mungls* much uneasiness. *Suida* strove to force him to fight; which, at last, he effected; but was defeated. The *Mohammedan* lord, in the pursuit, meeting, near *Nak Shivân*, with a brigade of *Tatars*, who were retiring into that place, fell on, and drove them into the ditch, where they were all drowned. After this, being joined by other disbanded troops, he levied contributions, and with the tax-money of *Nîsa* provided for his little army: but retired to the mountains, on the arrival of the expected reinforcements, which were commanded by two *Nevians*, *Jaffer* and *Ika*, each at the head of a *Toman*; who had orders, in the first place, to reduce *Nesâ*, as it was a hindrance to the conquest of *Khorassân*.

Nesâ
taken,
and

NESÂ, or *Nîsa* (D), was situate on the borders of the desert towards *Karazm*: it had, in times past, served as a

^a FADLAL. ap. La Croix, p. 257, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 121, & seq.

(D) *Abû'lghazi Khân* calls it name of *Little Damascus*, for *Nasay*. It went also by the its agreeable situation.

frontier between the *Turks* and *Persians*. Soltán *Mohammed*, after taking this city from the children of *Nasir'oddín*, its sovereign-prince, caused the citadel to be demolished: but afterwards permitted the inhabitants to rebuild it: and, it being a well-fortified place, they hoped to hold it out long. When the *Mungls* had invested the city, they sent to offer very reasonable terms to the governor: but during the treaty some *Karazmians* imprudently shot at the besiegers; and, having slain *Balkhsh*, their lieutenant-general, they resolved to revenge his death. They battered the walls with twenty great engines; and in their approaches made their slaves go before, carrying on their backs pieces of wood covered with raw hides, to avoid the wild-fire of the defendants, who made a vigorous resistance. As they pursued their assaults day and night, after fifteen days siege, they made a breach; which the inhabitants not being able to repair, they, in the night, seized the walls, and became masters of the place. Next day they ordered them, as usual, to turn out into the *its inhab* plain; where, surrounding them, they shot at them with *bitants* darts and arrows, like beasts in a chase. Thus all were *slain*. slain, natives, strangers, and peasants, retired thither for safety, to the number of 70,000. *Shahábo'ddín*, one of the Soltán's ministers of state, and his son, who had taken shelter there, with their treasure, were brought in chains before the *Nevians*; who, having emptied their coffers, ordered their hands to be smitten off.

THREE days after, they went and besieged the citadel of *Kacindar Kaendar* (E). This place was accounted the strongest in all *fortresses* *Khoraßán*, and was in the road from *Nesá* to *Nishábúr*. It *sitged* was governed by *Mehemed Nisávi* (F), to whom it properly belonged: and hither was retired *Nezám'o'ddín*, one of the greatest lords of the country, with all his treasure. This nobleman, three days before the arrival of the enemy, talking to the governor about the place, which he deemed impregnable on account of its situation, said to him, *we will wait the Tatars coming here*: but when he saw they attacked it on the weakest side, was so affrighted, that he desired *Nisávi* to let him down with ropes into the plain, and had the good luck to escape. The *Mungls* battered this citadel a long time: but the besieged made so brave a defence, that the general, despairing to take it with the troops he had with him, offered to raise the siege, in lieu of clothes, and other

(E) The same, doubtless, with *Karendár*, mentioned by *Abú'lgházi Khán*.

(F) Author of the life of Soltán *Jalálo'ddín*, often cited in this history.

A. D. 1221. things, which his soldiers stood in need of. This the governor thought proper to comply with; but the difficulty was to find officers, who would venture to accompany the bearers of the presents; believing, that the enemy were cruel enough to revenge on them the shameful retreat they saw themselves obliged to make. After many had refused the employment, two venerable old men undertook it; but had no sooner discharged their commission, than the *Mungls* were really so base, says our author, as to imbrue their hands in their blood (G). At last the two *Nevians* raised the siege, and ravaged the country^e.

Damegân deserted: AFTER this, *Suida* came to meet them, and all three went to join *Hubbe Nevian*, who was upon another expedition. They marched by the desert, and other roads, to attack *Damegân*, the capital of *Kumas*: a considerable city, situated in a vast plain, washed by many streams of rock-water, for their excellency called the waters of *Khosraw*, or *Kofroes*; because that king had them conveyed by fine aqueducts into the town, and would never drink of any other. Finding *Damegân* quite deserted by the inhabitants, who with their best effects had fled to the woods and mountains, and nothing left to content their avarice, they marched, and sat down before *Amol* (H); which they took, as also several other towns in the eastern *Tabarestân*.

surrendered,

HUBBE Nevian, in the expedition above-mentioned, acquired no less reputation than the other generals. He not only reduced all the *Western Tabarestân*, which is called *Maxânderân*; but even seized on the queen mother, *Turkbân Khâtân*, who had retired thither, with her immense riches. As *Jenghîz Khân* had spies or correspondents in every part of the *Karazmian* empire, he learned by one of them, that she was lodged in the fortress of *Ilâl* (I), and immediately sent a courier to acquaint *Hubbe* with the news; ordering him to run all hazards to take that place. The general had for three months battered it in vain: when *Jenghîz Khân*,

^e NISSAVI in *Jalal*. ap. *La Croix*, 268. *ABU'LOH*. p. 121, & seq.

(G) We shall not dispute this fact, although *Nisâvi* was greatly prejudiced against the *Mungls*, in behalf of his master Soltân *Jalâ'eddîn*: but however that be, we may depend upon it, that the place was not taken, as *Abû'lgâzi Khân* relates; and

in it the Soltân's wife and son, as before has been mentioned.

(H) A city of *Maxânderân*, near the borders of *Gbilân*, and about one day's journey from the *Caspian* sea.

(I) *Abû'lgâzi Khân* calls it *Ilân*.

who

who was informed how things stood, judging that it might be more easily reduced by famine, ordered him to build a strong wall without his lines, whose gates should be kept shut in the night; and to guard all places strictly, that the besieged might receive no succours. This was done accordingly: and, although the governor had no thoughts of yielding, and pretended that he stood in need of nothing; yet in three weeks more, provisions having intirely failed, and many of the garrison, as well as inhabitants, being already dead, for want of water, the queen was forced to capitulate.

A. D.
1221.

THIS want of water passed in the country for a miracle: for although there were neither wells in the town, nor rivers in the neighbourhood, yet it was situate in so rainy a climate, rain falling there every day, that it had never been in want of water before. As therefore it had not rained one drop during the whole siege, the inhabitants concluded it a judgment to punish *Turkhân Khâtûn* for having unjustly put to death so many kings and princes (K): What confirmed them in their opinion was, that the place was no sooner surrendered, but there fell such abundance of rain that the streets were overflowed.

HUBBE *Nevîân*, knowing the extremities to which *Ilâl*, Queen mother seized. was reduced, would not grant any thing to the queen more than her life. So soon as the *Mungls* took possession of the place, they seized her treasure, and treated her as a captive. She was sent to *Jenghiz Khân*, under a strong guard, with her women, grandchildren, and all the lords who had retired with her into the fortrefs. She sacrificed herself to the hatred she bore *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn*. Instead of desiring success to his arms, she did nothing but wish all sorts of misfortunes might attend him: and, although she might have safely retired under his protection, some days before the place was besieged; yet, inflexible to all arguments, she protested that the lowest condition, and most rigorous treatment from the *Mungls*, would be more agreeable to her, than all the marks of friendship she could receive from the son of *Ayjeak*, her mortal enemy. Such were the sentiments of this implacable grandmother; and the treatment she met with was such as her malice and bloody disposition deserved: for *Jenghiz Khân* had her sometimes brought into his presence when at table, and threw her scraps of meat he had eaten of, as if she had been a dog. They put to death her

(K) Hence, according to *Nâfro'ddîn* to go to the *Mungl* *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, the inhabitants obliged their governor camp, and capitulate for them.

A. D.
1221.

great grandchildren, before she arrived at court, and left only the youngest alive to comfort her. Nor did that comfort remain with her long: for one day, as she was combing his head, a person came and snatched him from her arms. This, she said, was the most sensible loss she had till then felt, and her grief was indeed most bitter. The young princesses, her great grand-daughters, were not so unfortunate: for, not only their lives were spared, but they were married to *Mungl* lords of the first rank. Nay, prince *Tufbi* (or *Fuji*) himself espoused *Khân Soltâna*, who had before been married to *Ozmân Khân*, prince of *Samarkant*. Such was the fate of this once great queen; who was led, as in triumph, some years after (L), through the same countries where she had governed.

Ray
taken.

AFTER *Hubbe Nevân* had left the fortress of *Ilâl*, he went directly to *Ray*, or *Rey* (the antient *Ragau*, or *Rages*), where *Suida*, and the other two commanders, came to join him from *Khorassân*; of which they had reduced all the north and west parts, excepting *Nisâbâr*; for the place, according to the capitulations granted them by the two generals, remained quiet, till Soltân *Jalâl'oddîn* took shelter there.

THE city of *Rey* seemed able to make a vigorous defence: but the *Mungls* took it with a great deal of ease, by means of the dissention, on account of religion, which subsisted among the inhabitants: for, being divided into two factions, one of which followed the doctrines of *Abû Hanîfab*, and the other those of *Shâfay* (M), the Kâzi of the city, who was of the last party, went with the chief persons of his sect, and offered *Hubbe* the place, in the name of the *Shâfays*: who delivered him two gates, by which the *Mungls* entered. The other party, who had fortified themselves, made some resistance, more out of hatred to the *Shâfays*, than to the *Mungls* themselves. But the general forced them to yield, and, induced by the ill opinion which the Kâzi had created in him of the *Abû Hanîfa* sect, put them almost all to death (N). So that not above one half of the inhabitants of *Rey* were left alive.

Kom
taken.

HUBBE and *Suida* remained for some time at *Rey*, invited by the beauty of that city, which was one of the four

(L) *Abûlgâzi Khân* writes, that *Jenghîz Khân* ordered her and all her great grandchildren to be slain, as soon as they arrived in his camp.

(M) Two of the four doctors

who were heads of the orthodox sects among the *Mohammadans*.

(N) At which, no doubt, their charitable brethren the *Shâfays* or *Shâfays* rejoiced.

most

most considerable in all *Irâk*; the three others being *Hamadân*, *Kom*, and *Ispâhân*. So soon as the season permitted to take the field, they again parted: *Hubbe* marched towards *Hamadân*, and *Suida* towards *Kazvîn*. The first being arrived at *Kom*, which he took in his way, and is twenty leagues distant, summoned the inhabitants to surrender: but although they did not submit to it, yet they made so little resistance, that they seemed intitled to the mercy granted to places which opened their gates. But the deputies of the *Shâfays*, bearing an implacable hatred to the *Hanîfahs*, whom they call *Rafezi*, or heretics, told *Hubbe Neviân*, whom they always accompanied, because he much confided in them, that the people of *Kom* were very mutinous; adding, it was no wonder, since they followed the doctrines of *Abû Hanîfah*. In short, they so incensed him against them; that, under pretence one of his orders had not been well observed, he caused the greater part of them to be killed, or carried away slaves.

HUBBE a few days after marched for *Hamadân*, and *Hamadân* made great preparations to besiege it: but, when all things were ready to storm the place, he, all of a sudden, clapped up a peace with *Majedo'ddîn*, who commanded there. The army was the more surpris'd at this, because the inhabitants had appeared more insolent than others who had not been pardoned, and even committed some outrages against the *Mungls*. The general's enemies reported, that he had been corrupted; but his friends maintained, that he had only followed the orders of *Jenghiz Khân*. *Hamadân* (O) is fifty leagues distant from *Kom*. It was a great and populous city, and had often been the abode of kings. It had very strong walls, and a good castle, which is now in ruins. Its beauty at present consists in its gardens and fountains; which take their rise from the mountain *Akwend*, not far distant, and abounding with 1000 springs.

From hence *Hubbe* led his troops to reduce other parts of *Other Irâk*; and, in a short time, made himself master of *Dine-war*, or *Daynâr*, *Sûvan*, *Hokwân*, *Nahawend*, and several other cities in that province: by which conquests he acquired much riches. As for *Suida Bahadr*, who was gone to besiege *Kazvîn*, which is situate between *Rey* and *Abher*, on the confines of *Ghilân* and *Mazan-lerân*, he carried it by storm, and put to the sword 50,000 persons in this city,

(O) It is the *Ematba* of the Old Testament, and the *Ekkbatana* of the *Greeks*; although by most geographers held to be *Tauris*. *Abû'Isfeda* affirms it to be *Ekkbatana*; and its name bears affinity with *Ematba*, or *Apatba*.

A. D. Deylem, and other neighbouring countries. All these expeditions were performed in the year of the *Hejrab* 618^f.

MEAN while *Jenghiz Khàn*, after the taking of *Termed*, to keep his soldiers in action during the winter, ordered a great hunting to be performed in the plains of that city. The huntsmen having marked the outward circle, which is called *Nerke*, the several officers with their troops took their posts round it. Then, at the sound of martial instruments, they all set forward at once, moving towards the centre, driving the beast before them, which happened to be within the inclosed space: but it was forbidden to kill or wound any animal, whatever violence it offered them. At night they incamped, with all the order observed in war. Thus they marched for some weeks; when the beasts, finding themselves pressed by the circle contracting, ran for shelter among the mountains and forests; from whence they soon after fled on scent of the hunters, who opened the very burrows with spades, or sent in ferrets, to dislodge the animals. But, the compass of the ground still growing less and less, the beasts, for want of room, began to mix with one another; and, becoming furious, leaped on the weakest, and tore them to pieces. Nor was it without great toil and difficulty that the soldiers could drive them forward with their shouts. At length, when the troops were arrived at the inner circle, called *Jerk*, which inclosed a small spot of ground where all the animals might be seen together, the drums, timbrels, and other instruments, were ordered to strike up at once: the sound of which joined to the shouts and cries of the hunters, so affrighted them, that they lost all their fierceness; the lions and tigers grew tame as lambs; the bears and wild boars, like the most timorous creatures, seemed dejected and amazed.

at Ter-
med.

THE Grand Khàn, attended by his sons and principal officers, first entered the *Jerk* with his sword and bow, and began the slaughter by striking the fiercest beasts; some of which became furious, and endeavoured to defend their lives. Then retiring to an eminence, where a throne was set for him, he beheld the attack; in which none avoided danger, or gave back, let the event be what it would. When the princes and lords had given sufficient proof of their courage and agility, the young soldiers entered the circle, and made great havock among the poor beasts. At last the Khàn's grandsons, attended by several young lords, approach-

^f FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 272, & seq. AB'ULGH. p. 130. & seq.

ing the throne, intreated him, in a speech, to give those which remained their lives and liberty; which grace he granted, and then sent back his troops to quarters, after the chase had continued four months.

IN the end of *March*, *Jenghiz Khân* broke up his camp; *Balk* being, and, passing the *Amu*, marched in haste towards *Balk*; *sieged*, against which he had taken great disgust, for giving shelter to *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn*; who from thence infested the *Mungls* with his troops, while employed in reducing great *Bukhâria*. The inhabitants, unwilling to hazard a siege, determined to surrender; and the great lords of the country, who had retired thither, went with the city officers to meet *Jenghiz Khân*, carrying with them an immense quantity of rich presents. But he rejected their offers; and said, those people, who had so kindly received his enemy, could not have a sincere friendship for him. On this occasion he mentioned the troops they had raised for him, and sums advanced to pay them; with many other instances of their attachment to his interest. Then, reproaching them, said, "ought not you to blush with shame, for having so little love for your natural prince, and so little aversion to the tyrants who have put him in irons? Is it thus you ought to treat those who, after having stripped *Omâdo'ddîn*, your sovereign, of his kingdoms, have cruelly put him and his son to death?"

MEAN time the *Mungl* army marched to the city; and *and taken*. the inhabitants, knowing it had been agreed to open the gates, suffered the van-guard to enter, without resistance. They were all ordered forthwith to go forth into the plain; where, the young people fit for slaves being set apart, the greater part of the old men were beheaded (P) After which the city was plundered, and the walls demolished. The *Mungls* were greatly enriched by the spoil of *Balk*; for it had always been a place of much trade. Moreover, it was full of monuments, of exquisite workmanship, and all things which could serve to adorn so great a city; having been the abode of many persons famous in all arts. The public buildings were spacious and regular, the *karawanserays* or inns, the mosques, and colleges, very magnificent. There were reckoned to be 1200 temples, besides small chapels, and 200 (Q) public baths, for foreign merchants, and other strangers.

BALK

8 LA CROIX, p. 260, & seq.

(P) According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, *Balk* was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants put to the sword.

though without much difficulty; (Q) Thus *Abû'lghâzi Khân*;

E c 4

but

A. D.
1221.The city
described.Talk-
hân, its
strength.Besieged,
and,at length,
taken.

BALK is situate eight leagues distant from the river *Jihân*, or *Amû*, and four from the mountains; in a most fertile plain, planted with sugar canes and limon-trees. Its suburbs were watered by the river *Dahak*, which falls into the *Amû*, about twelve leagues from the city; at present one of the three capitals of the *Uzbek* *Tatars* inhabiting *Great Bakhâria*; although *Balk* properly belongs to *Khorassân*, the adjoining province of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large.

AFTER *Jenghiz Khân* had thus reduced *Balk*, he sent his son *Tuli* (or *Tawlay*), with an army of fourscore thousand men, into *Persia*, to pursue Soltân *Jalâlo'ddin*, and another large detachment towards *India*; then marched himself to besiege *Talkhân*; a place extremely strong by its situation, and dependant on *Takhârestân*. It was situated towards *Mars*, in *Khorassân*; which *Tuli* was ordered to besiege. The city formerly had been very flourishing: but there remained nothing of it then except the citadel; which being very large, they gave it the title of a city, or fortress. It stood on the top of the mountain *Nakrekûh*, or the *silver mountain*, from the mines of that metal which it contained; and was built by a prince of *Takhârestân*.

BESIDES the natural strength of the place, the garrison were provided with all sorts of stores, and provisions for a long siege: whereas the *Mungls* had neither ground nor trenches to shelter them; making use of blinds to ward-off the darts and wild-fire. The besieged killed so great a number of them, that the Khân repented his having meddled with this place; yet, not able to bear a disappointment, and fearing, through his losses, that he had not troops enough to reduce it; he sent couriers for *Tuli* to return forthwith, under pretence of the excessive heats. Mean time he let his army rest for some weeks, and then ordered the rocks to be scaled on all sides, by means of grappling-irons, long nails, hooks, ladders, and ropes; in order to oblige the besieged to divide their forces. The *Mungls* made several attempts to get up, in which they were frustrated by the watchful garrison, who killed great numbers of them: yet were they supported in mounting the ladders with so many engines, that at length a good body of them got together on the top of the mountain. This so astonished the besieged, that, running hastily to repulse them, they imprudently left some posts unguarded; which the *Mungls* immediately seized, and entered the town. The garrison, returning in confusion to drive them

but *La Croix*, who mentions says, there were 1200 baths.
not the number of mosques,

out

out again, were overpowered and put to the sword by their stronger enemies; who, to revenge the death of their companions, and the hardships they had suffered during a seven month siege, exercised all the cruelties imaginable. Thus the fortress was taken without *Tuli's* assistance, who did not arrive till after its reduction (R). Let us now see what conquests that prince made during his expedition in *Khorassân*^b.

TULI Khân, after a long march into *Khorassân*, having *Marâ* ^{sur-}learned that *Jaldô'ddîn* was gone from *Nisbâbûr*, according ^{rendered.} to his father's orders, returned to besiege *Marâ* (S) *Shâh Jan*, or *Marâ Shâh Jêhân*, which was very powerful, and then governed by *Bukha al Mulk*, put in by Soltan, *Mohammed*, in place of *Mâser al Mulk*, who was turned out on account of his father's disgrace. While *Tuli* was besieging the city of *Khorassân* (T), which is near to *Marâ*, Soltan *Mohammed* let *Bukha* know, that he would do well not to oppose the *Mungls*, but get the best terms he could for the city. On these orders the governor abandoned the place, and retired to *Wazîr*, in *Karazm*: part of the garrison likewise dispersed themselves in the neighbouring fortresses. *Tuli*, being informed of all that had passed, sent two general officers with troops to take possession of *Marâ*. At their approach, *Sheykh al Islâm*, father of *Bukha al Mulk*, met them with a numerous train, and magnificent presents, and delivered them the keys of the city. The ^{Seized by} *Mungl* generals, satisfied with this submission, turned their ^{Masâr.} arms another way. Mean time *Bukha Turkman*, who had been captain of Soltan *Mohammed's* guides, and, at the time of the commander of *Marâ's* retreat, had retired into a neighbouring forest, with the *Turkmâns* belonging to the garrison; re-

^b MIRKOND. FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 283, & seq. A-BU'LGH. p. 121.

(R) *Abû'Igbâzi Khân* says, it was taken by means of the reinforcement which *Tuli* brought; and so says the Chinese history.

(S) That is, *Marâ* king of the world; so called by Soltan *Malik Shâh*, the third *Seljuk* king of *Irân*; who, on account of its fine situation, air, and soil, made it his residence, and was buried there. There is another *Marâ*, surnamed *Al Rûdh*, or *Arrûdh*; that is, of the river,

as being situate on the *Morg Ab*, to the south of the other.

(T) According to *Abû'Igbâzi Khân*, *Tuli*, before he besieged *Marâ* (*Marwo*, or *Merû*), attacked and took the city of *Khorassân*, which was near it; was very fair, and its inhabitants so wealthy, that they preserved themselves in a sort of independency, without submitting to any absolute prince.

turned

A D.
1221.



turned to that city, soon after the departure of the *Mungls*, followed by *Tajiks*, *Turkmâns*, and others, who had fled at the enemies approach. These men conferred on him the government of *Marû*, and obliged the inhabitants to acknowledge him in that quality. About the same time *Mâsar*, or *Mâjer al Molk*, who, since his dismissal from that post, had resided in the province of *Irâk*, being informed that Soltân *Mohammed* was dead, mounted a swift mule, and made all the haste he could to *Marû*; where *Bukha Turk-mâu* refused him admittance: but *Mâsar* having found means, some days after, to get in by stealth, *Bukha*, upon notice of it, immediately assembled the inhabitants, and declared; that, for love of peace and the public good, he was willing to resign the command to their old governor, and live among them as a private man: which proposal was gladly accepted of.

Bukha
baffled.

MEAN time the *Mungl* generals, who marched to reduce *Mazânderân*, on their approach to the capital of that province, were met by *Bukha al Molk*, removed thither from *Wazîr*; who, having informed them of what had happened at *Marû*, offered, in case they would let him have some troops, to do his endeavour to reduce the inhabitants to their obedience. On this proposal they gave him 700 horse, with whom he marched towards *Marû*: but being informed on the road, that *Mâsar al Molk* had augmented his forces in the city to 80,000 men, he dared not proceed any farther. However, he sent two officers to him with a letter, importing, that, as he was not in a condition to hold out long against the *Mungls*, he summoned him to surrender up the city to him, who was sent for that purpose with troops by the generals: but *Mâsar*, instead of complying with the summons, ordered the two officers to be slain: which news reaching the party commanded by *Bukha al Molk*, they slew him, and turned back.

Mâsar sur-
renders.

MÂSAR was so rejoiced when he heard of *Bukha's* death, that he gave a splendid entertainment on the occasion to the principal inhabitants of *Marû*. But his joy did not last long: for, next day, the governor of *Amîya* (U), a *Turkmân* chief, came to acquaint him, that the *Mungls* were on their march towards him, by way of that place, with a powerful army. This was *Tuli* himself; who, having subdued the rest of *Khorassân*, came to pay a visit to *Marû*;

(U) A city on the river *Amû*, three or four days journey to the north of *Marû*.

where

where he arrived on the first of *Moharram*, in the year 618 (X). The inhabitants tried at first to keep him at a distance, by a vigorous sally; but, having lost above a thousand of their men in an hour's time, they returned, much chagrined. The siege having lasted three weeks, the prince began to be impatient; and, drawing out his whole army, divided it into 200 troops, placing those who were armed with bucklers in the front: but just as he was going to give the assault, *Mâsar al Mok* desired to capitulate. Thus *Abû'lghâzi Khân*: but *La Croix*, from *Mirkond*, relates, that *Mejir* (the same *Mâsar*) tired the besiegers with frequent sallies; in one of which he cut in pieces above 1000 of the Grand Khân's best household troops. *Tuli*, to be revenged for this sensible loss, gave a general assault, which the besieged sustained with a most amazing resolution, and the *Mungls* were repulsed for twenty-two days successively. But as in this time the defendants were greatly weakened, *Mejir*, who found he could not hold out long, chose to submit.

THE governor and another lord having gained over their *Inhabitant* party to approve of this measure, they sent presents to *Tuli*, and offered him the city. The prince treated those two *massacred* better than they expected: for he gave them protection for their goods, and 400 of their friends; on condition that they delivered him a list of all the rich people. *Tuli*, having seized the treasure, and all that could be found of any value in the city, ordered all the inhabitants to go forth into the fields: which took up the space of four days, they were so numerous. Then the tradesmen being separated from the rest, the latter were put to the sword; amounting to 100,000 persons, according to the account taken by one of his secretaries. This was the fourth time that *Marû* had been plundered, and each time above 50 or 60,000 inhabitants were slain. It stood in a sandy plain, which produced salt; and was rendered delightful by three rivers which watered it. It was equally distant from the cities of *Nisâbûr*, *Herât*, *Bâlk*, and *Bokhâra*, being twelve days journey from each. The government was conferred on *Amîr Ziyao'ddîn*, a lord of that country; with orders to search for the inhabitants who might have concealed themselves, and put them in possession of their lands again, to cultivate them: but, after *Tuli's* departure, he was slain by *Barmâz*, his lieutenant; and the country fell again into confusion.

AFTER the death of Soltân *Mohammed*, the army under *Nisâbûr* *Hubbe Neviân*, and *Suida Behadr*, had subdued all the western *besieged*,

(X) That is, the 24th of February 1221.

A. D.
1221

parts of *Khorassan*, by taking a great number of cities ; only *Nisâbûr* was left unmolested, having sworn fidelity to them at the beginning of their expedition, as has been already related : but the inhabitants, when they saw Soltân *Jalâh'eddîn's* great distress, not only supplied his troops with provisions, but also gave him money to raise forces. For all this was done so secretly that it came not to the knowledge of those generals ; yet *Jenghîz Khân* got information of it by his spies : at which he was so enraged, that he immediately wrote to prince *Tuli*, to lay aside all his other designs, and go punish that rebellious city. On receipt of these orders, *Tuli* quitted the country of *Marû*, and marched to *Nisâbûr* ; whose inhabitants, expecting no mercy, resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity¹.

and taken. PRINCE *Tasar*, who commanded the van-guard, having been killed in a sally at the beginning of the siege, *Tuli* ordered the army to encamp at *Tusbanian*, a town to the east of *Nisâbûr*, for convenience of making engines ; which being finished, he battered the city with above twelve hundred at once. The defendants behaved like lions : but, after three days siege, a secret passage being discovered, by the falling of a wall, the *Mungls* entered by that way, and surprised the place ; making a terrible slaughter of the inhabitants. The greater part of those who escaped the sword died in caves and vaults, which they had made to save themselves. An infinite number of young people were made slaves of, and the city itself, after being plundered, utterly destroyed to the foundations ; walls, and buildings, and all. It is related, that they spent twelve days in counting the dead ; and that, including such as were slain in some other places dependent on *Nisâbûr*, one million seven hundred and forty-seven thousand persons were computed to have lost their lives. A thing which seems incredible, unless we suppose those other places to have been pretty populous ; and comprise the city *Tûs*, twelve leagues to the north, which was taken and destroyed at the same time : but both these places soon after rose with new splendor out of their ruins. To the first was conveyed, by canals, the most excellent water, from the neighbouring mountains, which produce the finest turkoise stones. *Tûs*, or *Thûs*, where the celebrated astronomer *Nassro'ddîn*, surnamed *Al Tûsi*, was born, became one of the most beautiful as well as famous cities in the *Persian* empire. *Ismael Sîfi*, the first of the Shâhs, inclosed it with strong

Prodigious
massacre.Tûs, or
Mashhâd.

¹ MIRK. ap. La Croix, p. 292, & seqq. ABU'LGH. p. 133. & seqq.

walls,

walls, fortified with 300 towers, and called it *Masbhid*, or *the place of martyrdom*; on account of *Imâm Ridha*, or *Riza*, who was there slain. Afterwards *Shâh Abbâs I.* to keep the money in his kingdom, which was carried out in foreign pilgrimages, ordered his subjects to pay their devotions at that saint's shrine: and many *Persian* monarchs have their tombs there.

WHEN prince *Tuli* had finished the sieges of these two *Herât* *be-* places, he led his army towards *Herât*, on a false informa-*tion*; that *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn* had retired thither. Whereas this prince had taken the road to *Bost*, in *Sejestân*; and had no thoughts of going to *Herât*, which was in the hands of a lord named *Mâlek Shamso'ddîn Mohammed*, who, in the absence of *Amîr Mâlek*, the *Soltân's* uncle, had surprised this city: in which he imitated the greater part of the other governors; who, during the confusion which the empire was in, set up for themselves: so that *Jalâlo'ddîn* was stripped of almost all his provinces by these usurpers. *Tuli* having arrived in twelve days at *Herât*, sent and summoned the governor to surrender: but *Shamso'ddîn*, who had armed 100,000 men, for defence of the place, instead of yielding, caused the envoy to be killed. After this, he made a furious sally *taken, and* on the *Moguls*, and continued to do the like for seven days *spared*. successively; with such slaughter on both sides, that the blood streamed like rivers. *Tuli* lost in that time above 1,700 officers, besides private soldiers: but on the eighth day, after a long and obstinate fight, *Mâlek Shamso'ddîn* was mortally wounded with an arrow; which having sunk the courage of the besieged, they retired in confusion, followed by the *Mungls*, who entered the city with them. *Tuli*, who headed them, took off his casque, and called out to the inhabitants to surrender (Y); telling them, he was the son of *Jenghiz Khân*; that they should be well treated, and pay but half the taxes which they paid to *Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn*. These proposals, having been liked by the inhabitants, were accepted by them: but the soldiers, rejecting them, were immediately disarmed by prince *Tuli's* order, and all put to the sword, to the number of 12,000. After this he nominated *Mâlek Abû Bekr* governor of the city; and, with 60,000 men, set out for *Talkhân*, whither his father had recalled him.

(Y) This is *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* *Shamso'ddîn's* death from *Tuli*; account; but, according to who, supposing him still alive, *La Croix*, the inhabitants, and considering his bravery, granted them terms. the loss of their governor, sent to capitulate, and concealed

A. D.

1221.

The city
described.

HERAT (called also *Heri* and *Eri*) has always passed for a very strong city, and, at present, serves for a bulwark against the *Uzbeks*. The country in which it stands, is the *Aria* of the antients; and, according to *Mirkond*, the famous *Persian* historian, who was a native thereof, it was founded by *Alexander the Great*. It is situated on the river *Heri Rûdh*, within two leagues of a mountain, on whose top the worshippers of fire, called by the *Persians*, *Ghebbers* and *Atteghereft*, perform their religious rites; in a place built out of the ruins of a famous temple, raised by the antient *Magi*. The city and country is very populous, the air excellent, and the inhabitants generally honest, as well as courteous. Let us now go see what *Jenghtz Khân* is doing on his side. After the taking of *Talkhân*, that prince marched with his army towards *Bamtyân*, still waiting for news of *Jalâlo'ddîn*, and the troops he had sent towards *India*, in quest of him^k.

Jalâlo'd.
din's dis-
tress.

The Soltân having escaped out of the hands of the second party of *Mungls*, in his retreat from *Nisbâbûr*, as hath been mentioned before^l, he, with much ado, got safely to the fortrefs of *Kâhera*; where, in despair, he would have shut himself up with his troops, and waited the coming of the *Mungls*, had not the governor convinced him that such a conduct was unbecoming a prince of his merit. This bold remonstrance awakening his courage, he went from thence to *Boft*, a city in the province of *Sejestân*, or *Sistân*, where he made a shift to raise^m about 20,000 men: but, when he had learned the strength of the *Mungl* army, he knew not what course to take. At length, roused by the extreme danger he saw himself in, he resolved to oppose his enemies at all hazards, and left *Boft*, with a design, if possible, to get into *Gâzna*, the capital of *Zâblestân*, twenty-four days journey distant, before the *Mungls* could arrive to take it; which design he effected, by the expedition he made on the road. In this city, which had been the metropolis of the *Gâzni* empire, a lord, named *Kerber Mâlek*, commanded during the absence of Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn*: and although, a little while before, the people, as in other places, divided by the great lords, had thrown off their obedience, yet was that prince received with all the marks of the greatest affection; while he, dissembling his resentment, deferred to a more proper time the punishment of their disloyalty.

^k NISSAVI. FADH. MARAKESH. ap. La Croix. p. 206, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 138, & seq. ^l P. 412. ^m LA CROIX, p. 291.

JENGHIZ Khân, having gotten information that *Jalalo'ddin* was at *Gazna*, hastened his march, in order to surprise him; but he was stopped in the way by the garrison of *Bamîyân*, which he had hoped to take without opposition. These people, who had long expected to be attacked, had ruined all the country for four or five leagues round the city; while the peasants had carried away the stones, and every thing else that might be of use to the besiegers: so that they had extraordinary difficulties to surmount. They had scarce begun to attack the place in form, when couriers arrived with news both of the defeat of his troops by Soltân *Jalalo'ddin*, and the revolt of *Herât*. This made him redouble his attempts; and, after he had detached forces upon those two expeditions, he caused a mount of earth to be cast up before the city, in a place where he designed to make the fiercest assault. Wooden towers were likewise built, equal in height to the walls, whereon to plant his engines, and covered with raw hides, to prevent the wild-fire of the besieged from sticking to them; on which occasion a great number of horses and cows were every day slaughtered.

A. D.
1221.Bamîyân
besieged.

MEAN time many of the *Mungl* engines were beaten down by those from the city; and the garrison making an obstinate resistance, as their walls were exceeding strong, the besiegers at last began to be in want both of stones and wild-fire. This occasioned the assaults to cease, till millstones, flints, and other materials fit for battering, could be procured: and when they were renewed, the besieged made such furious sallies, overthrowing whole squadrons of the enemy, as well as towers, with their engines, that had not *Jenghiz Khân* been provided with so vast an army, he must have been forced to raise the siege. To increase his chagrin, just as he was returned to his tent, from making a fruitless attack, an express came with an account of the defeat of his general *Kutûkû*, by the Soltân. The Khân, enraged, swore to be revenged on *Bamîyân*: but his fury cost the life of a son of *Oktay*; who, exposing himself, to please his grandfather, was slain with an arrow. The emperor, who loved him tenderly, because he discovered in him all the marks of good conduct, could not forbear mixing his own tears with those of the mother, who appeared almost distracted.

JENGHIZ Khân, by this accident rendered more im-*taken, and* patient than ever to reduce the place, lavished his treasure to *destroyed.* encourage his soldiers; who, night and day continuing the

* NISSAVI in *Jalal. MIRKOND, FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 301. & seqq.*

A. D.
1221.

assault, at length ruined the walls in many places, and became masters of *Bāmīyān*, after the bravest of the officers and soldiers of the garrison had been slain in its defence. The mother of the young prince, who had been killed, entering with the *Mungl* troops into the city, and more desiring the name of a fiend than a woman, caused the throats of all the inhabitants to be cut, not excepting one. She even gave orders to rip up the bellies of women with child, for fear an infant should be left alive. In short, the cattle and all other creatures were killed, to gratify the rage of this blood-thirsty monster. So that, ever since, *Bāmīyān*, whose buildings were also demolished, has borne the name of *Maubālig*, which, in the *Mungl* language, signifies *the unfortunate town*. *Bāmīyān* was situated on a mountain, in the province of *Zāblīstān*, ten days journey from *Bālk*, and eight from *Gazna*. A strong castle has been since built on its ruins. At the foot of the mountain glides a river, which, having run through another mountain, falls at length into the *Amū*°.

The
Mungls
defeated

It has been mentioned above, that while *Jenghiz Khān* was besieging *Bāmīyān*, two of his generals had been defeated by Soltān *Jalālo'ddīn*; we shall here therefore give the particulars of those engagements. Two or three days after *Jalālo'ddīn* had reached *Gazna*, as before has been related, he learned, that there were *Mungl* troops in that neighbourhood who besieged the city of *Kandahār*, and had orders to watch his motions. At the same time *Amin Mālek*, lord of *Herāt*, who was come out to watch theirs, with 10,000 *Turkish* horse, being not far off, the Soltān sent to invite him to assist in relieving that fortress. *Amin Mālek* hereupon joins *Jalālo'ddīn* with his forces; and, it being resolved to attack the enemy in the dead of the night, the troops marched, and surprised the *Mungls*, who had already taken the town. They, finding themselves attacked on one side by the succours, and on the other side by the governor of the citadel, suffered themselves to be killed, in a manner, without making any resistance; so that very few escaped the sword of the *Karazmians*.

by the
Soltān,

THE Soltān, having repaired *Kandahār*, returned to *Gazna*; where soon after he was reinforced by 30,000 men more, brought by three *Turkish* lords of his father's court, who dwelt in this country in fortified places; and, led more by the danger which threatened them, than affection for the prince, came to offer him their service. As soon as *Jenghiz Khān* heard of the slaughter of his troops before *Kandahār*,

• ABU'LIK. *ibid.* p. 310, & seq.

he immediately dispatched the general *Kütükü* (Z), with 80,000 men, against *Jalâlo'ddîn*; who, on notice of their march, put himself at the head of his army to meet them; and came up with them just beyond a town called *Birwân*, within a day's journey of *Gazna*, where they were intrenching themselves. *Kütükü*, perceiving troops, flushed with the late success, advancing towards him with so much vigour, thought it best to defer fighting for a while: but when he saw they intended to attack him in his intrenchments, he marched out to meet them. The *Mungl* van-guard was at first defeated by *Jalâlo'ddîn's*, commanded by *Amîn Mâlek*; but being supported by fresh troops, they, in their turn, routed the *Karazmians*. The Soltân, on this, advanced immediately at the head of his main body, and attacked the *Mungls* in the center, where *Kütükü* himself was posted. The shock was terrible, and for some hours the victory doubtful: but at last the *Mungls* fled in disorder to the mountains. A great number were slain, as well as taken prisoners: and, it is said, *Jalâlo'ddîn*, after reproaching these latter with their cruelties, caused nails to be thrust into their ears, to revenge the miseries which his subjects had so long suffered from the *Mungls* and *Tatars*. As soon as a party of *Tatars*, who were besieging *Wûla*, a fortress, some days journey from thence, heard of this defeat, they raised the siege, and made off with all expedition.

THIS is the account given by *Nissâvi*, who wrote the life of *Jalâlo'ddîn*, and *Fadhllah*; but *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, from other authors, represents matters in a different manner. Soltân *Khân Mâlek* (the same with *Amîn Mâlek*), governor of *Herât*, having been attacked, after his submission to *Zena* and *Suday* the *Mungl* generals, by *Togazar Kantaret*, as before related, on the news that Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn* was arrived at *Gazna* (A) sent to offer that prince his service. At the same time *Jenghiz Khân* had detached one of his principal officers called *Ugar*, surnamed *Kalsban*, or the merry companion, with four other generals, *Shanghi*, *Kutuktû Noyân* (or *Nevidân*), *Tabajik*, and *Malkaw*, at the head of 30,000

† NISSAVI, FADHL. ap. La Croix, p. 303, & seq.

(Z) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* names *nin*; by which they seem to him *Kütuktû Noyân*. mean the territory in which it

(A) In the translation of is situated, rather than the city *Abû'lghâzi Khân* written *Gasmien*. itself.

Some write *Gaznehen*, or *Gaz-*

A. D. 1221. men, to cut off the communication between *Gazna*, *Sāghil*, *Kabul*, and the rest of the dominions of the *Karazm Shāh*.

As these commanders thought it proper to divide their forces, the better to watch the motions of the enemy, *Kūtuktā Noyān*, who with his body of troops had advanced towards *Herāt*, by the way encamped near *Soltān Khān Mālek*: but that lord in the night marched off, and got safely to *Gazna*.

defeats
Kūtuktā
Noyān.

TABAŢIK and *Malkaw*, on their side, had advanced with so little noise to the town of *Sāghil*, that it was very near being surprised by them, for want of keeping a good look-out. The *Mungl* generals, having missed so fair a hit, besieged the place in form: but while they used their utmost efforts to reduce it, *Soltān Jalāl'oddīn*, with his reinforcement from *Herāt*, fell upon them so unexpectedly, that he obliged them to fly, after they had lost above 1000 men, and go join *Kūtuktā Noyān*; whom he likewise pursued, and at length provoked to a battle. He gave the command of the left wing to *Soltān Khān Mālek*; that of the right to *Sefio'ddīn*, one of his father's old generals; and, putting himself in the center, charged the *Mungls* with so much vigour, that, after a very obstinate fight, which lasted from morning till near evening, they were constrained to fly, and leave a great number of their companions dead behind them.

The Noy-
an's stra-
tagem.

KUTUKTU Noyān made use of a stratagem in this battle, which like to have given him the victory; for he ordered all the felt caps and cloaks that were in the camp to be stuffed with straw, and ranged behind on the horses and camels of the baggage, as a kind of second line. This affair was so well managed, that the *Karazmians*, believing it to be a reinforcement sent from the *Khān*, were seized with fear, and had shamefully fled, if the *Soltān*, suspecting it a trick of *Kūtuktā Noyān*, had not taken pains to expose the deceit. Their courage being by this means revived again, they fell on the *Mungls* with so much impetuosity, that only a very few escaped, besides the three general officers.

Dissention
among

JENG HIZ Khān, impatient to revenge these disgraces, as soon as *Baniyan* was reduced, marched his army with so much precipitation, that he hardly gave his soldiers time to refresh themselves. *Gazna* (then called *Dar'ul Mulk*, or the royal city) being a very strong place, and provided for a long siege, the *Khān* directed his course thither, expecting to find *Jalāl'oddīn* there: but that prince had left the city fifteen

days before (B), and might have stood his ground against his pursuer, if a vexatious accident had not happened in his army, after the battle of *Birwân*. When the booty came to be divided, the three *Turkish* lords pretended, that the most valuable spoils belonged to them, on account of the succours, which they had brought. The troops of *Amîn Mâlek*, who were united with the Soltân's, were for having the custom of war followed, and the booty to be equally divided. The quarrel began about a very fine *Arabian* horse, which one of the three *Turkish* commanders demanded, and the others refused to yield to him.

SOME say, that this dispute arose between Soltân Khân Jalâlo'd-Mâlek (otherwise *Amîn Mâlek*) and *Sefio'ddîn Mâlek*; which did not go so far, that the former gave the latter a lash in the face *generals*. with his whip: that *Sefio'ddîn* complained to the Soltân of this insult; but, finding no hopes of obtaining such a reparation as would satisfy him, he quitted that prince in the night, with the troops under his command, who were of the *Kankli* tribe, and retired into the mountains of *Kermân*: that, on the other hand, Soltân Khân Mâlek returned soon after to *Herât*. However this matter was, the desertion of the auxiliary troops proved extremely prejudicial to *Jalâlo'ddîn's* affairs; and the chief reason for his quitting *Gazna* was, to give his disunited troops time to rejoin him. He did all that was possible to bring the three *Turkish* commanders to hearken to reason: he wrote and sent to them several times; representing the ruin which must attend their separation, and the advantages which might arise to them all, if they rejoined him.

THEY at length suffered themselves to be persuaded by the *The Soltân* sense of danger, but it was too late: for *Jenghîz Khân*, who *overtaken*, was informed of what was in agitation, sent 60,000 horse to seize the passages, and prevent their joining the Soltân; who, finding himself deprived of this powerful aid, retired towards the river *Sind*, or *Indus* (C). When he was arrived there, he stopped, in a part where the stream was most rapid, and the place confined, with a view both to take from his soldiers a desire of flying, and prevent the *Mungls* from bringing up all their army to engage at once. Ever since his departure from *Gazna* he had been tormented with a cruel colic; yet, at a time when he suffered most, hearing that the ene-

(B) According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, the inhabitants of *Gazna*, having lost their courage, admitted *Jenghîz Khân*, without any resistance. (C) Called by *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, *Sir Indi*; as much as to say, *the river Indus*.

A. D. 1221. my's van-guard was arrived at a place called *Herder*, he quitted his litter, and mounted on horseback : then, marching in the night with his chosen foldiers, surpris'd the *Mungls* in their camp ; and having cut them almost all to pieces, without losing one man, returned to his camp with considerable booty.

Battle at the Indus. *JENGHIZ Khân*, finding by this that he had to do with a vigilant enemy, proceeded with great circumspection. When he came near the *Indus* he drew out his army in *bat-talia* (D) : to *Jagatay* he gave command of the right wing ; the left to *Oktay* ; and put himself in the center, surrounded by 6000 of his guards. On the other side, *Jalâlo'ddîn* prepared for battle : he first sent the boats on the *Indus* farther off, reserving only one to carry over the *Soltâna* his mother, the queen his wife, and his children : but unluckily the boat split, when they were going to embark ; so that they were forced to remain in the camp. The *Soltân* took to himself the command of the main body of his army. His left wing, drawn up under the shelter of a mountain, which hindered the whole left wing of the *Mungls* to engage them at one time, was conducted by his chief *Wazir* ; and his right wing by *Amîn Mîlek*. This lord began the fight, and forced the enemy's left wing to give ground, in spite of all the troops which sustained them. The right wing of the *Mungls* likewise wanting room to extend itself, the *Soltân* made use of his left as a body of reserve ; detaching from thence squadrons to sustain the other troops, which stood in need of them. He also took one part of them with him, when he went at the head of his main body, to charge that of *Jenghîz Khân* : which he did with so much resolution and vigour, that he not only put it into disorder, but made a broad way to penetrate into the midst of it, to the place where the *Khân* had at first taken his station : but that prince, having had a horse killed under him, was retired from thence, to give orders for all the troops to engage.

The Soltân defeated. THIS disadvantage had like to have lost the *Mungls* the battle : for the report being spread all over the army, that the *Soltân* had broken through the main body, the troops were so discouraged, that if the *Khân* had not immediately

^r MIRK. ABU'LE. FADHL. NISSAVI, ap. La Croix, p. 313, & seq.

(D) According to *Abûlgbâzi Khân*, he went in the night, and posted himself between the river and the *Soltân's* camp, in order effectually to cut off the passage of it.

rode from place to place to shew himself, they would certainly have fled. In short, what gained him the battle was, the orders which he gave to *Bela Neviân* to cross the mountain, if practicable, and attack the Soltân's left wing; which the Khân observed had been much weakened by the several detachments. *Bela*, accordingly, conducted by a guide, marched betwixt rocks and dreadful precipices; and, falling upon that disabled wing behind, soon overcame them.

THE victory is, by one author, attributed to a body of chosen horse, called *Pehlevans*, who, supported by 10,000 fresh men, fell upon *Jalâlo'ddîn's* right wing, which was at that time victorious, and defeated them; driving them back upon his main body, against which *Jenghîz Khân* had renewed the charge. The Soltân's troops, which were in all but 30,000, much fatigued with having fought ten whole hours (E) against more than 300,000 men, were seized with fear, and fled. In this disorder his eldest son was taken prisoner. One part of the troops retired to the rocks, which were on the shore of the *Indus*, where the enemy's horse could not follow them. Many others, closely pursued by the *Mungls*, threw themselves into the river, some of whom happily crossed over; while the rest, placing themselves round their prince, continued the fight, through despair.

MEAN time *Jenghîz Khân*, desirous to take *Jalâlo'ddîn* *Crosses the* alive, forbade killing him (F); and, to prevent his escape, *river.* ranged his forces in form of a bow, of which the river represented the string (G). The Soltân on this occasion, considering that, as he had scarce 7000 men left, if he continued the fight any longer he should certainly fall into the enemy's hands, began to think of his safety. He knew he had but one course to follow, and that a very dangerous one, which was, to cross the *Indus*; and yet he resolved to venture it, rather than suffer himself to be taken. But before he put this resolution in practice, he went to embrace and bid adieu to his mother, wives, children, and friends. *Jalâlo'ddîn* having, with tears in his eyes, broken from those dear

(E) *Abû'lgbâzi Khân* says, from sun-rise till noon.

(F) *Abû'lgbâzi Khân* relates, that *Jenghîz Khân*, before the engagement, ordered *Kogur Kalshan*, and *Kotur Kalshan*, to watch *Jalâlo'ddîn*, and, if possible, take him alive.

(G) According to this account from *La Croix*, the passage to

the river was open: but *Abû'lgbâzi Khân*, who, as hath been observed in a former note, makes the Khân incamp between the Soltân and the river, relates, that the latter, seeing no more of his army left, made a last effort to break thro' the *Mungls*, and happily gained the river.

A. D.
1221.

objects of his affection, put off his armour and arms, excepting his sword, bow, and quiver: then mounting a fresh horse, he spurred him into the river; the furiousness of whose waves astonished the beast so much, that he went not in but by force: however, being once entered, he performed his duty to admiration, and carried his lord safely over. In gratitude for which service, the Soltan had him kept with care ever after; nor would, for the four or five years following, ride him in any dangerous action.

Admired
by the
Khân.

WHEN he was in the middle of the river, he stopped to insult *Jenghiz Khân* (who was come to the water-side to admire his courage), and empty his quiver of arrows against him. Several brave *Mungl* captains would have thrown themselves into the river to swim after *Jalâlo'ddîn*; but the Grand Khân would not permit them, telling them, this prince would defeat all their attempts. Then, putting his finger on his mouth, and turning towards his children, he said, "any son should wish to spring from such a father (H). He who dares defy such dangers as this prince has now escaped, may expose himself to a thousand others; and a wise man, who has him for his enemy, must be always on his guard."

Drowns
his family.

MEHEMED *Nissâvi*, author of *Jalâlo'ddîn's* life, reports, that the Soltan, pierced with the shrieks of his family, who begged him to deliver them from being slaves to the *Mungls*, commanded them to be all drowned; and that his orders were immediately executed. But other historians, who have given a very full relation of all which passed in that battle, assure us, that *Jenghiz Khân*, presently after it, having caused to be brought before him the Soltan's wives, and all his children, ordered the males to be killed; among whom was his eldest son, then but eight years of age. After this, he had the treasure, which *Jalâlo'ddîn* had thrown into the river, taken up by divers.

Exploits in
India.

THIS prince, as soon as he was landed safe in *India*, got into a tree, to pass the night secure from wild beasts. Next day, as he walked melancholily along the banks, looking to see if any of his people appeared, he perceived a troop of soldiers, with some officers, three of whom proved to be his particular friends. These, at the beginning of the defeat, had found a boat, in which they sailed all night, with much danger, from the rocks, shelves, and violence of the current. Soon after, he saw coming towards him 300 horse, who informed him of 4000 more, saved by swimming over two

(H) Or, as *Abûlgâzi Khân* title of happy to the father, who has it, One might justly give the had such a son.

leagues from thence : the Soltân went to meet them, and promised to provide for their necessities. Mean time *Jamâlar-razad*, an officer of his household, who was not at the battle, knowing that his master and many of his people were escaped, ventured to load a very large boat with arms, provisions, money, and stuff to clothe the soldiers, and cross over to him : for which great piece of service *Jalâlo'ddîn* made him great steward of his household ; and surnamed him *Ektiâro'ddîn*, that is, *the chosen*, or, *the glory of the faith*. And from this time things succeeded happily with the Soltân. He fought several battles in *Hindûstân*, and was at first victorious : he also made conquests and alliances. But at length the Indian princes becoming jealous of his prosperity, they conspired against and obliged him to repass the *Indus*. Others say, his return to *Persia* was voluntary, in order to recover what he could of his dominions, in the absence of *Jenghiz Khân*. But we must leave him at present, to return to the conqueror¹.

C H A P. V.

Conquests in Irân, from the Battle of the Indus, to Jenghiz Khân's Return into Tartary.

THE victory at the *Indus* cost *Jenghiz Khân* 20,000 Persian men ; and since he sat down before *Talkhân*, he had *Irâk* ^{sub} lost no fewer than 200,000. Yet he neglected not ^{Hej. 619.} to send advice of his good success to the governors of provinces, and particularly to *Hubbe* and *Suida* : who having now finished the conquest of *Persian Irâk*, he ordered them to enter *Azerbeijân*, the ancient *Media Atropatia*, in the spring of the year 619. They being then in winter-quarters at *Senoravend*, a city of that province, which they had taken by storm, sent immediately for a supply of troops from *Kborassân*. These troops, soon after their setting out, met with, and defeated, 3 or 4000 *Karazmian* horse, under *Takin*, who fled to *Jorjân*, in *Tabarestân*, whither *Aynânje Khân*, before-mentioned, was retired : the *Mungl* commander pursued ; and, meeting them in the beginning of the said year, between that city and *Astarabad*, after a sharp dispute, routed them. *Takin* was killed ; and *Aynânje Khân* fled to *Kaya-sâ'dîn*, Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn*'s youngest brother, who possessed *Khûjêstân*, where he died soon after.

Hej. 619.

A. D.

1222.

¹ FADHL. NISSAVI MARAKESH. ap. La Croix, p. 317, & seqq.

A. D.
1222.

Ardebil
and Tauris
yield.

THE two generals, having received this reinforcement, marched to *Ardebil*, or *Ardevil*, a strong city, and of great trade, within two leagues of the mountain *Savelân*; which, after some little resistance, surrendered at discretion. The *Mungls* killed the greater part of the people; and, after plundering, burnt the city. Since which, it was rebuilt; and is at present one of the finest cities in the *Persian* empire. From hence they went to *Tabriz*, or *Tauris*, the capital of *Azerbejan*, whose governor, being a man of courage, rejected all their offers. He fatigued them with infinite sallies, and drew them frequently into ambuscade. But at last, being forced to a pitch'd battle, was beaten: yet he escaped to the city, and might have held out a long time, if the inhabitants had not compelled him forthwith to make proposals to the *Mungl* generals, who readily consented to them; for fear the *Georgians*, who were esteemed the most valiant people of all *Asia*, should declare for the inhabitants. After this, being informed, that there were some commotions at *Ispâhân*, they returned to *Irâk*: but the author of them having been slain by his party, they did not punish the inhabitants.

Georgians
make
war.

THE *Georgians*, expecting to be attacked in their turn by the *Mungls*, were resolved to prevent them; and, though it was the midst of winter, entered *Azerbejan*, in quest of the troops, which the two generals had left there: but finding more than they expected, and having been worsted in two rencounters, returned to *Teflis*, from whence they sent to ask assistance from all their neighbours; but none would lend them any. They, to be revenged, sent strong parties to molest all those who favoured the *Mungls*. Mean time *Hubbe* and *Suida* sent troops to oppose them; and, as soon as the season permitted, marching from *Irâk*, with all their forces entered *Georgia*: but finding all the passages stopped, and that a few were able to defend them against many, did not think fit to attack them. However, on their return to *Azerbejan*, they took and plundered *Marâgha*, which, they were informed, had assisted the *Georgians*. This city was built by the Khalifah *Merwân*, and was very considerable, both for its trade and fine situation, about fifty miles south of *Tauris*. *Hulâkû*, grandson of *Jenghîz Khân*, built there a magnificent observatory, in which presided the famous *Nasro'ddîn al Tâfi*, mentioned before.

Marâgha
taken.

FROM hence they went to refresh themselves at *Ardebil*; where advice arriving of a revolt at *Hamadân*, *Hubbe* marched thither to appease it. The governor *Jamâl'o'ddîn*, seeing himself forsaken by the rest of the seditious, sent the *Mungl* rich presents, with offers of submission: but the general in-

sisted

listd that he should surrender at discretion. He was going to comply; when a captain, named *Fakîhi*, put himself at the head of the troops which were in the city, and had the boldness to make a sally: but being repulsed and pursued, a great number of the enemy, entering promiscuously with his soldiers, seized the gates, and became masters of the place. On *Hubbe's* return, the two generals marched to reduce *Salmâs* and *Kâi*, or *Koy*, in the most western part of *Azerbejdân*; which having taken and plundered, they turned their arms against *Nâkshivân*, a city of the province of *Al Rân*, or *Arrân*, situate between *Azerbejdân* and *Armenia*. This place was treated like the others; yet with less rigour than *Pilkân* (or *Bilâkân*): this being a well-fortified city, as well as the place of greatest trade in all *Arrân*, it cost the enemy a great deal of time to take it; and they, in revenge, committed most cruel actions: but *Gânjeh*, another city (now the capital) of the same province, fared better; for, opening its gates without delay, no damage was done to the inhabitants.

Arrân
reduced.

HERE the *Mungls* being informed that an army of *Georgians* were advancing to attack them; it was resolved that *Hubbe* should put himself in ambuscade, with 5000 men, while *Suida* marched with the gross of the army, as if to give them battle: but that, as soon as the enemy appeared, he should leave his baggage, and retire hastily, to draw them on. This stratagem had the desired effect: so that, at the same time *Hubbe* came out of his ambuscade, *Suida* faced about; and the *Georgians* being charged both before and behind at once, 30,000 of them were cut in pieces. They who escaped spread a report through the country, that the *Mungls* were coming to besiege *Tefîs*; which threw the inhabitants into the utmost terror. However, the soldiers, knowing the difficulty of the passages, ran to guard them; while the *Mungls*, disheartened at the many narrow lanes and turnings which they met with, immediately retreated.

Georgians
de-seated.

IT is time now to go see what *Jenghîz Khân* was doing in *Khorassân*. This prince, after the battle with *Jalâl'dîn*, through the severity of the winter, was obliged to take up his quarters on the borders of *Hindustân*, and repose his fatigued army. When they were a little recovered, he ordered a hunting; but, on the approach of spring, he sent out troops to make new conquests. Fourcore thousand were detached toward *Herât* (which had revolted), under the command of *Ilenku Nevian*; and 20,000 under *Bela*, or *Bala*, marched towards *Multân*, in *India*, to oppose the Soltân, if he ap-

Mungl detachments.

A. D.
1222.

peared on that side. *Oktay* was sent, with the troops under his conduct, to conquer *Gazna*; and *Jagatay* had 60,000 forces given him, in order to shut up the provinces of *Send* and *Kermán* against *Jalálo'ddín*. But the Soltán returned into the latter as soon as he heard that *Jenghiz Khán* was gotten into *Mogolistán*; whither that prince prepared to march, upon advice that *Shidaskú*, Khán of *Tangút*^b, had taken the city of *Kampion* from his governor, and that the *Kitayans* were inclined to revolt.

Kandahár
taken.

ON this news *Jenghiz Khán* sent orders to his brother *Utákin*, and marched with the troops which remained with him, as far as *Kandahár*, which he took. This city is very ancient, and the capital of a province of the same name. It carries on a great trade with the countries of *Send*, *India*, and *Persia*; and some geographers place it in the one, some in the other, of which it is a strong frontier town. Here the Khán waited a long time, expecting to hear news from his armies.

Multán
reduced.

SOME time after the reduction of this fortress, *Multán*, a city of *India*, was subdued by *Bela Nevián*; who had orders to conquer *Labúr* also: but as he was informed there was, in that place, a stronger army than his own, he did not go thither. A *Patán* prince, named *Kobádía*, had sent those forces; thinking he had more reason to provide against the *Mungls* than against *Jalálo'ddín*. For although the Soltán was then in arms on his frontiers, yet he had only a few troops with him: nor had he done any-thing, but made a slight irruption into the territories of a prince named *Rána*, who had insulted him, and whom he had killed.

Slaughter
at Herát.

ILENKU (A) executed the orders he had received concerning *Herát* with much cruelty. It has been already related, that the people of this country, after they had made peace with *Tuli Khán*, revolted, on the appearance of *Jalálo'ddín*; killed the governor *Abúbekr*, with those of his party, and set up *Mubarezzo'ddín* in his room. This happened at the time when 30,000 malecontents joined that prince; which made them believe his affairs would take a prosperous turn. *Kútúktú* received immediate orders to chastise them, but his defeat at *Birwán* prevented him; so that the Khán had been obliged to defer his vengeance till now. *Henkú* had orders to ruin all the country; and it employed him six months to

^b See before, p. 360.(A) *Abulglási Khán* calls him *Ilziktey* (or *Hjiktey*) *Noyán*.

execute

execute his commission (B). The *Mungls* boasted that they had destroyed in this expedition above 1,600,000 persons; including the 30,000 malecontents, whom the general had ordered to fight, and intirely defeated, though with much difficulty.

A. D.

1225.

OKTAY, whose orders were to punish *Gazna*, no sooner *Gazna be-* arrived in that country, than he exercised all sorts of cruel-ties. Not that this prince was naturally bloody, but he knew his father was so; and that he hated those people to whom he owed the loss of his armies. After he had subdued all the places of least strength, he sat down before the capital *Gazna*, then called *Dáro'l Mulk*, or *the royal city*, because it had been the metropolis of the *Gazni* Soltâns. This city was provided with all things necessary to sustain a siege; had a strong garrison, with a brave and experienced governor. The inhabitants, expecting no mercy from the Khân, who they knew had sworn their ruin, were resolved to make a desperate defence. They made frequent sallies on the besiegers; several times overthrew their works, and broke above a hundred of their battering-rams. But one night, after an obstinate fight, in which *Oktay* fought in person, to encourage his soldiers, who began to be daunted, one side of the city-walls fell down; and filling up the ditch, a great number of *Mungls* easily entered sword in hand. The governor, seeing all lost, at the head of his bravest soldiers, charged among the thickest of his enemies; where he and all his followers were slain. However, *Gazna* was not intirely ruined; nor did all the inhabitants perish; for after the plundering had lasted four or five hours, *Oktay* ordered it to cease; and taxed the people who were left alive at a certain rate, to redeem themselves and the city. This prince continued here till the whole province was reduced, and then went away to rejoin his father in *Tartary*.

MEAN time *Jagatay* having entered *Kermân*, the ancient *Jagatay Karamania* of *Persia*, took, by degrees, all the cities in that *enteri Kore* province. The Khân, who had been well informed of the *man* unhealthiness of the country, gave him a particular charge to look after the soldiers. After he had reduced *Tiz*, one of the best cities, with some other places, which he destroyed, he proceeded to *Kelânjet*, a country bordering on *Hindûstân*;

(B) According to *Alâ'igbâzi Khân*, he divided his 80,000 forces into four bodies; and never ceased assaulting *Herât*, at so many different places, till he had taken it, after six days attack; and put to the sword all the inhabitants, excepting fifteen, and then demolished the walls.

where

A. D. 1223. where intending to pass the winter, the soldiers, by help of their slaves, built houses, cultivated gardens; and kept flocks of sheep, as if they were to settle there. But when the

Sickly climate.

scorching winds began to blow, to which they were not accustomed, almost all of them fell sick, and a great number died; while the greater part of those who lived became so weak and languid, that they were not fit for service. By this means the country of *Fârs*, or *Pârs*, which is the proper *Persia*; and that part of *Khûzestân* which belonged to *Kayafoddîn*, Soltân *Jalâoddîn*'s younger brother, and contained several strong cities, escaped for this time the invasion of the *Mungls*. *Jagatay*, by removing his troops from one place to another, by degrees recovered them; and finding the slaves which his soldiers had taken were a burthen to them, ordered the throats of the greater part of them to be cut. Then having committed the care of the conquered countries to one of his lieutenants, he, pursuant to his father's orders, directed his course for *Bâlkh*, where the general rendezvous was appointed.

The Khân returns

JENGHIZ Khân, after taking *Kandahâr*, as before-mentioned, decamped, and continued to march towards the *Jihân* or *Amû*. He passed the rest of the summer in a delightful place, to the south of that river; where he informed himself concerning the antiquities of *Bâlkh*, and particularly about *Zeridesht Behrâm*, or *Zoroaster*, the famous philosopher, who instituted fire-worship. Here he received letters from the Khân of *Tangût*, promising submission, and to become tributary, provided the Khân would pardon what was past. To prevent his forming any more enterprises, an answer was sent, that his offers were accepted. After this it was resolved to cross the *Amû*, in order to keep in awe all those who had any inclination to rebel. Then having sent notice to the generals, dispersed through the provinces, to set out immediately and follow him, he proceeded to *Bokhâra*. There again he had a conversation with the learned, about the *Mohammedan* religion, which they said consisted chiefly in five articles: 1. The belief of one God, the Creator of all things, who had no equal: 2. In giving the poor one-fortieth part of their yearly income or gains: 3. In praying to the Deity five times every day: 4. In setting apart one month of the year for fasting: 5. In making a pilgrimage to the temple of *Mekka*, there to worship God. *Jenghiz Khân* told them he believed the first article, and approved of the three next: but

to Bokhâra.
ra. . . .
Hej. 620.
A. D.
1223.

* FADHL NISSHVÎ, ap. La Croix, p. 331, & seq. Abu'lo. p. 139.

was displeased with the last, saying, the whole world was God's house; and thought it ridiculous to imagine that one place should be fitter than another to adore him in. The *Mohammedan* doctors were no less offended with his opinion on this point, since it maintained that there was no occasion for temples.

JENGHIZ Khân continued at *Bokhâra*, to pass the *Hubbe* winter; and then proceeded to *Samarkant*, where he spent and *Suida* most part of the year: and intending to hold a general diet the next year at *Tonkat*, sent mandates to the princes, governors, and generals, to repair thither. As *Hubbe* and *Suida* had instructions to return by the way of *Dârbend*, round the *Caspian* sea, they no sooner received his orders, than they entered *Shîrwân*, and took *Shamâkiya*, the capital, which they treated with rigour, for its resistance; and then, changing their measures, spared both the country and the people. This was all done to obtain of the king a passage by *Dârbend*: but that prince, fearing their design was to seize that fortress, and drive him out of his kingdom, denied their request, under various pretences; till at length the generals, finding they made use of intreaties to no purpose, proceeded to threats: which procured a grant of their demands, with officers to conduct them.

THE *Mungl* generals, in viewing *Dârbend*, admired at its *pass thro'* natural as well as artificial strength; and confessed it was *Darbend*; not to be forced. There is, between the sea and the mountains, a space, about a quarter of a league wide, which is shut by two walls, built of gravel and shells pounded together: a composition harder than any stone, and six foot thick. They are founded on the rock, and reach from the sea to the mountain; so that all passengers were obliged to pass through by the iron gates (C), which were in these walls. The space between them made a third part of the city, and is called *Shâhr-yânân*, or the city of the Greeks, because built by *Alexander the Great*: another part is at the foot of the mountain; and the third on its declivity, near the top. The middle part is best peopled; and all three near two miles and a quarter in length, though not very broad. There is a kind of port, shut in by a chain, fastened to two forts, one on each side; and the whole is defended by a castle on the top of the mountain: but the trade is very inconsiderable^d.

^d LA CROIX, p. 339, & seq. ABU'LO. p. 142.

(C) Thence called *Demîr Kâ-bend*, signifies in *Persian*, the pi by the *Turks*, and *Bâbal-ab-fajenings* of the gates, or the *quâb*, that is, the gate of gates, shut gates. by the *Arabs*. *Dârbend*, or *Der-*

A. D. 1223. THE orientals say, that, since *Alexander* led his army through *Darbend*, none but that of *Jenghiz Khân* ever passed this way. The *Al-ni*, at present called the *Tatars* of *Dagh-estân*, were extremely surprised at the unexpected appearance of the *Mungls*; and, fearing they had some design on their liberty, spoiled the roads, and destroyed provision everywhere. The generals, provoked, took and ruined their chief city *Tarku*. After this they surprised *Terki*, the capital of the *Cherkassians*, who were joined with them, as well as the *Kalmûk Tatars* (D), bordering on the *Wolga* and *Caspian* sea. However, foreseeing that, if these three nations raised all their forces, they should not be able to withstand them, the *Mungl* generals sent messengers to assure the *Kalmûk* tribes, that they were of the same nation with themselves; that they asked nothing, but to return to their own country; and desired them to be arbitrators of the war. The *Kalmûks*, moved by these reasons, and more perhaps by presents, recalled their troops; so that the *Al-ni* and *Cherkassians*, seeing themselves deprived of their assistance, soon lost courage, and gave way to their enemies.

Enter Kip-jâk. THE generals, having crossed the *Wolga*, by favour of the *Kalmûks*, entered into *Kipchâk*, or *Kapshâk*: but being obliged to pass the winter there, as they arrived late in the year, their long stay gave rise to feuds between them and their hosts. Hereupon the *Mungls* fortified their camp, and sent to *Tusbi Khân*, who was not far off, for assistance. That prince detached the greater part of his troops, who, having joined the others, in spite of the enemy, formed a considerable army; which, without much trouble, constrained those people to submit. Mean time *Tusbi*, being obliged to repair to court, left *Hubbe* and *Suida* to command in *Kipchâk* during his absence; with orders to attack the *Nogays*, who had offended him, and were the only people unsubdued in *Kipchâk*, which that prince had reduced, having pushed his conquests as far as the borders of *Russia*. By means of the frozen rivers, the *Mungls* had an early passage to *Astrakhân*, called *Haji Tarkan* by the *Mohammedans*, situate in an island of the *Wolga*, near the *Caspian* sea, which they subdued. The war lasted six months: at the end of which the *Nogays* acknowledged *Tusbi Khân* for their sovereign, and *Jenghiz Khân* for their Grand Khân. The generals continued in this country

Astrakhân taken.

(D) So called, doubtless, because they were *Pagans*; where- as the other two nations were *Mohammedans*, or *Christians* at least.

till

till *Tusbi* returned from the diet, in autumn 1224; and then left it with the troops they had brought thither.

A. D.
1224.

If *Jenghiz Khân* was severe to those who offended him, he was kind and bountiful to such as did him any service, or were willing to oblige him. When he left *Samarkant* to go for *Tonkat*, he freed the people of that province for several years from paying the usual tribute; because their behaviour had pleased him: and, to give the lords some particular marks of his affection, he remitted to them, for their lives, the taxes due from the nobility to their prince. This generous proceeding caused much joy in *Samarkant*: but it was damped with seeing the queen *Turkhân Kâtûn*, followed by her ladies, and they by all the great officers of Soltân *Mohammed*, who had been taken, led as in triumph before the Grand Khân's army; who was going to pass through those countries where she was still beloved. After them the Soltân's throne and crown were borne in state^e.

The Khân's
bounty.

THE Grand Khân, having crossed over the river *Sihân*, or *Sir*, arrived at *Tonkat* the beginning of the year 601: which city he had made choice of to hold the dyet in, because it was agreeably situated, and was able to furnish all things necessary for so numerous an assembly. The princes and generals being all returned from their respective expeditions, *Jenghiz Khân*, with caresses, received his sons, who kneeled down, kissed his hand, and made him presents, which were very considerable: but those of *Tusbi*, or *Faji*, were by far the best; for, besides other rare things, there were 100,000 horses, white, dappled-greys, bays, black, and spotted, of each sort an equal number. In return, the Grand Khân opened his treasures, and loaded them with gifts. After this he gave public feasts for a whole month: but the most sumptuous banquet was on their return from a general hunting, in which several thousand beasts of all kinds had been slain: the falconers furnished variety of birds. Their liquors, besides *balperinj*, or metheglin, *griut*, or beer, and *kammez*, or *kimis*, were excellent wines from the southern countries; and herbs, which they had learned to make from the *Persians*.

Comes to
Tonkat.
Hej. 601.
A. D.
1224.

WHEN this great feast was ended, preparations were made for holding the dyet in the plain of *Tonkat*: which, though seven leagues in length, could scarcely contain all the tents and attendants of the great personages: who, besides the governors, came from the most distant provinces of *Kitay*, *Mogulistan*, *Karakitay*, *Turân*, and *Irân*. The greater part of them also had brought thither their moveable houses. When

Holds
dyet.

^e LA CROIX, p. 348, & seq.

A. D.

1224.

the Khân's quarters were marked out, which took up near two leagues in compass; and the streets, squares, and markets were appointed, they pitched the tents for his household. That set up for the diet to sit in, would contain at least 2000 persons; and, to distinguish it from the rest, it was covered with white. It had but two gates, one named the imperial, for the Khân alone to enter at; the other called the public gate; which last alone had guards, and that only for grandeur. A magnificent throne was erected for the emperor: nor did they forget to place on an eminence the black felt carpet, on which that prince was proclaimed Grand Khân: which emblem of the poor estate of the *Mungls* at that time, was held in great veneration by them, so long as their empire lasted.

with great
pomp.

②

ALTHOUGH the luxury of the princes and chief lords of the *Mungls* was not come to the height which it arrived at after *Jenghîz Khân's* death; yet there appeared a great deal of magnificence in their dress, which resembled the *Turkish*, and in their equipages, especially their saddles, and other horse-furniture, which were set with precious stones and gold. On the top of most tents were placed streamers of the richest silks, of divers colours; which made a charming shew. Altho' the affairs which were to settle in so vast an empire, as that of the *Mungls* was already grown to, were very many; yet *Jagatay*, the keeper of *Jenghîz Khân's* laws, had put them in so good a method, that all things were regulated by them without any trouble. From hence the Khân, who loved to speak in public, took an occasion to make a speech in praise of those laws, to which he imputed all his victories and conquests; recounting them very minutely, one after the other. Then, as a farther proof of his greatness, he ordered all the ambassadors, who had followed the court, as well as all the envoys and deputies from the countries he had subdued, to be called in; and having given them audience at the foot of the throne, dismissed the assembly.

Tufhi re-
turns.

AFTER this, *Tufhi Khân*, among the rest, took leave of his father, in order to return to *Kipchâk*; the grant of which kingdom the Khân confirmed to him. On his arrival there, the two generals, *Hubbe* and *Suida*, put their troops into his hands, and returned to court; where they were received with honour; and allowed an hour every day, while *Jenghîz Khân* was on the road homewards, to recount to him the rarities they had seen in countries which they had traversed in their last expedition; leaving his army to follow at leisure^f.

^f LA CROIX, p. 353, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 144.

HAVING finished the history of *Jenghîz Khân's* expedition in the west of *Asia*, from the writers of those countries, we shall now lay before our readers what has been transmitted to us concerning it from the *Chinese* historians.

THE people of the *Si-yu* having massacred certain persons sent by *Jenghîz Khân*; this prince was so enraged at it, that, after subduing the countries in the neighbourhood of *Kîsb-gar*, he went and besieged *Wo-ta-la* (or *Otrâr*). In the third month of the year 1220 he took *Pu-wa*; in the fifth, *Sun-ke-fan* (E); whose king, called *Cha-la-ting* (F) (or *Jalalo'd-dîn*), quitted the city on the Khân's approach. *Pi-tû*, son of *Yelu Lyew-ko* (king of *Lyau-tong*), though dangerously wounded, seeing *Chu-chi* (or *Fuji*), an intrepid prince, engaged almost singly against a troop of the enemy, ran to his assistance; and, though quite surrounded, they broke through and escaped (G). Prince *Yelu Kobay*, a relation of *Pi-tû* (for there were many *Kitân* in the *Mungl* army), was made governor of the place. The *Whey-hû* (H) had lined the banks of the river *Gan-mû* (I) with their best troops, covered with no fewer than ten intrenchments; they likewise covered the river with barks. But the general *Ko-pau-yu* burnt them with shooting fiery darts; whose flame and smoke putting the

(E) There is no determining, with any certainty, either what places these were, or most of the rest which follow; only *Sun-ke-fan* is supposed, by *Gaubil*, to be *Khojend*: and the rather, because in a catalogue, or summary of the history of the *Lyâu*, it is called *Ho-chang*, or *Ko-chang*: but then the particulars, mentioned in the text, do not agree with those before related from the western historians of *Asia*.

(F) He is called also, *So-tan*, or *Su-on-tan*, and *Ko-sey-cha-que* *Su-on-tan*, that is, the Soltân of the kingdom of *Ko-sey-cha*; and thus the father, *Mohammed Karaxm Shâh*, is confounded with his son. *Ko-sey-cha* sounds like *Kapclâk*, or *Kaschâk*, especially as *que*, or *ks*, comes after it; although

that seems to be the *Chinese* word for *kingdom*, and *Ki-cha* (or *Kin-cha*) is the term commonly used for *Kaschâk*, or *Kipchâk*.

(G) This seems to relate to the battle of *Karakî*, between *Fuji* and Soltân *Mohammed*. See before, p. 389.

(H) These *Whey-hû*, or *Whey-be*, as they are also called, seem to be *obMammedan-Turks*; and so named to distinguish them from the *Deist-Turks*, who are, by the *Chinese*, called *Tu-que*, or *Tu-ke*. They extended themselves along the borders of *Little Buklâria*, and were settled in many parts of it.

(I) This seems to be the *Anû*, or *Tibûn*, by the sound; but should rather be the *Sibûn*, or *Sîr* (on which *Khojend* is situate), by the scene of action.

A. D. 1224. *Whey-hû* in disorder, the *Mungls* attacked their intrenchments on every side, and forced them (K).

Conquests there :

IN 1221, the *Mungl* year of the serpent (L), the *Khân* subdued the cities of *Po-ha-eul*, or *Bokhâra*, and *Sye-mi-tse-kan*. *Chûchi* took *Tan-ki-kan* and *Pa-eul-ching*. During the summer heats the *Khân* resided at the *Iron Gate* (M), a fortress to the westward of *Sa-ma-eul-kan*, or *Samarkant*. There he received two famous embassies from the emperors of the *Song* and the *Kin* (then reigning in *Manji* and *Kitay*), who made proposals of peace; but, being resolved to destroy those powers, they were not accepted. In autumn, *Pan-lo-ki* (N) (or *Balk*) was taken. *Jenghîz Khân* having ordered his general *Porchi* to instruct *Jagatay*, his second son, in the art of war, named that prince governor of great part of his eastern conquests. *Juji*, *Jagatay*, and *Oktay*, in the year 1221, took *Tu-long* and *Kye-sbe* (O). *Toley*, formed under the *Khân* himself, reduced *Ma-lu*, *Sha-ki-ko*, *Ma-lu Si-la-tse* (P), and other places. This year the *Khân* declared *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorum*) the metropolis of his dominions in *Tatary*; that is, the place where the general assembly, of the princes and chiefs of tribes, was to be held.

and in Irân.

IN 1222, the emperor, resolving to besiege *Ta-li-han* (or *Talkân*), gave a great body of troops to *Toley* (or *Tuli*), whom *Idikûs*, king of the *Igûrs*, desired to accompany with 10,000 of his troops. *Toley*, who liked the *Igûrs*, was charmed to have their prince in his army: both because he had excellent officers, and was a great commander; having given many proofs of his valour and conduct, in conjunction with *Chepe*, against the *Whey-hû*. These two princes first took *Thés*, or *Tûs*, *Nye-cha-u-eul* (or *Nislabûr*). Afterwards they acquired

(K) There is no mention thereof in our account of this siege from the western historians; nor of *Timûr Mâlek's* brave defence in the *Chinese* history: yet this may be designed for a relation of it.

(L) This must be a mistake, for 1220 was the year of the *serpent*.

(M) There is a place in this country called *Kolûga*, or the *Iron Gate*: but the western historians do not say the *Khân* spent the summer there. Besides,

Kolûga lies to the south or south-east of *Samarkant*.

(N) *Pan-lo-ki*, and *Termi*, or *Termed*, we are told, were taken by *Jenghîz Khân* in person.

(O) Those three princes, in 1221, made the expedition into *Karazm*; but there is no affinity between those names and *Karazm*, or any cities they conquered there.

(P) *Ma-lu*, is, doubtless, *Maru*, in *Khorassân*; of which name there are two places, as hath been observed before, p. 425, note S.

a great

a great deal of plunder in the kingdom of *Mu-lay* (Q). Then crossing the river *Shû-shû-dan*, and taking the road of *Ye-li* (R), arrived at *Talkhân*, which by their assistance was taken and destroyed. *Jenghiz Khân*, being informed that *Jalâlo'ddin*, king of the west, had joined *Mye-li*, marched at the head of his troops, and defeated the two princes; of whom the last was taken. But touching this event the *Chinese* authors differ: some say, *Jalâlo'ddin* fled first to *Ha-la-he* (S) (or *Herât*), and then to *Han-yen*; and that, being beaten at both cities, he retired into the sea (T). Others, more rightly, affirm *Mye-li* to be king of the *Mohammedans*; and that, being hotly pursued by the *Mungls*, he entered the sea and died. All agree that he abandoned his money and jewels, which fell into their hands^{*}.

A. D.
1224.
Death of
Karazm
Shâh.

THE king of *Kin-cha* (U) having not only spoken disrespectfully of the emperor, but often given shelter to his enemies; the general *Suputay* asked leave, in 1223, to make incursions into his country. To him were joined *Chepe* and *Kofmeli*. They marched along the *Tenkiz Nor* (X), and made roads over mountains which seemed inaccessible. They ruined the cities of *Ku-eûl*, *Te-she*, *Wan-sha*, *He-lin*, and others; passing the *O-li-ki* (or *Volga*), in several battles, defeated the people of *Kâr-she*, *A-sû* (Y), and the *Wo-lo-tse* (or *Russians*), whose chief was named *Mi-chi-se-la*. This lord was taken, and, at length, beheaded; the country of *Kin-cha* ravaged; and *Ho-*

^{*} GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. Kan, p. 35, & seqq.

(Q) A corruption of *Molabedab*; the people called also *Ismaelians* and assassins; and their prince the *Shaykh al Jebâl*, or the lord of the mountain; they possessed part of *Jebal*, or *Kûhestân*; that is, the mountain country, in *Persian Irâk*, and were extirpated some years after by *Hûlakû*, *Jenghiz Khân*'s grandson. Although the western historians mention *Rudin*, and other places, which belonged to these assassins, yet they do not speak of the assassins themselves.

(R) *Ye-li* seems to be *Eri*, *Heri*, or *Herat*; as it is variously written by authors.

(S) Or *A-la-he*; the *Chinese*

geography says, this is *Herat*: but *Herat* seems rather to be meant by *Ye-li*, before-mentioned, which *Tuli* took in his way back to *Talkhân*; nor is it in the way to the *Caspian* sea.

(T) This is to be understood of the *Caspian* sea.

(U) Before called *Ki-cha*, which is *Kipchâk*, and fell to *Juji*'s share.

(X) So the *Mungls* call the *Caspian* sea. *Nor*, with them, signifies *sea*, or *great lake*; the *Chinese* pronounce it *Tyen-ki-tse*.

(Y) This country, which furnished the *Mungls* with good officers, was not far from the *Caspian* sea.

A. D. *han Ho-to-se*, prince of the *Kangli* (Z), routed near the city
 1224. *Po-tse-pa-li*. At his return from this expedition, *Chepe* (A)
 died in great reputation ^h.

Mungl THE *Chinese* history of the *Mungls* remarks, on occasion
slaughters. of their invasion of this country of *Kin-cha*, that, since the
 time they first issued out of their sandy deserts, they did no-
 thing but plunder, kill, burn, and destroy kingdoms. It ac-
 cuses them with all sorts of crimes, the greatest of which was
 that of extirpating royal families root and branch; so that
 both men and spirits (says the history) burst with vexation,
 and called for vengeanceⁱ. Other *Chinese* authors relate,
 that, in the first fourteen years of the *Mungl* empire, there
 were slain 1847 myriads (or eighteen millions four hundred and
 seventy thousand people), by the founder *Jenghiz Khân* ^k.

WHILE *Jenghiz Khân* passed the hot season at *Pa-lu-van*,
 whither his sons and generals repaired to him, they agreed on
 a form of government for the western conquests. And here
 it may be observed, that the emperor, besides the officers of
 war, first appointed *Ta-lu-wha* (or *Tagûrû*), that is, *Man-*
darins who had seals, and determined civil matters.

Conquests IN 1224, the *Khân* marched to a great kingdom in the
in India. east, called *Hin-tû*, *In-tû*, or *Sin-tû* (B). Here coming to a
 narrow pass, called the *Iron-Gate*, fortified by nature and
 art, it is said that several *Mungls* saw a monster resembling a
 stag, with green hair, a horn in his forehead, and the tail of
 a horse, who told them, that *their master must turn back!*
Jenghiz Khân, surprised at this relation, asked his prime mi-
 nister *Yelu-chu-tsay* about it (C); who informed him, that
 the animal was named *Kyo-twan*; that he understood four
 languages, and, possibly, did not love slaughter. Hence he
 took occasion to exhort the *Khân* to return, and destroy no
 more people.

AFTER this, the emperor caused several *Indian* cities to be
 plundered; but finding his great officers weary of a war so

^h GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. Kan, p. 40, & seq.
 p. 51.

^k COUPLET. Tab. Sinic. Chron. p. 74.

ⁱ Ibid.

(Z) He is said, by the west-
 ern writers, to have been slain,
 on another occasion.

(A) Called by *D'Herbelot*,
Jebe Nayan.

(B) That is, *Hind*, or *Sind*;
 both which names the orientals

give to parts of the country
 which we call *Hindûstân*.

(C) This shews the *Chinese*
 historians had but an obscure
 account of the *Khân's* expedi-
 tion to the *Indus* against *Jalât-*
o'ddin, whom they do not men-
 tion on this occasion.

far

far from home (D), resolved to take the road to *Tatary*. Several officers out of the west removed with their families, to settle in *Kitay*. *Jagatay* was left to govern the conquered countries; and follow, in all things, the advice of *Parchi* (one of the intrepids) his generalissimo. *Chuchi* (or *Fuji*) was sent into *Kincha*, where he soon after died, leaving his son *Pa-tú* (or *Ba-tá*), a young prince of great hopes, for his successor¹.

A. D.

1224.

THIS is the *Chinese* account of *Jenghiz Khân's* western expedition: which our reader may see is very difficult to reconcile with that given by the historians of the west of *Asia*, as it tallies neither with respect to the order of the conquests, their dates, nor the names of places; not to mention its scantiness, and other imperfections.

C H A P. VI.

Conquest of the Kingdom of Hya, and Progress in that of Kitay, till the Death of Jenghiz Khân.

SOON after the dyet of *Tonkat* was dissolved, *Jenghtz Affairs of Khân* set out with all his court (A); obliging the cap-^{Lyau-}tive queen to attend him continually, mounted on a tong, chariot, and loaded with irons, as the proud monument of his victories in the west². But while the conqueror is on his journey to the east, let us return thither, and see what was doing during the time he was absent from his own dominions. The emperor had left the government of them all to his brother *Wa-che* (B), who managed affairs with great prudence and dignity. In 1220 the princess *Tyau-li* repaired to the regent's court, to notify the death of her husband *Lyew-ko*, king of *Lyau-tong*. *Wa-che* received her with magnificence, and sent her back, with troops, to govern in that country till the return of the Khân; which trust she discharged with great applause.

¹ GAUBIL, p. 42.² LA CROIX, p. 361.

(D) Several *Chinese* books say, that an army of *Mungls* was sent to *Arabia*, and took *Me-te na* (or *Medina*).

(A) According to the *Chinese* history, he was accompanied by two of his four sons, *Oktay* and *Tuli*; by king *Idikut*; by the

princes *Pi-tú*, *Wa-chen*, *Po-yau-bo*, son of the prince *A-la-u-tse*; with the generals *Saputay*, *Caban*, *Kosmeli*, *Ko pau yu*, and others.

(B) By the western writers called *Utakin*.

A. D.

1224.

and of
Kitay.

ON the other hand, *Mûhûli*, his lieutenant-general in *China*, acquired much reputation in the war which he maintained against both the emperor of the *Kin*, and the king of *Hya*. In 1218, *Chang-yau*, a general of the army, gathered a large body of troops to revenge the death of another general, his friend, murdered by an officer who was his enemy. Coming to *Tse-kin-quan*, a famous fortress in the mountains of *Pe-che-li*, he was attacked by *Mingan*, and fought bravely; but, his horse falling, he was taken: and, being brought before the victor, refused to kneel to him; saying, As he was a general himself, he would rather die first. *Mingan*, admiring his greatness of soul, dismissed him with honour, and treated the other prisoner-officers well; yet, at the same time, ordered *Chang-yau's* father and mother to be put to death. The son, hearing this, after debating the matter with himself, to save their lives, offered to enter in the *Mungl* troops; and few officers were his equals, or did the *Khân* more service.

Cities re-
covered.

THREE months after, *Mûhûli*, accompanied by his son *Pûlû*, or *Polû*, recovered the places in *Shan-si*, which the *Kin* had taken back, and fortified. *Tay-ywen-fu*, the capital, sustained three assaults; but the officers, perceiving that they could neither defend the city, nor make a sally and cut their way through the *Mungls*, killed themselves. The officers of other places followed their example, rather than fall into the hands of *Mûhûli's* troops. The emperor of the *Song* (C), (or the southern *China*) who had already declared war against the *Tatars* of *Nyu-che*, or the *Kin*, refused to make peace with them, and, by edict, exhorted his subjects to drive them out of *China*. Hereupon the *Kin* emperor sent his son and heir against the *Song*; which war was carried on with various success.

Chang-
yau's ex-
ploits.

In the beginning of the year 1219, *Chu-yu Kau-ki*, minister of the *Kin*, built a little city within the inclosure of *Kay-fong-fû*, in *Ho-nan*, and fortified it very strongly. In April, *Chang-yau*, having been nominated to the command of a body of troops by *Mûhûli*, took several cities in the district of *Pau-ting-Fu*; and then went to attack *Kya-gu*, the murderer of his friend, who was intrenched on a mountain: but not being able to force his works, he cut off his water; so that the other was obliged to surrender. *Chang-yau* tore out his heart, and sacrificed it to the manes of his friend. Afterwards, retiring with his people to *Man-ching*, a little unfortified city to the north-west of *Pau-ting Fu*, the *Kin* general,

(C) Named *Ning-tsung*, the thirteenth emperor.

ral, named *U-tsyen*, came and besieged him : but *Chang-yau*, after ordering all the useless men to mount the walls, sallied with the bravest of his soldiers, and cut his way, with great slaughter, through his enemies. Having escaped this danger, he found himself surrounded by a body of reserve. At the first onset two of his teeth happened to be knocked out with an arrow : but becoming rather more furious, although he had lost almost all his men, he broke through them ; and, with the few soldiers who were left him, plundered four little cities which were in his road. After this, receiving some reinforcements, he acquired fame by the conquests which he made in the districts of *Ching-ting Fû*, and *Pau-ting Fû*, in *Pe-che-li*.

THIS same year, the *Mungls*, by their arms, made *Korea* (D) tributary ; and, at the end of it, the *Kin* emperor put to death his prime minister *Kau-ki*, who was accused of being, by his bad advice, the cause of all the evils which the empire suffered. In August 1220, *Mûhûli*, arriving at *Man-ching*, near *Pau-ting Fû*, sent a party to the pass of *Tau-maquan*, a fortress in the mountains. These having beaten a detachment of the *Kin*, the governor of *Ching-ting Fû* submitted, and delivered that important place to *Mûhûli* ; who ordered his army to set at liberty all the prisoners they had made, forbidding slaughter and plunder, under the severest penalties^b.

THE *Kin*, after the death of *Kau-ki*, took proper measures for defending their dominions. He was succeeded by *Su-ting*, who had both experience and skill in military affairs. This minister had found means to set on foot an army of 200,000 men in *Shan-tong* ; with which he frustrated the designs both of the *Chinese* emperor, and king of *Hya*, in *Shen-si*, who were forced to raise the siege of *Kong-chang Fû*. The army, which the *Kin* had in *Shan-tong*, being encamped at *Whang-ling-kan*, the general sent 20,000 foot to attack *Mûhûli*, who lay near *Tsi-nan Fû*, the capital of that province, which he had taken. The *Mungl* general, having had notice hereof, went to meet this detachment, fought, and defeated it. Afterwards he attacked the enemy's army drawn up on the river side, making his cavalry dismount ; and, after a furious battle at close fight, routed them ; an infinite number being drowned in the flight.

^b GAUBIL, p. 42, & seqq.

(D) Called by the *Tatars*, *Kau-li* and *Chau-tsyen*. *Solgo* ; and by the *Chinese*,

A. D.

1224.

Shan-si,
and Shen-
si.

MUHULI, after this victory, made several conquests, and sat down before *Tong-chang Fú*; but perceiving it would hold out too long, raised the siege, and left troops to block it up. In May 1221, the garrison, falling in want of provisions, attempted to withdraw; but the officer who commanded the blockade intirely defeated them, killing seven thousand, and then took possession of the city. *Máhúli*, from *Tong-chang Fú*, marched to *Tay-tong Fú*, in *Shan-si*; then, passing the *Whang-ho*, forty leagues west of that city, entered the country of *Orthús*, and spread terror through the kingdom of *Hya*: so that its king saw the best course he had to take, was to do whatever the *Mungl* general would have him. He committed no hostilities this year against *Hya*, but attacked the *Kin*. He blocked up *Yan-gan*, a city of *Shen-si*; but found it too well fortified and provided to be quickly taken. He slew more than 7000 of the enemy: subdued *Kya-chew*, which he fortified, and some other places. His design was to seize the posts, which might facilitate the taking of *Tong-guan*, in order to go and besiege *Kay-fong Fú*.

Máhúli's
death,

In 1222 *Máhúli* made many conquests in the district of *Ping-yang Fú*; and the year following, attacked *Fong-tsyang Fú* in *Shen-si*. The *Mungl* general, after this, repassed the *Whang-ho*; and, having driven the *Kin* out of several posts in *Shan-si*, as well as recovered *Pú-chew* (a city a league and a half east of that river, which the enemy retook the year before), he set out upon another expedition; but fell sick at *When-hi-hyen*: and perceiving himself near his end, sent for his brother *Tay-sun*, and earnestly recommended to him the taking of *Pyen-king* (E), as a matter of great importance; being much grieved that he had not done it himself. After these words, he expired, aged fifty-four years; forty of which he had served in the army with success.

and chá-
waßer.

MUHULI was considered by all the *Mungls* as the first captain of their empire; and *Jenghiz Khán* had an entire confidence in him. The great dignity to which he was advanced did not lessen his military ardor; and in all the grand enterprises he underwent as much fatigue as the meanest soldier. The *Khán*, before he was proclaimed emperor, retreating to his camp by night, after a defeat; and, not able to find it, for the snow which had fallen, being much fatigued, lay down upon some straw to sleep: hereupon *Porchi* and *Máhúli* took a covering, and held it over him all night in the open air. This generous action gained them much repu-

(E) A city seventeen leagues south south-west of *Ping-yang Fú*.

tation,

tation, and rendered their families in great esteem among the *Mungl* princes. A. D. 1225.

IN September 1224, *Sun*, the emperor of the *Kin*, died, and was succeeded by his son *Shew-su*; who the next month made peace with the *Hya*.

IN the beginning of the year 1225, the emperor *Jenghiz The Khân*, having passed through *Tartary* (F), arrived at the river *Tala*, after near seven years absence in the west; and it is easy to judge what impression his return made in the minds of the neighbouring powers, whether friends or enemies. *Tyau-li*, queen of *Lyau-tong*, came to meet that monarch, with the princes her nephews. That lady, who had much wit, fell on her knees to acknowledge *Jenghiz Khân*, and make him compliments on his great conquests. The emperor, in his turn, condoled her on the death of the king, her spouse; praising the manner in which she governed her kingdom, and promised his protection to her whole family. *Tyau-li*, after returning thanks, prayed him to nominate *Pi-tu* king of *Lyau-tong*. The Khân could not help admiring the justice and prudence of this lady: for *Pi-tu* was son of *Lyew-ko*, by another venter, but his mother was dead; and *Tyau-li* had several children by the same king. As *Shen-ko*, the eldest, had all the qualifications proper for governing, the emperor was for having them reign in conjunction: but the queen, persisting in her request for *Pi-tu*, the monarch nominated him; and had the goodness to relate to her the many brave actions he had done in the west. The emperor kept *Shen-ko* at his court; and ordered a great lord to conduct the queen and the new king into *Lyau-tong*.

LI-TE, king of *Hya*, had given shelter to two great enemies of the *Mungls*, of which the Khân loudly complained: but that prince, far from making satisfaction, took those obnoxious persons into his service. At this new provocation *Jenghiz Khân* marched in person; and, in February 1226, took *Yetsina* (G). After this, the *Mungls* forced all the fortresses, *Invades Hya*. A. D. 1226.

* GAUBIL, p. 45, & seqq.

(F) The historians of the west of *Asia* say, that, after leaving *Tonkât*, he passed through *Turkestan*, and the kingdom of the *Naymans*; then entered into *Karakitay*; and some months after went to *Karakorum*, the seat of his empire; but give us no

particulars of his journey more than the *Chinese* authors.

(G) *Esina*, or *Azina*, *Eychina*; *Echina*, or *Ejina*, was a considerable city of the kingdom of *Hya*; the same *Marco Polo* calls *Esina*. The *Chinese* geography places it to the north of *Kam-*

A. D.

1227.



Progress in
Ho-nan,

treffes, which were very numerous, between that city, *Ning-hya*, *Kya-yu-quan* (H), and *Kan-chew* (I). *Sü-chew* (K), *Kan-chew*, and *Si-lyang Fú* (L), were also taken. The king of *Hya* died in July, of grief, to see his dominions become a prey to the *Mungls*. In November the *Khán* took *Ling-chew*, to the south of *Ning-hya*; and then encamped thirty or forty leagues to the north of the former.

OKTAY, his third son, accompanied by general *Chaban*, went into *Ho-nan*, and laid siege to *Kay-fong Fú*, capital of that province, and then the residence of the *Kin* emperor: but they were obliged to raise it. However, in 1227, marching into *Shen-si*, they took most of the fortresses that were in the districts of the metropolis *Si-ngan Fú*; then advanced towards the places and forts which the *Kin* had in the departments of *Fong-tyang Fú* and *Han-chong Fú*. *Oktay* having gone into *Tartary*, and left the command to *Chaban*, the *Kin*, who concluded his designs were to re-enter *Ho-nan*, offered new proposals of peace to *Jenghiz Khán*; which being rejected, they made a last effort. They resolved to think of nothing now but how to defend themselves the best they could in *Ho-nan*: they fortified the passages of the *Whang-ho*, and the principal cities: they furnished *Tong-quan* with a great number of troops; and set on foot an army of 200,000 chosen men, commanded by the best officers they had.

and in
Hya.

JENGHIZ Khán, having in the spring left an army to besiege *Ning-hya* (then called *Hya-chew*), capital of the kingdom of *Hya*, sent a great body of troops, who seized the countries of *Koko Nor* (M), *Qua-chew*, and *Sha-chew* (N).

Kan-chew, and north-east of *Sü-chew*, 120 leagues from the former; but that distance (says *Gaubil*) must be too great. It is at present destroyed: it stood on a river of the same name, called also *Echina*, which runs by *Sü-chew*, and a branch of it by *Kan-chew*.

(H) A fort at the west end and gate of the great wall of *China*.

(I) *Kan-chew*, according to *Gaubil*, is the *Kampien* of *Marco Polo*: it seems rather to be *Ning-hya*, since thereby is intended the capital of *Tangut* by the oriental historians; from whom

La Croix composed his history of *Jenghiz Khán*.

(K) Or *So-chew*, is the *Sachure*, or *Suk-kir*, of *M. Pals*, according to *Gaubil*.

(L) Then a great city, now a fortress called *Yong-chang-wei*. *Gaubil*.

(M) The true pronunciation is *Hübü Nor*, or the lake *Hübü*. These countries are, at present, possessed by the *Elutb Mungls*, or *Kalmüks*.

(N) Near *Qua-chew*, to the west of it. It is the *Sachien* of *M. Polo*, about 120 miles north-west of *Khya-yu-quan*, and in Lat. 40° 20' Long. 20° 40' west of *Pe-king*.

The

The Khân, at the head of another body, made himself master of *Ho-chew* (O) and *Si-ning* (P): then, after cutting in pieces an army of 30,000 men, he went and besieged *Lin-tau Fû*, which belonged to the *Kin*. This city he took, with several others; and then, proud of so much success, went to pass the summer heats on the mountain *Lu-pan* (Q) in *Shen-si*.

A. D.
1227.

LI-HYEN, king of *Hya*, who succeeded *Li-te*, being reduced to the last extremity in *Ning-hya*, surrendered at discretion, in June, and set out for *Lu-pan* (R), to humble himself before the *Mungl* emperor: but he had not sooner left the city than he was slain. The place was intirely plundered, and a cruel slaughter made of the inhabitants, the plains being covered with dead bodies: they who escaped the sword fled to the mountains, woods, and caves^d.

THIS is the account given in the *Chinese* history of the destruction of *Hya*, called *Tangût* by the more western writers; who, doubtless for want of good information, relate this great event with different circumstances; as may appear from the history of the *Hya*, to which we refer our readers. However, they add some other matters, which claim a place here. After the defeat given to the army of *Shidaifu*, king of *Tangût*, *Jenghiz Khân* marched against the *Turks* of *Jurjeh*, who had assisted him: but as they submitted to pay a yearly tribute, and receive garrisons into their towns; also to furnish the victor with some troops, the emperor proceeded no further. There he received news from *Baghdád* of the *Khalifah's* death: on which advice he ordered new levies to be raised, and, in the interim, secured himself, not only of the countries dependent on *Tangût*, as *Erghimul*, *Sinqui*, and *Egrikaya*; but also of the neighbouring territories, and particularly of the city *Sihion*, distant from *Pe-king* but fourscore days journey: which otherwise might have given him great uneasiness when he was entered into the *Southern China*.

AFTER this good success, he passed the winter in this fruitful country of *Tangût*; removing his camp from time to time, chiefly towards the borders of *Turkestan*. But, while his court was filled with joy, news came from *Kipjak* of the

Death of
Tutshi.

^d GAUBIL, p. 49, & seqq.

• See hereafter, vol. VII.

(O) A city in *Shen-si*, fourteen or fifteen leagues to the north-west of *Lin-tau fû*.

(P) First, *Si-ning-wei*, now, *Si-ning-chew*; a city in *Shen-si*, to the south of *Kan-chew*, and near the country of *Koko Nor*.

(Q) *Lu-pan*, about latitude 35° Long. 10° 45' west of *Pe-king*.

(R) One history says, the Khân was at *Tsing-chu-i*, dependent on *Kong-chang Fû*, when *Ning-hya* was taken.

• death

A. D.
1227.



death of his eldest son *Tusbi* (or *Juji*) ; which, by degrees, threw the *Khân* into a deep melancholy, and hindered him from relishing any diversions. Things even became so indifferent to him, that he appeared scarcely at all affected with the news they brought him of a great victory, gained by his lieutenant in the west, over *Jalâlo'ddîn*. This Soltân, as soon as he was informed that the emperor was at a distance from *Persia*, returned from *India* into *Makrân*, with some troops. From thence he went to *Shirâs*, and afterwards to *Ispâhân*; into which his friends introduced him secretly, and there augmented his little army. From thence he proceeded to *Bâgh-lâd*: but not being well received, he beat the troops which the *Khalîfah* had sent against him, and retook *Tauris*.

AFTER this he marched against the *Georgians* with 30,000 men: and, at his return to *Azerbejdân*, advanced against the *Mungls*; who, having passed the river *Amâ*, in the beginning of the year 623, came to meet him with more numerous forces. Both armies coming to a battle, *Jalâlo'ddîn's* was defeated; and this was the victory of which *Jenghiz Khân* had received advice.

Hej. 623.
A. D.
1226.

Soltân Ja-
lâl'oddîn,

THE *Mungls*, on this advantage against the Soltân, made themselves masters of *Tauris*; while that prince, rallying his forces, harassed his enemies, and had sometimes the better of them. He afterwards laid siege to *Ahlât* (S), the capital of *Armenia*; whither the *Khalîfah* sent an ambassador to him with presents. From thence he passed into *Anatolia*, to oblige the *Seljuk Turks*, who possessed that country, to render him the same respect they had done his father: but he was there defeated by *Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd*, Soltân of *Kontyah* (or *Iconium*), in conjunction with other princes of *Rûm*; who yet did not pursue him after the battle, because they were willing that he should keep the *Mungls* in play. He accordingly gave them no small diversion: but, at last, they came upon him by surprise; and, having intirely routed his forces, plundered his camp. After this misfortune he fled to *Mahân*, in the confines of *Azerbejdân*, where he lived a whole winter, without being known: but being at last discovered, he retired into *Kûrdestân*; where he was killed four years after *Jenghiz Khân's* death, by a native of that country, in the house of one of his friends, where he had taken refuge.

and Shi-
daku.

So soon as the spring of the year 1226 was come, and the emperor's troops were arrived at the place of rendezvous, in order to enter *Manji*, or the *Southern China*; an officer re-

(3) A city near the lake of mentioned before; called also *Vân*, on the north side, often *Eklât* and *Kulât*.

paired

A. D.
1227.

paired thither, sent by *Shidasku*, to acquaint the Khân, that, in case he would forget what was past, his master would in person wait on him. *Shidasku* made this step for fear the *Mungls* should attack his fort of *Arbaka*, to which he had retired after his defeat. The envoy, however, was well received at the court of *Jenghiz Khân*, who, in an audience, said to him: "You may assure your master, that I will no more think of what is past between him and me; and that I will grant him my protection (S)." Yet the last order he gave before he died was, that *Shidasku*, as soon as he came to court, should be put to death; which order was accordingly executed on him, his children, and his attendants, on their arrival there eight days after[†], as will be set forth in its place[‡]. Let us now return to the *Chinese* historians.

JENGHIZ Khân, having thus put an end to the kingdom *The Khân's* of *Hya*, after it had continued near 200 years under its own sickness, princes, intended also to complete the conquest of the empire of the *Kin*. But the beginning of the year 1227, he fell sick, on the mountain before-mentioned; and, finding death approach, on the 18th of *August* (T), sent for the generals of the army, and declared prince *Tolcy*, his fourth son, regent of the empire, till the arrival of his brother *Oktay*, whom he nominated for his heir and successor. Then, recommending union among them, he said, with regard to the war against the *Kin*: that, as the best of their troops guarded *Tong-quan*, and they were also masters of the mountains to the south, it would therefore be difficult to attack and vanquish them, without the assistance of the *Song* (or *Chinese*); who, being their mortal enemies, he advised his officers to demand a passage through their territories, in order to attack the *Kin*: that, entering by the cities *Tong* and *Teng* (U), they should march directly and besiege *Ta-lyang Fû* (X): that this would oblige the *Kin* to call their troops from *Tong-*

[†] LA CROIX, p. 375, & seqq.

[‡] See vol. VII.

(S) *Abulghâzi Khân* says, the Khân received the envoy with much civility, and dismissed him with all sorts of good words; but put himself under no positive promise, with regard to his master.

(T) One history puts his death seven days later, at a place called *Sali-chwen*; the *Chinese* word *Chwen*, denoting

the *Sali* to have been a place full of fountains, lakes, and hills.

(U) *Tong-chew* and *Teng-by-en*, cities of *Ho-nan*, depending on *Nan-yang Fû*, and bordering on the province of *Hu-quang*; by which, and *Shen-fi*, he counselled them to enter *Ho-nan*. Gaubil.

(X) At present *Kay-feng Fû*, capital of *Ho-nan*.

quan;

A. D. 1227. *quan*; and that, as they would be fatigued by the length of the journey, they might be attacked with advantage. Having spoken these words, he died, aged sixty-six (Y), after a reign of twenty-two years; and was buried by *Toley*, in the cave of *Ki-nyen* (Z), a mountain to the north of the great *Kobi*, or sandy desert, in *Tartary*®.

His last words.

THE historians of the west of *Asia* give a somewhat different account of his death and sepulchre. According to them, the physicians ascribed his sickness to the bad air of the marshy countries, where he had for a long time resided; and to the grief which the death of his son *Tusbi* had occasioned.

HIS illness having seized him near a forest in the road to *Ching*, the camp was ordered to remain there; and *Jengbiz Khân*, judging, by the pains he felt, that his life was in danger, notwithstanding all the care taken by his physicians and astrologers, resolved to dispose of his dominions, and name a successor. To this purpose he ordered his sons, and their children, with the other princes of the blood, to come into his presence: then, raising himself upright, with that majestic look which had always gained him both awe and respect, told them, he found himself departing; and added, "I leave you the greatest empire in the world: but, if you will preserve it, be always united; for if discord steals in amongst you, be assured that you will be all ruined." After this, he asked those who stood by, Whether it was not proper that he should make choice of a prince who was capable to govern so many kingdoms after him? Hereupon his sons and grandsons fell on their knees, and said; "You are our father and our emperor, and we are your slaves; it is for us to bow down our heads when you honour us with your commands, and to execute them."

Oktay nominated.

THE princes then rising from the ground, he named prince *Oktay* for his successor, and declared him the *Khân* of *Khâns*, by the title of *Khâan*; which he gave him, and which his

® GAUBIL, p. 51, & seq.

(Y) All the *Chinese* histories agree as to years of this *Khân's* age and reign. *Abul'ghâzi Khân* says, he lived sixty-five years, and reigned twenty-five in quality of *Khân*: *La Croix* agrees with him as to the years of his reign, but assigns seventy-three for those of his age.

(Z) The *Chinese* history of the *Mungls* says, that this cave was the usual burying-place of *Jengbiz Khân's* successors. Several *Mungl* lords, of his posterity, at *Pe-king*, affirmed the place of his burial to be on the mountain called *Han*. Lat. 47° 54' long. 2° 3' west of *Pe-king*.

success-

successors have retained (A). They all bowed the knee a second time, and cried, "What the great *Jenghiz Khân* ordains is just; we will all obey him; and if he pleases to command us even to kiss the rod, with which we have merited to be chastised, we will do it without disputing it." The emperor gave to *Jagatay*, *Mawara'nahr* (or *Great Bukharia*), and several other countries, by a written instrument, to prevent any difference that might arise between him and the rest of his heirs; and the dominions so granted took the name of *Ulus Chagatay*, that is, the country of *Chagatay*. He also commanded *Karasbar Neviân* to accompany this prince into his new dominions, and pursue *Jalâlo'ddin*, in case he ventured to invade them. The last order *Jenghiz Khân* gave was concerning *Shidastu* ^h.

It was no difficult matter to conceal his death; because *Hisburial* when any great person among the *Mungls* is sick, some signal is put a-top of the house, to give notice that none should visit him; and centinels are placed at a good distance from their lodgings, to hinder any from approaching, but those who are sent for (B). After this execution, *Jenghiz Khân's* death was published, which threw all the court into extreme sorrow (C). His body was interred with great magnificence, in a place which he had chosen for the purpose: it was under a very beautiful tree, where, in his return from the chace, a few days before he fell sick, he had rested himself with much satisfaction. A very noble monument was afterwards erected over his grave: and the people, who came to visit the tomb, planted other trees round it, in such delicate order, as rendered it in time one of the finest sepulchres in the world (D).
Histo-

^h LA CROIX, p. 378, & seqq.

(A) Some authors say, there was no change made in the title of Khân; and possibly not: for *Gaubil* says, *Kohân*, or *Kahân*, is the *Mungl* word which answers to that of *Hân* (or *Khân*). See *Soucier, Observ. Math. &c.* p. 188.

(B) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* says, that the sons of *Jenghiz Khân*, pursuant to his order, kept his death concealed; and, having assembled a great army, went and besieged *Tangut*; which falling into their hands, after a very obstinate resistance, they

put to death *Shidastu*, with a good number of his soldiers, and carried the rest into slavery.

(C) His sons spent three months in mourning, according to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*; and *La Croix* says, that the news of his death being spread all over the empire, the court was filled with Khâns, and great lords, both tributary and allied, who came to comfort the afflicted princes; and that this resort of sovereigns lasted at least six months.

(D) According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, this place was called *Bur-khân*.

A. D.

1218.



Historians make no mention of men being slain at the grave of this monarch; nor is this barbarous custom countenanced by any law: yet it is certain that this inhumanity was exercised at the funerals of the emperors who succeeded him. The attendants, who accompanied the funeral pomp, put to death those whom they met in the way, in a persuasion (E) that they were predestinated to die at that time; and even cut the throats of the finest horses.

character

and genius:

JENGHIZ *Khân*, besides all the virtues requisite in great conquerors, had a genius fit for forming grand enterprises, a consummate wisdom and prudence to carry them on; a natural eloquence of speech to persuade; a patient proof against all difficulties, and able to surmount all obstacles. His temperance was admirable, and his understanding large, with a penetrating judgment, which made him always choose the best of whatever was proposed in an instant: yet it must be confessed, says our author, that he was cruel and bloody, and treated his enemies with too much rigour¹. The great genius of this prince appears in some measure from the discipline which he established among his troops; whereof we have already given an account^k. When he was about taking the field, every one of his subjects knew how much he was to furnish towards the equipage of the army. He punished vice and crimes with as much rigour as he rewarded virtue and commendable actions. He was not satisfied to choose strong men for the wars, it was necessary also that they should discover some parts; and out of the bravest of those, he made his officers. He usually appointed the best footmen among the captives to take care of the horses; and employed the dullest to look after the sheep. So many good regulations gave him an easy conquest over the neighbouring countries, where there was not the like disposition. He was likewise accustomed, once a year, to assemble all his officers, as well civil as military, and examine whether they had the capacity requisite for the well discharge of their employments; never failing to bestow large praises where they were due^l.

wisdom
and pru-
dence:

his reli-
gion:

JENGHIZ *Khân*, with regard to his religion, was a deist; as hath been already observed. The first time he entered *China*, he gave orders to exclude the Bonzas from being

¹ LA CROIX, p. 382, & seq. ABU'LGH. p. 145.
^k See p. 346, 353. ABU'LGH. p. 146, & seq.

khân Kaldin; and that all his (E) Rather under a pretence; descendants, who died in those for it does not appear that the provinces, have been interred *Mungls* believed predestination. there.

any

any way concerned in either the army or the court : for he was inclined to destroy them ; because, says the Chinese history of this prince, it was difficult to say exactly in what his religion (F) consisted. A. D. 1227.

JENGHIZ Khân had a great number of wives (G) ; His many of whom bore the title of empresses. All these wives were distinguished by their palaces : and these palaces, called *Ordâ*, or *Ortâ*, were to the number of four. The first and most considerable of the empresses was *Hyu-chen*, daughter of *Te-in*, lord of the *Honkirat* (or *Kongorat*) tribe : whose sons, *Oktay* and *Toley*, were therefore preferred to the rest. The Khân excluded the princes of the family, born of Chinese women, from inheriting the crown^m.

THIS is all that has been transmitted to us from the Chinese history concerning the wives of Jenghiz Khân. The more western historians mention five, who were esteemed above all the rest. The first, *Guzi Suren* (H), daughter of the Khân of the *Naymans*, who was his first wife. The second, *Purta Kujin* (I), daughter of the Khân of *Kongorat*, the same with *Hyu-chen*, before-mentioned. The third, *Obûljin*, or *Ovîfulujin*, daughter of *Vang Khân*, king of the *Kara-its*. The fourth, *Kubkû Khatun* (K), daughter of the emperor of *Kitay* : and the fifth, *Kulan Khatun* (L), daughter of *Dairafon*, a *Mungl Khân*, of the *Merkit* tribe : which lady was an extraordinary beautyⁿ.

JENGHIZ Khân had a great number of children ; but the Chinese history mentions only six sons and three daughters. *Chuchi* (*Juji*, or *Tusbi*), the eldest son, was a great

^m GAUBIL, p. 53.

ⁿ MIRK. MARAKESH. ap. La Croix,

p. 139

(F) From hence the author of that history seems to have been of the sect of *Fo* : for the religion of Jenghiz Khân seems not to have differed from that of *Konfusus*, with respect to the Deity.

(G) *Fadhlallab* says, he had near 500, besides concubines. *La Croix*.

(H) In *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* history she is called *Karizu*, or *Kariju*, and ranked as his third wife. He makes her also the widow of *Tayyan*, Khân of the *Naymans*.

(I) Or *Borta Kujin*, as in *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, who ranks her as the first wife.

(K) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* names her *Kizu*, or *Kiju*, and places her the second.

(L) *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, besides the three before-mentioned, names *Milu* and *Singan* for the fourth and fifth : which two last were, he says, descended from a *Tatar* family, and two sisters ; the second of whom he married after the death of the first.

A. D. 1227. captain; active, full of fire, and delighting in war. *Chagatay* (or *Jagatay*, and *Zagatay*), was universally beloved for his wisdom and affability. *Ogotay* (*Ugoday*, or *Oktay*), was endowed with much prudence and greatness of soul: was courageous, and loved justice. *Toley* (or *Tuli*) was beloved by his father, and generally esteemed by the *Mungls*. Of *Uluche* and *Kolye-kyen*, the two last (M), nothing remarkable occurs. The three princesses were married to *Idikhat*, *Khân* of the *Ighars*, *Poyaho*, and *Po-tu*, as hath been already observed: and the heirs of these three sons-in-law of the *Khân* usually married the daughters of the *Mungl* emperors^o.

His favourite sons:

THE western Asiatic historians ascribe the first four sons of *Jenghiz Khân* to *Purta Kujin* (or *Hyu-chen*); whereas the Chinese history makes her the mother of only two of them. These four alone seem to have been vested with power and command; the rest, who are scarcely mentioned, though all princes of the blood alike, had only some petty governments or lordships conferred on them. *Tusbi*, or *Fuji*, *Khân* was master huntsman of the empire (N), the most considerable post in it; as hunting was the prime exercise among the *Mungls*. He chose *Zagatay*, or *Jagatay*, to be chief judge, and gave him the title of director of the *Yassa*, or laws; which were put into writing. *Oktay*, from his wisdom and prudence, was deemed worthy of the post of chief counsellor (O); nor did his father undertake any thing of moment without consulting him. All military affairs were committed to *Tuli's* (or *Taukay's*) care; the generals depended on, and received the Grand *Khân's* orders, from him. P

Laws of Jenghiz Khân;

BEFORE we conclude the reign of this conqueror, it is incumbent on us to perform our promise^q, to insert the *Yassa*, or laws, above-mentioned; which were made by him, and established in a dyet held for that purpose, at *Karakorum*, in the year 1205: they are in substance as follow.

" 1. To believe, that there is but one God, the Creator of heaven and earth; who alone gives life and death,

^o GAUBIL, p. 52.
ABU'LGM. p. 95.

^q MIRK. ap. La Croix, p. 140.

^r See p. 154.

(M) According to *Abū'lghāzi Khân*, the *Mungl* emperor, besides his four sons by *Purta Kujin*, had five others by the rest of his wives; but he mentions not their names.

(N) *Abū'lghāzi Khân* says,

he governed the œconomy of his father's court.

(O) According to the same author, *Oktay* had the management of the treasury, and received the accounts of the governors of province.

" riches

"riches and poverty, who grants and denies whatsoever he pleases; and who has over all things an absolute power."

A. D.

1227.

TEMUJIN seems to have published this law (P) merely to shew his belief of the Deity: for, far from ordaining any punishment or persecution against those who were of other religions, he forbade molesting any person on account of his faith; leaving every body at liberty to profess that which he liked best, on condition that he believed there was but one God: for even some of his own children and princes of his blood were *Christians, Jew, and Mohammedans*.

"2. THAT the heads of sects, the religious, the criers of the temples, and those who wash the dead, should, as well as physicians, be exempted from all public offices.

"3. THAT none whatsoever should, under pain of death, as to presume to cause himself to be proclaimed Grand Khan, *polity*, without having first been duly elected by the Khâns, commanders, and other *Mogul* lords, lawfully assembled in a general dyet.

"4. THAT no heads of tribes should use any titles of honour, which they affected to have, in imitation of the *Mohammedans*; or that any should give to his successor any title but that of Khaan, with two *a's*. He desired also, that, for the future, all his subjects should stile him simply Khân." This was ever after observed by all who spoke to him: but in writing to him, they always added some other of his titles, as most powerful, invincible, &c.

"5. THAT peace should never be made with any king, prince, or people, till they were intirely subdued.

"6. THAT the troops should always be divided into tens, and hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands; as very commodious for the speedy raising of forces, and making detachments, *warfare*.

"7. THAT the soldiers, when going to take the field, should receive their arms from the officers, and return them at the end of the campaign: that they should keep their arms clean, and in good condition, and shew them to their commanders when preparing to give battle.

(P) Although this law had been long observed by the *Tatars* in its purity, and is at this day by many of them; yet superstition by degrees introduced idolatry, by a distinction between a celestial and a terrestrial God; which was pretended not to be contrary to their law-

giver's intention. The terrestrial god was placed in their houses, in form of an image, and covered with felt, and named *Natigay*; accompanied with others, which they said were the images of his wife and children. *La Croix*.

A. D.

1227.

game and
meats,industry
and
bonesty,

" 8. THAT none, on pain of death, presumed to pillage the enemy, before the general grants leave : but that the meanest foldier should have the same advantage as the officer ; and remain master of all the booty he was found possessed of, on condition he paid to the Khân's receiver the duties or share specified by the laws.

" 9. THAT from the month which, with us, is *March* to *October*, no person should take stags, deer, roebucks, hares, wild asses, nor certain birds ; to the end that the court and soldiers might find sufficient game during the winter, in the huntings they were obliged to make." As *Temûjin* was sensible, continual exercise was necessary to keep soldiers in good order, he appointed hunting, as most proper for that purpose.

" 10. THAT in killing beasts none should cut the throat ; but, tying the legs, rip up the belly, and pluck out the heart.

" 11. THAT the blood and entrails of beasts might be eaten. Before this the *Moguls* were forbidden to eat them : but *Temûjin* was returning one time from an expedition, where provisions fell short, the soldiers met with a great quantity of entrails, left by people, who had newly killed beasts taken in hunting ; and, being pressed by hunger, eat them, the Khân himself partaking ; who, considering how useful the food might be to his troops on the like occasions, took off the prohibition, by a law.

12. THE privileges and immunities granted to *Tartars* were regulated in the manner already related.

" 13. To banish idleness out of his dominions, he obliged all his subjects to serve the public in some kind or other. They who went not to the wars, were to work so many days, at certain seasons, on the public structures ; or on some other work for the state : and one day in the week was to be employed particularly in the service of the Khân.

" 14. THE law against thieving was, that he who stole an ox, or any thing of equal price, should be punished with death, and their bodies cut afunder, in the middle with a hanger : that those who were guilty of lesser thefts should receive seven, seventeen, twenty-seven, thirty-seven and so on to seven hundred blows, with a cudgel, in proportion to the value of the thing stolen." But this punishment might be bought off, by paying nine times the value. The exactness with which this law was observed secured the Grand Khân's subjects from being robbed.

— LA CROIX, p. 80, & seqq.

" 15. THAT

" 15. THEY were forbidden to use for servants any of their own nation : to the end they might addict themselves to war, and be obliged to take care of the captives they should make, whom they were to preserve for their own service. A. D. 1227.

" 16. IT was forbidden, on pain of death, to all *Moguls* and *Tatars*, to give meat or drink, or to lodge or clothe, another person's slave, without permission from his master. All persons who should meet with a fugitive slave, were likewise obliged, under the same penalty, to seize and bring him back to his master."

" 17. By the law concerning marriages it was ordained, *marriage*, That the man should buy his wife ; and not marry with any maid to whom he was a-kin, in the first or second degree : but in all other degrees it was permitted ; so that a man might marry two own sisters. Polygamy was permitted, and the free use of their women slaves." This last occasioned that great liberty which every man took, to have as many wives and slaves as he could maintain.

" 18. Adulterers were condemned to death ; and a man *adultery*, was permitted, to kill them when surprised in the act." According to *Marco Polo*, the inhabitants of *Kaidu* murdered against this law ; because it was a custom with them to offer their wives and daughters to their friends when they came to see them, in token of respect and affection. They presented several petitions to *Temüjin* ; intreating, that they might not be deprived of this privilege. The prince, yielding to their importunities, left them to their shame, and granted what they desired : but, at the same time, declared, that he looked on those people as infamous.

" 19. To cultivate amity among his subjects, he extended *posthumous* the ties of relationship very far. He permitted two *contracts*, families to unite, although they had no children living ; by writing a contract between the son of one and daughter of the other, though both dead, and performing the ceremony in their names (Q). After this they were reputed married, and the families became truly allied, as if they had been really married.

" 20. IT was forbidden, under severe penalty, for any persons to wash themselves, or even their clothes, in run-

(Q) This custom is still in use among the *Tatars* ; but mixed with superstitious circumstances. After drawing the figures of the pretended married couple, and some animals, on the contract,

they throw it into the fire ; being persuaded, that all this is carried by the smoke to their children, who thereupon marry in the other world. *La Croix*.

A D. "ning waters, during the time it thundered." Thunder, 2
 1227. ancient *Mogulistan*, and the neighbouring countries, was d
 {
 fear of dreading by the people, because it often did them mischief
 thunder, that, as soon as the noise of it was heard, they threw the-
 selves desperately into rivers and lakes, and were oft
 drowned. *Temujin*, finding that he lost many of his be-
 soldiers by this extraordinary fear, made this law, by whi
 they were made to believe, that, by disturbing the water
 they caused exhalations which occasioned the thunder; a
 that it would not do them half so much harm, if they wi-
 drew from any water. All observe this law still, except
 the *Mohammedan Tatars*, who look upon it as a superstitio
 custom, which contradicts one of the principal injunctions
 of their religion, which is to wash in any water; and witho
 which washing they cannot be saved.

"21. SPIES, false witnesses, sodomites, and forcerers (1.
 "were condemned to be put to death.

checks on "22. HE published most severe ordinances against go-
 governors. vernors who failed of doing their duty: but princip-
 ly those who commanded in far distant parts. If the
 "conduct was blameable, they were punished with death:
 "and if their fault was but slight, they were obliged to a
 "pair in person, to justify themselves, before the Grand
 "Khân." Which must have been extraordinary checks.

The Yassa MANY other laws were published, which are not specifi-
 re- vanced. cally in the authors before us (S): but these, which were doub-
 tless the principal, remained in full vigour during the reign of
Temujin, and his successors. *Timur Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, him-
 self, who was born 111 years after this prince, caused them
 to be observed through all his empire; and the *Krtm Tatar*,
 as well as others, to this day, religiously keep them. *Mu-
 rakefi* affirms, that they were all the contrivance of the
 Grand Khân himself: but others say, they were only copied
 from those which the orientals heretofore ascribed to *Turi*,
 the son of *Japhet*, the great ancestor of all the inhabitants
 of *Tatary*."

* LA CROIX, p. 84, & seqq.

(R) Yet there were forcerers
 in the time of *Jenghiz Khân*,
 and his immediate successors
 (if we may believe the missionaries
 and other writers), as well as
 now.

(S) *La Croix* says, in the au-
 thors which he had translated:
 but he can hardly mean oriental

writers only; since, in this ac-
 count of the *Yassa*, he has made
 use also of *Europeans*, w^ho
 well distinguishing one sort from
 the other. There is a collec-
 tion of laws in the *Levant*, in-
 titled, *Yassa Jenghiz Khân*:
 but *La Croix* had not seen it.

B O O K IV.

*The History of Jenghîz Khân's Successors
in Mogulestân, or the Country of the
Moguls.*

C H A P. I.

*The Reign of Oktay Khân, second Emperor of
the Mungls.*

AS soon as *Jenghîz Khân* was dead, *Toley*, or *Tuli*, 2d *Khân*, who was regent in *Oktay*'s absence, sent officers to *Oktay* to notify the same to the princes of his house, and generals of the army. Mean while the war against the *Kin* was carried on with more vigour than ever: *Ho-chew* (A), in *Shen-si*, had held out a long time, animated by the bravery of *Chin-in*, the governor; who at length, finding the city ready to be forced by the enemy, advised his wife to provide for her safety: that lady answered resolutely, that, as she had shared with him the honours and pleasures of life, she would die with him, and immediately took poison. Her two sons, and daughter-in-law, followed her example. *Chin-in*, after causing them to be interred, slew himself, and the city was taken. The *Kin*, commanded by a prince of the blood, defeated the *Mungls*, and killed 8000 of them in the beginning of the year 1228.

THE regent, after he had buried his father, went to meet *He is ac-*
Oktay. However, the grandees and generals not knowing *knownleged*, but *Toley* intended to make himself emperor, dared not give that title to his brother. After waiting at the river *Kerlon* till the arrival of *Jagatay* (B), the princes of the imperial house unanimously agreed to adhere to *Jenghîz Khân*'s will; and, by the advice of *Yelu Chu-tsai*, a general assembly of the

(A) This city was called *Si* twenty leagues south of *Lin-tan* *Ho-chew*, or *Ho-chew* of the *Fû*. *Gaubil*.

(B) One history says: that *Oktay* would have given up the empire to *Jagatay*, but that he would not accept of it. *Gaub*.

A. D.
1229.

great lords and princes was appointed to meet at *Karakorum* (C), on the 22d of *August* 1229. That day being come, *Jagatay* and *Toley*, attended by the princes of their house, the chiefs of tribes, and generals of the army, went, and kneeling before *Oktay's* tent, with a loud voice wished a long and happy reign to prince *Oktay*; a ceremony never used before on the same occasion by the *Mungls*. The new emperor made *Telu Chû-tsay* his prime minister, and imparted everything to his brother *Toley*; those two princes having had an intimate affection for each other ^a.

with much
unwilling-
ness.

THE western historians of *Asia*, on the subject of *Oktay's* succession, say: that, in 627, two years after *Jenghiz Khan's* death, his sons *Jagatay Khan* and *Taulay Khan*, with the children of his son *Fuji*, being assembled in presence of all the great officers of the *Mogul* empire, *Belgatay Noyân*, and *Ijiktey Noyân*, two of the principal court lords, caused the last dispositions of the late emperor to be publicly read; and, pursuant to the tenor of them, required *Ugaday* (or *Oktay*) *Khân* to accept of the sovereignty: but he declined it; saying, that, as he had a paternal uncle and two brothers living, he would rather that one of them would take that trust upon him (D). But after the assembly had spun out forty days, without being able to unfix the resolution of *Ugaday Khan*; his brothers, determined to comply with their father's will at any rate, laid hold of him by the arms, and placed him in some measure, whether he would or not, in the imperial throne. The new *Khân*, having been obliged, in this manner, to submit to the officious zeal of his brothers, and all the grandees of state, gave a great feast to the whole assembly, and distributed magnificent presents to those who were at it. After this, he applied himself effectually to remedy all the irregularities which had crept into the government during the two years (E) interregnum ^b.

^a GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. Kan. p. 53, & seqq.
hist. Turks, &c. p. 148, & seq.

^b ABU'LOH.

(C) By the *Chinese* called *Ho-lin*. *Gaubil* informs us in this place, that there was a dissertation at the end of his history of the *Mungl* emperors, to prove that *Ho-lin* is the same with *Karakorum*, the capital of *Jenghiz Khan's* empire: but no such thing has been published.

(D) According to *La Croix*, p. 383. *Oktay* protested he would

not act as sovereign, till the dyet ordained by the law had been held; and they had examined whether he was capable of reigning.

(E) *La Croix* says, the public affairs did not suffer during this interregnum, *Jagatay*, the guardian and expounder of the laws, made them to be observed with so great exactness.

WHEN

WHEN *Shew-fu*, the emperor of *Kin* (who reigned in *Kitay*), understood that *Oktay* was seated on the throne of the *Mungls*, he sent envoys into *Tartary*, who, under pretence of complimenting him on his advancement, proposed conditions of peace: while *Oktay*, resolving to continue the war, would not hearken to them; and ordered his great general *Chela-when* (F) to invest *King-yang-fu*, in *Shen-si*. But this place being well fortified, and furnished with provisions, that general did not think fit, in the depth of winter, to lose his time before it.

War goes on.

THE *Chinese* history assures us, that, when *Oktay* ascended the throne, the *Mungls* had neither fixed laws nor customs for government (G). The officers appointed to rule the several countries, put people to death at pleasure, and often massacred whole families. Hereupon *Yelu Chû-tsay* drew up laws, which the emperor caused to be rigorously observed.

This prince resolved to inform himself concerning the countries which were subject to him in *Tartary*, *China*, and the west: and this year they began to settle the quantity of silk, money, and grain, which the *Chinese* families, or the inhabitants of *Kitay* under his obedience, were to pay annually. They likewise ascertained the number of horses, oxen, and sheep, which the *Mungls* were to be taxed at: and the males above fifteen years of age were numbered in the western parts of the empire, in order to determine what they ought to pay: for which purpose *Oktay* sent a *Chinese*, well versed in business, to examine into the state of those conquered countries. This prince, from the first, gained the love of his *Chinese* subjects, by giving to *She-tyen-che*, and *Lyew-he-ma*, the command of the *Chinese* troops in *Pe-che-li* and *Shan-tong*. These two lords, with *Yen-she*, were declared generals of the army. They had distinguished themselves under *Mûhâli*; and their troops yielded in nothing to those of the *Mungls*.

AMONG the officers of the tribe of *Que-lye* (or *Kara-it*), *Prime mi-* whose lord was brother of *Toley* (or *Vang Khân*), prince of *nisters*.

(F) He was of the *Cbalar*, or *Jalayr* tribe, and one of the four intrepids, mentioned before, p. 338.

(G) If *Jenghiz Khân* had enacted laws with that solemnity which is mentioned by the western *Asiatic* writers, how is it possible the *Chinese* historians could be ignorant of it, espe-

cially as the *Mungls* themselves must have had a hand in composing them? Or do the writers suppose they had no laws, because they had not the *Chinese*? Or lastly, do they mean that the *Mungls* had no particular set of political laws, distinct from the *Yassa* of *Jenghiz Khân*.

those

A D.
1229.

those people (H), was *Chin-hay*, a lord recommendable for his valour, integrity, and wisdom. He drank with *Jenghiz Khân* the water of the river *Pan-chumi*; was in all his battles with the confederate *Tatar* princes; and followed him in his expeditions, both into *Kitay* and the west of *Asia*, where he acquired great reputation. *Oktay* chose this illustrious person not only to be one of his generals, but also as minister of state, in conjunction with *Telu Chû-tsay*.

Division
of the em-
pire.

AT this time the country of *Kin-cha* (or *Kipjâk*), with others to the north, north-east, and north-west, of the *Caspian* sea, were governed by *Patû* (or *Batû*), eldest son of *Chuchi* (or *Juji*); and *Jagatay*, held a great part of the western conquests: while other princes of the imperial family ruled over the great regions of *Tartary*, and elsewhere. But all these princes depended on *Oktay*; and the several generals, governors, commissioners, and others, who served under them in their respective departments, were recalled, turned out, or changed, at the pleasure of the emperor. This distribution is pretty conformable to what the western historians relate: they say, that *Jenghiz Khân*, in his life-time, divided his dominions among his children; and that, after his death, they remained in the same situation: that *Kapshâk* (or *Kipjâk*), remained to *Batû*: that *Jagatay* had for his share *Great Bukhâria*, with *Karazm* and *Turkestan*: that *Tuli* had *Khorassân*, *Persia*, and *India*: and that all the rest fell to *Oktay*; namely, *Mogulistan*, *Katay* (or *Kitay*), and the other countries eastward to the *Tartarian* sea^d.

IN the same year, the kings of *Mulay* (I) and *Industân* came in person to *Karakorum*, to make their court to *Oktay*. The lord also of the country and city of *Isfahân* (K) came to submit himself.

* GAUBIL, ubi suprà p. 56, & seq. p. 385.

^d LA CROIX, hist Gengh.

(H) He succeeded his brother as prince of the *Kara-its*, having joined *Jenghiz Khân's* party, when he found his brother *Toluy* had undertaken to destroy that conqueror's family, and gave his daughter in marriage to his fourth son *Toluy*, or *Tuli*. His name was *Akiapû*, as is mentioned hereafter

(I) *Mu loy* is the kingdom

where *Toluy* made great ravages while his father besieged *Talkhân*. *Gaubil*.—It seems to mean the country of the *Molabdad* (called also *Ismaelians* and assassins), in *Mazânderân* and *Kubestân*.

(K) This, probably, is *Esfarayn*, or *Isfarayn*, in *Khorassân*; for *Isfahân* is the Chinese word for *Isfâkân*. *Gaub.*

A. D.
1230.

JENGHIZ Khān, after his return from the west (L), finding himself without a provision either of rice or silks, several of the great lords would persuade him, that the conquered lands in *Kitay* could be of no use, unless the inhabitants were all destroyed; but that, in case those useless people were once out of the way, their country might be turned into pastures, which would prove of vast advantage. This furnished *Yelu Chū-tsay* with a proper occasion to let the *Mungls* see the knowledge he was master of. He explained to *Jenghiz Khān* the method which ought to be taken to render the conquest of *China* useful. Although, said this minister, we have only a small part of that empire, yet if things be well ordered, the cultivated lands, the salt, the iron, the profit of the rivers, and other commodities, might produce to the emperor fifty *van* of *lyang* (M), or *Taëls*, forty *van* of *tan* in rice, and 800,000 pieces of silk; all which might be done without incommoding the people.

State of the
customs.

JENGHIZ Khān was surprised at this discourse of *Yelu Regula-Chū-tsay*; and thenceforth understood that a conqueror ought to think of something else than to render himself famous by the massacre of enemies: that indeed he should have warriors to fight; but that there was need of magistrates to govern, peasants to till the ground, merchants to carry on trade, officers to take care of the revenue of the empire, and likewise men of learning. Prince *Oktay*, who had relished the discourse of that sage minister still better than his father, as soon as he became emperor, committed to his care the management of the taxes. *Yelu* divided *Pe-che-li*, *Shan-tong*, *Shan-si*, and *Lyau-tong*, into ten departments, each of which had a custom-house in the principal city: the other cities were made subordinate to that, and magistrates appointed to govern the people.

tions pur-
posed;

OKTAY took pleasure in acquainting himself with the rules of good government: he was desirous also to know the ancient history of *China*; and even that of *Kong-fu-tse*, or *Konfufius*, and *Chew-kong*. The minister gratified his prince in all he sought for; and his regulations, with regard to the customs, were published. They began to put them in execution the beginning of the next year. 400 pounds of salt yielded 40 *lyang*: they took a tenth out of wine, silk, rice, and corn, for the emperor; and one thirtieth part for

and esta-
blished.A. D.
1230.

(L) By western countries the *Chinese*s understand all those to the west of *Hami* (or *Khamil*), and *Turfān*. (M) *Fan* is 10,000, and a *Lyang* about six shillings and eight pence *Englisk*.

lessor

A. D. 1231. lesser wares. After these orders were issued, *Oktay* went with his brother *Toley* to make a great hunting on the river *Orkhon*; and in summer they removed to the river *Tamir* ^e.

Capital of Shen-si, THE Khân had already commanded *Kin-tau* (now *Si-gan Fâ*), the capital of *Shen-si*, to be attacked; and that great city was at length taken. In *July*, he, with his brother *Toley*, marched southward, with a formidable army, resolving to destroy the dynasty of the *Kin*. The *Mungs* entered *Shen-si*, and destroyed no fewer than sixty important posts: but were baffled before *Tong-quan*. Hereupon the army divided into two bodies: *Oktay*, with one of them, repassed the *Whang-bo*, to go into *Shan-si* (N); while *Toley*, accompanied by prince *Mongko* (or *Mangu*), his eldest son, prince *Kew-when-pâ-wha*, third son of *Pye-li Kitay* (O), *Jenghiz Khân's* fourth brother, and other princes, went to invest *Fong-tyang Fâ*, in *Shen-si*. *Lyew-he-ma*, already mentioned, and *Ko-te-hny*, son of the general *Ko-pau-yu*, were in this detachment: but *Ganchar* was the principal commander under *Toley*, and the general who distinguished himself most. As *Toley* attacked the place vigorously, the army which was at *Tong-quan* undertook to succour it: but that prince rendered all their attempts fruitless; and having defeated the *Kin* in a battle which continued the whole day (P), the city was taken in *April* 1231.

besieged
and taken.

A. D.
1231.

* GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 58, & seq.

(N) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* says, p. 150; that *Oktay*, in his expedition into *Kitay*, in the first year of his reign, took a great city, situate on the river *Kara Mûran* (doubtless the *Whang-bo*), by assault, after forty days siege; and all the inhabitants were killed, or made slaves of, excepting 10,000, who escaped in boats.—But there is no depending on what the western writers of *Asia* say, with regard to this prince or his successors. *Gaubil*, p. 63, note (1), says, the *Whang-bo* is the *Karamoran* of *Polo*.

(O) This is not a proper name, but a title, signifying the regulo, or prince, of *Kitay*.

Pye-li, or *Pey-li*, is a regulo of the third order or degree.

(P) To this place may be referred what we meet with in *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, who tells us, that *Oktay*, after his expedition, advanced farther into *Kitay*, and sent his brother *Taulay* before, with 10,000 men: but having been surrounded by an army of the enemy, consisting of 100,000 forces, must infallibly have perished, if he had not ordered one of his magicians to make the *Dsada* (or *Juda*); that is, to produce a boisterous winter-season in the midst of summer. By this means *Alûza Khân's* army being enfeebled, they were all cut to pieces, excepting 5000, who escaped.

ONE of the *Kin* officers, who had surrendered to the *Mungls*, waited on *Toley*, and convinced him that he lost time, as well as men, in attacking the enemy by *Tong-quan* and the *Whang-ho*. He assured him, that the proper way was to pass through the country of *Han-chong Fû*, in *Shen-si*; and then he might, in less than a month, enter *Ho-nan*, by the cities of *Tang* and *Teng*. *Toley*, liking this advice, sent to consult *Oktay Khân*, who approved of it; the rather, for its having been conformable to the sentiments of *Jenghiz Khân*[†]. Hereupon he assembled his generals, and ordered them to be in readiness in *January* next, declaring, that he intended to reduce *Pyen-king* (Q), the capital of the *Kin* empire. At the same time he gave *Toley* orders to seize *Pau-ki*, a city some leagues to the south-west of *Fong-tsyang Fû*; then to march towards *Han-chong*, and demand passage from the generals of the *Song*. A. D. 1231, New measures taken.

AT this time the enemies of *Yelu Chû-tsay* endeavour-^{The mini-}ed to ruin his credit with *Oktay*. The principal among them ^{ster ac-}were *Wa-chin*, chief of the *Hongkirat* tribe, the emperor's maternal uncle; and *She-mo-hyen*, a great officer of state. These two represented to *Oktay*, that it was dangerous to trust all the authority with a stranger, such as was *Yelû*; and charged him with a thousand crimes. This minister had persuaded the emperor to name Mandarins for the police, the revenues; and the army; who should be independent of each other, and accountable to the emperor, or such ministers as he should appoint for that purpose. He likewise advised that money, silks, and other rewards, should be given to the great lords, instead of cities and provinces; which the *Khân* was inclined to bestow on them, having promised to distribute the conquered countries among them. *Yelu* represented how dangerous such a measure would be to the royal authority, and ruinous to the people.

THE *Khân*, persuaded that his scheme was right, rejected ^{thru' envy} the accusations of *Wa-chin* and *She-mo-hyen*, which he gave them to understand proceeded from jealousy and envy. *Wa-chin* was confounded at the emperor's answer: yet his great birth, joined to much power and reputation, would have daunted a minister less resolute than *Yelu*; who still stood firm, and continued to press *Oktay* to appoint Mandarins for the above-mentioned purposes. He proposed *Ching-bay* and *Nyen-ho* to be placed at the head of affairs: but these

[†] See before p. 461.

(Q) Now *Kay fong Fû*, the capital of *Ho-nan*.

lords,

A. D.
1231

lords, who had a great deal of merit, and were good military officers, fearing *Wa-chin*, intreated *Yelu* not to persist in proposing measures to the emperor which so greatly displeased the grandees. But that minister desired them to let him go on his own way; promising that they should not suffer for any faults of his.

His generosity.

SOME time after, a very strong accusation having been lodged against *She-mo-hyen*, *Oktay* referred him to be judged by *Yelu Chû-îsay*, who told his majesty, that *She-mo-hyen* had no other fault but that of being too proud; and that, when the war was finished, they might examine what punishment he deserved. The emperor admired this conduct of his minister; and told his courtiers, that *Yelu* was the example which they ought to imitate. He afterwards caused the registers to be brought, whereby it appeared, that the gold, the silver, the silks, and other things received for his duties, were conformable to what *Yelu* had proposed the year before. The *Mungl* lords were surprised at this; and they who had so violently persecuted him changed in his favour. Hereupon the Khân committed to his management all affairs in general, and likewise delivered to him the great seal.

Cities taken,

MEAN time *Toley*, pursuant to the emperor's orders, assembled all his troops at *Pau-ki*; and sent *Sû-pû-han* to the governor of *Myen-chew*, in *Shen-si*, to demand passage: but this governor put that officer to death; and, by so doing, caused the ruin of an infinite number of people, who were subjects of the *Song* emperor his master. *Toley*, enraged at this action, declared that he would make the author repent it. He decamped in *August*; and, having forced the passages, put to the sword the inhabitants of *Wha-yang*, and *Fong-chew*, two cities in the district of *Hang-chong Fû*. Then, after he had cut steep rocks to fill deep abysses, and made roads through places almost inaccessible, he came and besieged that city. The people, on his approach, fled to the mountains; and more than 100,000 perished, in a place called *Shau*.

with great slaughter.

TOLEY, after the taking of *Han-chong Fû*, divided his troops, consisting of 30,000 horse; of which one part went westward, to *Myen-chew*. From thence, after opening the passages of the mountains, that detachment arrived at the river *Kya-hng* (R); which they crossed on rafts, made of the wood of demolished houses: and then marching along its banks, seized many important posts. They proceeded as far

2 GAUBIL, p. 59, & seqq

(R) It falls into the great *Kyang*.

as the city of *Sí-fá-i*; and having destroyed more than 140 cities, towns, or fortresses, returned to the army. The second detachment encamped between *Han-chong Fú* and *Yong-chew*, where they seized an important post in the mountains; which are called *Tau-tong*, six or seven leagues to the north-east of *Han-chong Fú*. On the other side, the emperor *Oktay* advanced in October towards *Pá-chew*, a city of *Shan-si*, in the district of *Ping-yang Fú*; which, after a vigorous defence, being taken, he prepared to pass the *Whang-ho*.

A. D.

1232.

TOLEY, after surmounting infinite difficulties, arrived in *Ho-nan* December on the borders of *Ho-nan*; and made a shew as if he designed to attack the capital of the *Kin*. His entrance, by a passage so little suspected, filled every-body with such astonishment, that all fled before him, without the least resistance. On this advice, the emperor of the *Kin* assembled a great council, wherein several lords proposed to furnish the court, and other principal cities, with good soldiers; to supply the capital with grain and forage; to quit the field, and oblige the people to shut themselves up in the cities. These grandees pretended, that *Toley* had ruined his army by his extraordinary march; so that they must either die with hunger, or be forced to retreat. At this discourse the emperor cast a great sigh, and protested that he would rather perish than thus to see his people abandoned, after what they had suffered during twenty years for his service. Hereupon he ordered his generals *Hota*, *Ilapha*, and others, to march at the head of the army against the enemy; and they accordingly advanced in the same month to *Teng-chew*, in the district of *Nan-yang Fú*^b.

TOLEY, having crossed the *Han* on the 31st of January 1232, resolved to attack the *Kin* army, at the same time when they were debating whether they should pass that river to fight the *Mungls*. The *Kin* generals ascended the mountain *Tu*, near *Teng-chew* (S), to observe the land; and placed the cavalry to the north of that mountain, and the infantry to the south. The *Mungls*, without losing any time, marched forward in a line, and then stopped a moment. *Hota*, judging it difficult to attack them, was for deferring the battle: but the *Mungls*, advancing, sent a body of horse to fall on the *Kin*, who stood firm. After this the *Kin*, in their turn, charged their enemies three times; and seeing them

A. D.

1232.

^b GAUBIL, p. 62, & seq.

(S) *Teng-chew* is nine leagues to the south-west of *Nan-yang Fú*, in *Ho-nan*.

A. D.
1232.

open a little, attacked both their right and left wing at once. This obliged them to give way; but they retired in good order. Hereupon *Hota* was for pursuing them, saying, *Toley* had with him no more than 30,000 men; and that his soldiers seemed not to have eaten any-thing for three days: but *Ilaphua* was of opinion that there was no occasion for being so hasty; since, as he said, the passage of the *Han* was cut off, and the *Whang-ho* not frozen.

Surprises
the Kin.

THE *Mungls* having gotten out of sight, the scouts brought the *Kin* generals word, that they had hidden themselves behind a wood; where they made not the least noise, but ate their victuals in the day, and were on horseback all night. *Hota* and *Ilaphua* were departed for *Teng-chew*, when they received this news: but, presently after, they saw the *Mungls* issue from the forest, and range themselves in order of battle. The *Kin* generals, much surprised at this, were going also to draw out their forces in a line. This was only a feint of *Toley*; who, during that time, sent a detachment of horse to seize the heavy baggage of the enemy: which accident obliged *Hota* and *Ilaphua* to retire to *Teng-chew*, where they arrived not till night. They concealed their loss, and sent the emperor word they had gained the battle. This good news filled the court at *Kay-fong Fû* with joy; and the people, who had retired into that city for its defence, left it again, to return to the country: but a few days after, the van-guard of the *Mungls*, who had been sent by the emperor *Oktay*, appeared in the field, and carried off a great number of those who had quitted the capital.

The capital
besieged.

In January 1232, the Khân passed the *Whang-ho* at *Pe-pû*, near *Ho-tsin-hyen*, in *Shan-si*; and the borders of *Shen-si* being not well guarded, he entered *Ho-nan*, and came to *Ching-chew*, eleven or twelve leagues west-south-west of *Kay-fong Fû* (T), where he encamped. From thence he sent his general *Suputay* (or *Suida*), to invest that capital, which was then 120 *li* (U) in compass; and having only 40,000 soldiers to defend it, they brought in 40,000 more veteran troops, with 100 old officers, from the neighbouring cities, besides 20,000 peasants. At the same time the emperor caused a discourse to be published in the city, which made the inhabitants shed tears, and encouraged them to defend the city to the last. *Oktay* heard of *Toley's* entrance into *Ho-nan*, with extreme joy, and ordered him to send succours to *Suputay*¹.

¹ GAUBIL, p. 63, & seqq.

(T) Then called *Pyen-king*.

(U) These are *li*, whereof 250, not 200, go to a degree.

As soon as *Hota* and *Ilapha* (X) heard that the court was besieged, they departed immediately, with 150,000 horse and foot, to relieve that great city. As *Toley* detached no more than 30,000 cavalry to stop their march, *Hota* ordered them to be attacked; while the *Mungls* fought retreating, and disappeared: but in the evening, when the *Kin* were preparing to encamp, they saw the enemy coming upon them; and at the same time *Toley* caused the roads to be embarrassed with a great number of trees. The *Kin* arrived within eight miles of *Kun-chew* (at present called *Tu-chew*); and not being able to enter, on account of the heavy snow which had fallen, were forced to stop, in order to eat, and repose themselves, after the great fatigues which they had suffered for three days before. At the same instant a courier arriving, commanding *Hota* to march forthwith to the assistance of the court, that general caused the march to be founded. One part of his army opened its way through the trees; the other, composed of the gros of the troops, struck off to the mountain *San-fong*, near *Tu-chew*.

TOLEY, who had assembled all his detachments, on the ^{the} *Kin* seventh of *February* caused this latter body to be attacked ^{generals,} on all sides. The *Kin*, enfeebled with hunger, which they had suffered for some days past, at first defended themselves; but the *Mungls* repeating their attacks, they were put to a general rout. Several *Kin* officers alighted, and, charging their enemies sword in hand, were slain. *Hota* dismounted likewise, with design to fight: but not seeing his companion *Ilapha*, he got again on horseback; and, followed by 100 others, took the road to *Kun-chew*, which *Toley* had ordered to be left open. Hereupon that prince, having received a reinforcement from *Oktay*, during the action, pursued the run-aways; and, being joined soon after by the *Khân* himself, they both went to besiege *Kun-chew*, which was quickly taken, *Hota* having been slain in the first attack^k.

His colleague *Ilapha* was taken in the battle of *San-fong*; *Some* and being a good officer, as well as universally beloved, *Toley* taken, and made him great offers to enter into his service: but he modestly declined them; saying, *I am one of the principal Kin generals, and desire to die upon his master's territories.* Which request was, with reluctance, granted him, and he was slain. *Ho-fhang*, a prince of the imperial family of the *Kin*, and a great commander, whose courage, magnanimity, ^{put to death.}

^k GAUBIL, p. 65. & seq.

(X) Here, and in another place, called *Alipwaba*.

A. D.
1232.

and many noble actions had rendered him famous, to avoid perishing with the multitude, hid himself, after the rout of *Sa-fong* : but having been discovered by some *Mungl* horse, he desired them to carry him to *Toley*, to whom he pretended he had something to say. They treated him very civilly : and, being brought to the prince, was asked his name and quality. *I am*, answered he, *of the imperial family, and named Ho-shang. I am general of the troops called the faithful, and have beaten yours (Y) three times. I was not willing to die with an obscure croud. I would have my fidelity appear in the light ; and posterity will do me justice.*

TOLÉY, finding it in vain, by courtesy and great promises to gain over this commander, gave him up to the soldiers, who cut off his legs, because he would not kneel ; and opened his mouth from ear to ear, to hinder him from haranguing. He died satisfied, that he had laid down his life for his sovereign. Several *Mungls*, charmed with his loyalty, performed in his favour the ceremony of pouring mare's milk on the ground (Z) ; and wished they might have such a man among the *Mungls* : supposing that he would rise again.

The Kin
army

IN February, the Kin troops, which guarded *Tong-quan*, and the neighbouring posts, received orders to come to the relief of *Kay-fong Fû*, and bring provisions. The provisions were embarked on the *Whang-ho* ; but presently after fell into the hands of the enemy. The troops which marched out of *Tong-quan*, and the neighbouring posts, amounted to 110,000 foot, and 15,000 horse : an infinite number of people followed this army, to try to save their lives. Nothing could prove more unlucky than this effort which was made by the Kin. Several inferior officers yielded to the *Mungls* with the troops which they commanded. *Tô-shan*, and *Ho-jun*, who led the army, not being able to keep the pace, took to the mountains, where they suffered all sorts of miseries. In the day the sun melting the snows, the mire rendered the roads impassable : at night the frost fell ; so that one could not make a step without slipping, and perhaps breaking a limb¹.

miserably
perishes.

THE more vigorous among them continued their march, leaving behind the weaker people ; such as children, women, old men, and others reduced to the last extremity, with

¹ GAUBIL, p. 66, & seqq.

(Y) He had defeated *Che-lau-wen*, *Suputay* (or *Suida*), and other generals. (Z) A libation, or sacrifice, in use among the *Mungls*.

whom the lesser roads were filled. The *Mungls*, being informed of this disorder, sent troops, who put to the sword all such as could not keep up with the rest, and then pursued the army; which faced about at the mountain *Tye-ling*, in the district of *Ho-nan Fû*, in order to receive the enemy: but these troops, who were in a manner half-dead, not being able to hold their arms, dispersed themselves. Their generals *To-shan* and *Na-ho-jun*, followed by some horse, endeavoured to escape; but were all intercepted and slain. The *Mungls* took advantage of these distractions, to reduce *Ton-quan*, and other posts: but the valour of the governor of *Quey-te Fû* obliged them to raise the siege of that city.

In March the *Mungls* planted their *Pau* (A) against the city of *Lo-yang* (or *Hô-nan Fû*), where there were only 3 or 4000 soldiers, who had escaped from the rout of *San-fong*. The general who commanded them, not being able to make any sallies, for a distemper which afflicted him, threw himself headlong from the wall into the ditch, and died. The governor of the place was gone to the relief of the capital, and had left in his room an officer named *Kyang-shin*, who rendered his name immortal by the defence which he made. He procured from the merchants a great quantity of silks to make banners, which he erected on the walls: he likewise placed on them his worst soldiers, and put himself at the head of 400 brave men, whom he ordered to go naked. These he led to all attacks; and the word which he used on such occasions was, *cowards retire*. He invented engines to cast large stones, which required but a few hands to play them; and aimed so true, as to hit at 100 paces distance. When their arrows failed, he cut those, shot by the enemy, into four pieces, and, pointing them with brags half-pence, put them into a wooden tube; from whence he discharged them against the *Mungls*, with as much force as bullets are shot by a musket. These brave nudes, followed by other soldiers, appeared at all the attacks, and made as great an outcry as 6,000 men could do. In this manner *Kyang-shin* fatigued the *Mungls* so grievously for three months, that they were obliged to raise the siege, though no fewer than 30,000 strong.

OKTAY Khân having resolved to return into *Tartary*, he summoned the *Kin* emperor to become tributary, and delivered to him twenty-seven families, which he named; among the rest, the wife, children, and slaves, of the late general *Ilapûha*. The emperor *Shew-su*, glad of the occasion, named *Manda-*

(A) An engine to cast stones.

A. D.
1232.

to the Kin.

Suputay
displeased.

rins to negotiate the peace. But *Suputay*, seeming not to know any-thing of the treaty, pushed on the siege with double vigour ^m, and presently filled part of the ditch : while the governor, for fear of obstructing the conference, forbade his soldiers to shoot at the *Mungls*. This bred great confusion in the city ; and the emperor issued hastily out of his palace, with seven horsemen. It rained heavily ; and the prince was already bespattered all over with dirt, by those who passed along, when the prime minister, with a troop of Mandarins, arrived. They would have covered their monarch, to shelter him from the rain ; but he said he would be exposed to it as much as his soldiers. The people, perceiving the king was there, fell on their knees, and wept, as if all had been lost. Presently after, fifty horsemen came to inform him, that the ditches were half-filled up, and none were allowed to defend them. The king answered, that he lived solely for the good of his people, and would therefore become subject and tributary to the *Mungls*. He added, that he would send the prince his son for a hostage. *If, after that, says he, Ta-che (B) do not retire, it will be time to defend ourselves.* The hostages was accordingly sent the same day ⁿ.

MEAN time *Suputay* redoubled his attacks, and the *Kin* began to defend themselves vigorously. They shot bullets, made of all sorts of stones : and although the *Mungls* had none in that form, yet they had mill-stones, broken in several pieces, which they played off day and night, by means of their *Pau*. With these they beat down the towers and battlements : they even broke the thickest pieces of timber in the neighbouring houses ; which therefore the inhabitants laid over with horf-dung and straw, covering the whole with felt, and other soft materials, to deaden the force of the stones. As the *Mungls* then made use of *fire-pau* (C), they set the houses in a flame, which spread so swiftly, that it was difficult to extinguish it. The walls of this city were built by the emperor *Shi*.

^m See before, p.480.

ⁿ GAUBIL, ubi suprà. p. 68, & seqq.

(B) One might also use the word *Tatan*, which is a name given the *Mungls*.

(C) There are two sorts of *Pau*, or engines ; *She-pau*, or *stone-pau*, and *Ho-pau*, or *fire-pau*. *Gaubil* dares not translate either by the name of cannon, because he cannot say they were

like ours : nor is he sure that the bullets were shot off in the same manner : although he is satisfied the *Chineses* have had the use of powder upwards of 1600 years. — They sometimes made use of wooden tubes, or guns, to shoot stones, as was done at first in *Europe*.

tseng, of the *Chew* dynasty (D); who had them covered with a kind of earth, brought from the country of *Hâ-lau* (E), which formed a mass as hard as iron, and proof against bullets. The *Mungls* raised walls around those which they besieged, 150 *Li* in circumference, furnished with large ditches, towers, and battlements. They likewise placed guards at every thirty paces distance.

A. D.
1232.

AT the beginning of the siege, the defendants made, before the gates of the city, other gates, which went in zig zag, and gave admittance to no more than three men a-breast. But experience shewing, that this was a hindrance to their sallies, and gave the *Mungls* notice of them; the *Kin* made a sally by a canal, which passed under the ditch, with design to blow up *Suputay's* batteries: but this attempt did not succeed; nor was that general to be surprised. They had in the city *fire-pau*, which shot pieces of iron in the form of bombs (F). This bomb was filled with powder, which, being fired, made a noise like thunder, and was heard 100 *Li* distance. The ground where it fell appeared burnt, or scorched for about 2000 feet round; and if the fire happened to reach the iron cuirasses, it pierced them through. When the *Mungls* lodged themselves at the foot of the walls, in order to sap them, they kept covered in chambers made under ground, so that those upon the walls could not hurt them. The besieged therefore, to dislodge them, let down these sort of bombs by iron chains, which, as soon as they came into the ditches or subterranean chambers, took fire by a match, and destroyed the enemies. These iron bombs and halberds, charged with powder, which they darted, were what the *Mungls* dreaded most.

IN sixteen days and nights, during which the attacks continued without intermission, above a million of people were slain on both sides. Upon this *Sûpûtay*, finding that he could not force the place, to come off with honour, sent the governor word, that he should forbear any further hostilities, since he was now satisfied a negotiation was on foot. The besiegers,

*is forced
to retire.*

(D) He began his reign in the year of *Christ* 934, and reigned six years.

(E) *Gambil* knew not where this country is.

(F) Although we venture to call these pieces of iron, bombs, *Gambil* would not. He observes, that although the *Chinese* had the use of powder so long, yet

it does not appear, that they made very frequent use of it in sieges. Possibly, says he, they, for some time, lost the art of using artillery, or bullets: and the kind of bombs here spoken of were the invention of private persons, which did not pass into common use.

A. D.
1232.



glad of this notice, sent that general abundance of refreshments and presents; after which he withdrew, to encamp between the river *Lo* and the *Whang-ho*. But *Kay-fong Fú* was no sooner rid of this calamity, but as great an evil as war, the plague, succeeded; which, in fifty days, destroyed an incredible number of people. When the contagion was ceased, the emperor *Shew-fú* bestowed large rewards on those who had defended the city, and performed several acts of humiliation. He made several good regulations in his court; and the peace, so happily restored, might have continued, if two unlucky accidents had not renewed the war.

Receives
orders

QUE Gan-yong, a *Mungl* lord, having, in *July*, reduced *Sü-chew*, together with some other cities in *Kyang-nan*, and assumed the government of them; *Achûlû*, one of the *Mungl* generals, displeased at his proceedings, sent troops to take possession of those places. *Gan-yong* not only opposed this design, but even slew the officers sent by *Achûlû*; after which he declared for the *Kin*, and joined several of their officers, in *Shan-tong*, against the *Mungls*. The *Kin* emperor, deceived by false hopes, took *Gan-yong* into his service, and gave him the title of prince. After this, *Oktay Khân* having sent an officer, with a train of thirty persons, without doubt, says our author, to treat of peace, the *Kin* commanders slew them all: nor did *Shew-fú* punish them for it (G). Hereupon *Sûpûtay* gave the *Khân* an account of what had passed; and, not doubting but he should receive orders to renew the war, made preparations for that purpose. *Oktay* accordingly sent his commands to him and the other generals, to continue hostilities: and being informed, about the same time, that the *Koreans* had slain his officers, he sent an army thither to chastise them.

to renew
the siege.

The capi-
tal

THE *Kin* emperor had ordered the generals, who commanded his troops in different bodies, to join, and come to the assistance of his capital: but the several parties, being met by the *Mungls*, before their junction, were all defeated; so that *Shew-fú* was obliged to employ the peasants and common people as soldiers. The inhabitants were taxed like-

* See before, p. 489.
seqq.

† GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 71, & seqq.

(G) It was not unlucky accidents, but the fault of the *Kin* emperor, which renewed the war. This shews all his pretended humility and love to his people was hypocrisy. The

moment the evil which threatened him was removed, he forgot what was past, and provoked his formidable enemy by new acts of injustice.

wife

wife to give three parts in ten of the rice which they were possessed of, and enjoined to declare how much they had. This order was executed with rigour: and a poor widow, who had lost her husband in the war, was condemned to be bastonaded, for having mixed mugworth-seed with six measures of rice: which thing she had declared. The people, terrified with this example, threw great quantities of grain, which they had not discovered, into the bog-houses and common-sewers, for fear of being punished. Mean time, the scarcity becoming very great in the city, the emperor ordered broth to be made, and given to those who were in most distress. One, who had arrived to the degree of doctor, happening to say, that the famine might have been avoided, if they had not exacted the rice-tax with so much rigour, he was informed against, and had much ado to get off.

IN September, this year (H), died prince *Toley*. He was the fourth son of *Jenghiz Khán*, and was admired, when a youth, in the wars against the *Kin*. In the western expedition he commanded great bodies of troops; and did a thousand actions worthy of the greatest heroes. At his return, he signalized him in the war which ruined the kingdom of *Hya*. After his father's death, he governed the empire with much glory for two years: and, although he might have kept a large part of it for himself, he strictly adhered to the will of *Jenghiz Khán*. His extraordinary march from *Tongtsyang Fú*, in *Shen-si*, by way of *Han-chong Fú*, into *Ho-nan*; and the manner in which he defeated the great armies of the *Kin* with a few troops, gained him much reputation among the *Chinese*, *Tatars*, and captains of the west, who were in his army. His great merit was enhanced by his uncommon modesty, his filial respect for his father, and the empress his mother; and by an inviolable attachment to the interest and glory of his brother *Oktay*.

THESE two princes left *Ho-nan* in April, to visit *Ching- brotherly ting-fú* and *Yen-king* (I). Then passing into *Tartary*, through the great wall by the gate of *Kú-pe-kew*, in May, the Khan fell dangerously ill. *Toley* on this occasion fell on his knees;

(H) It is so put in the history of the *Mungls*, inserted in the *Nyen-i-she*; and in the elogy of *Toley*, inserted in the *Nyen-i-tse*: but the *Tong-kyen Kang-mú* places his death in October. *Gaubil*. *D'Herbelot*, from the *Persian* historians, says, p. 76, that *Toley* died in *Jenghiz Khán's*

life-time. *La Croix* says, his death happened in 1229, three years after his father.

(I) This city was the seat of the *Kin* emperors, till taken by *Jenghiz Khán*. It lay to the south-west of *Pe-king*; at present about a league distant.

A. D.

1233.

and, writing his name in a sealed billet, prayed heaven to save his brother's life, and offered to die in his stead. *Oktay* being recovered, *Toley* followed him to the sources of the river *Tula* and the *Onon* (or *Saghalian*); where that great prince died, at the age of forty, generally lamented by his family, the chiefs of tribes, and officers of the army.

wife and
children.

TOLET married *Solu-hu-tyey-ni* (K), daughter of *Akiapt*, chief of the tribe, and brother of *Toley*, prince of the *Ka-ra-its*. She was a princess of great merit, and had had by him eleven sons. 1. *Menko*. 2. *Churko*. 3. *Hútátá*. 4. *Há-pi-lay* (or *Kublay*). 5. Not named. 6. *Hyu-lye-há* (or *Hulakú*). 7. *Alipuko* (or *Aribuga*). 8. *Poche*. 9. *Moh*. 10. *Switúko*. 11. *Sue-pye-tay*. The first and fourth were emperors. The sixth made himself famous in the wars of *Persia* and *Syria*, and the seventh (L) for the disturbances which he raised in *Tartary*.

Peace
with the
Song.

In *December* the *Mungls* made a treaty with the *Song* emperor (then reigning in southern *China*); who engaged to join them with his troops, on condition of having the province of *Ho-nan* delivered up to him, as soon as the *Kin* dynasty was destroyed: in which he sought rather to be revenged on the *Kin*, for the mischiefs they had done to his ancestors, than his own real interest. However, this alliance was a deadly blow to the emperor *Shew*; who, in *January* 1233, found himself in a very great plunge. Several bodies of troops, in their way to the court from different parts, were defeated by the *Mungls*; and the provisions carried away, which were going to supply *Pyen-king*: so that this capital was in great distress. On the other hand, *Súpátay* appearing resolved to besiege it, the *Kin* emperor held a council, wherein a Mandarin proposed marching to fight the *Mungl* general; and shewed, that, as things were circumstanced, one battle would needs determine the fate of the empire. But this advice was rejected, as well as several others, proposing to remove to this or that city; of which the chief was *Quey-te-fú*, in *Pe-*

A. D.

1233.

Distress of
the Kin.

(K) The same who is called *Sarkutna* by the *Persian* historians, as mentioned in *D'Hérbelot*, p. 760, who has been led by them into several mistakes; as that about the death of *Toley*, before-mentioned: and, p. 381, he says, that prince was declared by his father, king of *Khorassan Persia*, and the *Indians*. *Gauti*.

(L) According to the *Teng-kyen Kang-mú*, *Toley* had but six sons; 1. *Mengko*. 2. *Cbúcul-in*. 3. *Hútátá*. 4. *Há-pi-lay*. 5. *Hye-lye*. 6. *Olipuko*. Such disagreement there is even among the *Chinese* historians. *La Croix*, p. 399, from the *Persian* authors, says, *Toley* left eight sons; and that only four of them are mentioned.

che-li;

che-li; a place very strong by situation, but very ill provided⁹.

A. D.

1233.

WHEN the council broke up, the emperor *Shew* appointed officers to command at the four sides of the city walls, and made a discourse, to encourage them in the defence of their country; declaring, that he would put himself at the head of the army: but this resolution was disapproved of by most of the officers, who were unwilling to go out of a city, which was very ill provided, threatened with a siege, and where they left their families. However, *Shew*, without regard to their representations, marched out of the place, passed the *Whang-ho*, and encamped near the city of *Chang-ywen*, or rather *Chang-wan*: but as soon as he had crossed that river, a violent wind arose, and hindered part of his troops from passing; which was afterwards beaten. For all this, he sent the best part of those which were with him to besiege *Wey-chew* (now *Wey-whey*, to the south-west of *Kay-fong-fú*). The general *She-tyen-che*, being informed of this, assembled the troops in *Pe-che-li*, *Shan-tong*, and other parts; and sent the governor word, that he would soon relieve him. Accordingly, with his usual bravery, he marched to attack *Pesa*, general of the *Kin*. The fight was bloody: but, at length, *Pesa* was compelled to fly, and his army cut in pieces.

Emperor
goes out.

His army
destroyed.

THIS sad piece of news was carried to the emperor, at such time as he knew *Sápútay* was on the road to besiege his capital. Hereupon he, in haste, repassed the *Whang-ho*, followed by a few of his officers, and retired to *Quey-te-fú*. From thence he sent for the empresses and queens to come to him. They accordingly set out; but the arrival of *Sápútay* obliged them to re-enter the city. As for his troops, they dispersed as soon as he had left them. The return of the *Mungls*, and retreat of their emperor, joined to the defeat of the whole army, filled all the people with terror. The western wall was guarded by a general named *Tsú-li*; who, being of a wicked disposition, went to the ministers, and demanded to know, what course they intended to take, at a time when the emperor had abandoned his capital, and wanted to withdraw his family also. One of the ministers answered, "that they ought to fight and die generously for their prince." "That would be well", replied *Tsú-li*, "in case so doing would remedy the evil": and then retired.

Soon after, *Tsú-li*, followed by some officers of his party, cut off the heads of the ministers and ten great lords; giving out, that he did it purely to save the lives of the people.

A. D.
1233.

After this he went to the palace, and obliged the empress-mother to declare a prince, whom he named, to be regent. He took to himself the post of prime minister, and general of the army; giving the other employments to his two brothers, and the officers who assisted him. In 1233, *Tsü-li* resolved to surrender the city to the *Mungls*; and did it in a very extraordinary manner. Having assumed the equipage belonging to a king, and dressed his people in magnificent habits, he, at the head of a great number of officers, went out to meet *Sûpâtay*, who was preparing to form the siege; and, paying him the reverence of a son to his father, promised him fealty. The *Mungl* general, at the head of his troops, with much honour, received this traitor: who, on his return to the city, demolished the battlements of the walls, and blew up the towers, with all other defences. He set a guard upon the princes of the blood; and took to himself the wives and daughters of the grandees who had followed the emperor to *Quey-te-fû*. Then, seizing the treasures of the city and palace, his vanity prompted him to raise a stone monument, inscribed with his own fine qualities, and the manner in which he had saved the lives of the people: but he could not compass his design.

Another
traitor

insults the
emperor.

WHILE *Tsü-li* was turning all things up-side down at *Pyen-king* (or *Kay-song-fû*), *Pu-cha-quen* was acting much the same part at *Quey-te-fû*. This general, after the death of *Wan-yen* (M), or *Pesa* (whom *Shew* was obliged to sacrifice to the demands of the soldiery), was touched to the quick, to see that the emperor consulted *Ma-yong*, his enemy, rather than him. *Shew* endeavoured to reconcile them, but to no purpose; and, at the same time, shocked at the insolence of *Pu-cha-quen*, who had rose from nothing, ordered him to be closely watched. The officers, who were intrusted with this affair, having betrayed the secret to *Pû-cha-quen*, this latter, in despair, ordered *Ma-yong*, with 300 officers and 3000 soldiers of the palace, to be slain. He even presumed to send persons to seize a Mandarin belonging to the emperor, with an intent to put him to death. The prince, provoked at this new insolence, said, he would defend that officer; and that he was almost the only one who was left about him. Presently after, *Pû-cha-quen* enters with his sword in hand, and tells the emperor, that those whom he had put to death were rebels. *Shew*, complying with necessity, pretended to be-

GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 76, & seqq.

(M) The term or title *Wan-yen* denotes his being a prince of the blood.

Here

lieve what he said; and was forced to publish the supposed crimes of those who had been slain. The emperor, for want of courage to put this rebel to death, submitted to his demands, and suffered the authority to remain in his hands.

MEAN time *Tsu-li*, going on with his game at *Pyen-king*, *Tsu-Ji* exercised a thousand cruelties, to get money from private persons; and the famine was so extreme, that, in eight days, above a million of people died. In April he seized all the princes and princesses of the blood, a great number of officers, physicians, and workers in silk and other manufactures. He likewise brought out the royal ornaments, jewels, precious stones, and other treasures: then, putting the empress-mother, the empress, queens, and concubines of the palace, in thirty-seven chariots, went and delivered them all to *Sûpûtay*: who put to death all those who were of the race imperial; and sent to *Holin* (or *Karakorum*) the imperatrices, the queens, and their attendants. This general, at the same time, intreated *Oktay* to put to death all the inhabitants of *Pyen-king*, in revenge for the numbers of men he had lost before that city in 1232: but *Yelu Chûtsay* interposed; alleging, that they had not this time resisted so long as to deserve so cruel a punishment. Hereupon the emperor ordered *Sûpûtay* to put to death the princes of the blood, and spare the rest (N): by which means the lives of fourteen hundred thousand families were saved; reckoning inhabitants, and those who took shelter there.

TSU-LI, being informed that *Sûpûtay* was preparing to take possession of the capital, got every thing ready for his introduction; and, receiving him at the entrance of the city, conducted him to the palace. After this, returning to his own house, he was much surprised to find it full of *Mungl* soldiers; who plundered it, and carried away all his treasures. He complained of this injury, and even shed tears; but nobody regarded him: nor was *Sûpûtay* himself displeased to see a traitor to his country so justly punished. Let us now return to see what is doing at *Quey-te-fû*.

In May, the *Kin* emperor proposed to *Pû-cha-quen*, to surprise the camp of the *Mungls*, commanded by *Te-mâ-tay*; under pretence, that the *Mungls* had taken prisoner the empress-mother, in order to treat with them. *Pû-cha-quen*, who wanted neither address nor valour, one night, while a negotiation was on foot, went with 400 choice soldiers; and, slaying the out-guards, pierced to the middle of the camp,

(N) He likewise ordered, that, for the future, those general massacres should not be practised.

and

A. D. 1233. and either slew, or pushed into the river, above 3,500 men: then, setting the camp on fire, returned, without losing one man. The general *Te-mü-tay* himself, surprised in such a manner, had much ado to escape¹.

Pü-cha-quen;

PU-CHA-QUEN, puffed up with this success, had the insolence to shut up the emperor, with some of his domestics, in a great hall. *Shew*, on this occasion, shed tears; and said to those about him, "that the dynasties did not continue for ever; and that kings were not exempt from the tribute due to death." He added, "that it grieved him to find he did not know the persons whom he ought to make use of, as well as to see himself imprisoned by a slave, whom he had loaded with favours." Hereupon three trusty officers prevailed on the emperor to consent to get rid of that traitor, at any rate. They advised his majesty to send for him, under pretence of consulting whether it was proper to remove the court to *Tsay-chew* (now *Ju-ning-fü*), in *Ho-nan*: and, as he entered the chamber, one of them gave him a stroke with his sword on the side, which was seconded with another by the emperor. For all this, *Pü-cha-quen* ran back, in order to escape; but the officer who had given him the first wound pursued and killed him. This was in *June*. The troops, on this news, took up arms: but the emperor went out in person to appease them, and gave an account of the whole affair.

who is slain.

Lo-yang taken.

AT this juncture the general *Tachar* took from the *Kin* the city of *Lo-yang* (or *Ho-nan-fü*), where commanded the brave *Kyang-shin*²: who, finding, after incredible efforts, that there was no keeping the place, took a troop of choice soldiers, and attempted to break through the middle of the *Mungl* army: but was taken, with all his men. *Tachar*, who had conceived the highest idea of this brave commander, promised him the first military post, if he would turn his face to the north, and make only one genuflection, to salute

The governor's loyal-ty.

Oklay. But it was all in vain: and when the soldiers by force turned his face towards *Tartary*, he presently turned to the south, to salute the *Kin* emperor his master. *Tachar*, seeing him inflexible, caused him to be slain. The *Chinese* history heaps eulogies on *Kyang-shin*, and another officer, called *Ts'lye*, who commanded in conjunction with him. The *Mungl* took the son of the latter at *Pyen-king*, and brought him before *Lo-yang*, to oblige his father to surrender: but *Ts'lye* answered the summons only with a shower of arrows. As soon as he heard of *Ts'ü-li*'s treason, it gave him so great con-

¹ GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 78, & seqq.

² See before, p. 483.

cern, that he immediately lost his speech, and soon after died.

A. D.
1233.

AFTER the death of *Pû-cha-quen*, the emperor *Shew* left troops and a governor at *Quay-te-fû*, and departed for *Jû-ning-fû*, with 4000 attendants. When he arrived at *Po-chew* (O) the people wept, and fell on their knees: to whom the prince, with a mild air, said, "that they ought not to set any value upon him; but call to mind the obligations which they owed his ancestors." The multitude, still shedding tears, cried aloud, *Van-fwi*; that is, *ten thousand years*: which is one of the names given by the *Chineses* to their emperors, expressing a desire they have that he should reign a long time. Having staid one day at *Po-chew*, he entered a temple, which he found abandoned, five or six leagues to the south of that city; and was heard to say, with a sigh, *all my people are destroyed*. When the inhabitants of *Jû-ning-fû* beheld their prince so sorrowful, his face emaciated, and his person ill attended, it set them a weeping; and the principal among them coming to fall on their knees before him, he, with much affability, made them rise; nor could forbear shedding tears.

The emperor retires

to Jû-ning-fû.

THE emperor *Shew* appointed prince *Whan-yen Hû-sye-hû* for his captain-general and prime minister. He was a person of great merit and approved fidelity. He was day and night on horseback: he sold all he had to buy arms, provisions, and horses; and made choice of 10,000 soldiers, whom he exercised continually. The emperor's presence, and distance of the *Mungls*, drew much people to *Tsay-chew*: while the *Kin* monarch, as if quite out of danger, began to think of building a palace, and marrying a wife. But *Hû-sye-hû* drew that prince out of the false security in which he began to live. He let him know, that there was no great quantity either of provisions, stores, or silver, in the city; and persuaded him to think of nothing else, but to fortify the place, and defend it.

TWENTY thousand *Chineses*, under *Men-kong*, detached from the *Song* army, commanded by *She-fong-chi*, having already joined *Tachar*, the two generals, in *August*, took several cities in *Ho-nan*; after which, the next month, they came to invest *Jû-ning-fû*. *Tachar*, perceiving, by the two first attacks made on the city gates, that he was likely to meet with a long resistance, ordered trenches to be dug, and a wall raised; in which he was assisted by *Men-kong*. The

The court besieged.

(O) Three or four leagues from *Quay-te-fû*; at present destroyed.

garrison,

A.D.

1234.



garrison, affrighted at the works which were going forward to invest the place, would have surrendered; but *Hû-fye-hû*, and the emperor himself, by their speeches, so revived their courage, that they all took a resolution to perish in defence of their prince^u.

*Its great
distress.*

IN *December*, there not being men sufficient to defend the city, and make sallies, *Hû-fye-hû* picked out the strongest women; and, dressing them in men's clothes, made them carry wood, stones, and other necessaries, to the walls. After this he made an unsuccessful sally; and *Meng-kong*, having cut off the retreat of his troops, learned from the prisoners, that the city was in want of provisions. The *Chinese* general gave notice of this to *Tachar*; and advised him to guard against the despair of the besieged; who, when reduced to extremities, might make a general sally, and so escape by some opening. In *December*, *Tachar* sent general *Chang-jaz*, with 5000 men, to attack an angle, where he received several dangerous wounds; and had been slain, with all his soldiers, if *Meng-kong* had not come to his assistance, and taken him out of the thickest of the enemies troops.

*Incanted
tower.*

THE principal fortification about *Ju-ning-fû* was a tower, called *Chay-tan*, on a redoubt, sixty feet distant from the river. The latter was taken by assault: but the troops dared not approach the tower, upon a report, that the foot of it was defended by a dragon, and the upper part filled with flying darts. *Meng-kong* one day gave his soldiers wine, and told them, that the darts from the tower did harm to none but those who were at a distance; but that they who went near to it had nothing to fear. He likewise assisted *Tachar* in making drains, to carry off the water into the river *Jû*. After this, both the generals with their troops passed over dry, and attacked the south walls. In the night 500 choice soldiers sallied, with design to burn the engines and camp of the besiegers: but these latter, getting timely notice of it, cut them all in pieces. After the general had forced the walls of the south, they gave a general assault to those of the west, and forced them likewise: but were much surprised to see an inner wall, with chevaux-de-frise, and a ditch; where the illustrious *Hû-fye-hû*, with the choice of the troops, fought for three days and nights, without being forced.

*The em-
peror's
bravery.*

THE emperor *Shew*, beholding things in this desperate state, spoke to those who were about him in the following manner. "I was the heir appointed for ten years, and have

^u GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 80, & seqq.

" *finis*

“ Since then reigned ten years more. I do not perceive, that
 “ I am guilty of any great faults (P). I do not fear death.
 “ I see that most of the dynasties terminated in brutish
 “ princes, who were either drunkards, debauched, or co-
 “ vetous. You know I am not such an one, and yet in me
 “ the dynasty of the *Kin* ends. This is what I behold with
 “ grief. The princes, under whom the dynasties perished,
 “ have commonly been abused, or insulted, imprisoned, or
 “ treated after an unworthy manner ; but I tell you to-day
 “ that the like shall not happen to me.” After he had said
 these words, he distributed all his precious moveables, put
 on an ordinary habit, and invited his best troops to follow
 him. He went out of the east gate, and made extraordinary
 efforts, either to die with his arms in hand, or to escape.
 The besieged, who watched, expecting some such desperate
 attempt, made a resolute stand, and drove the emperor back
 into the city. On his return, he caused most of the remain-
 ing horses to be killed, to support the troops, who had often
 eaten the prisoners, and those who returned wounded from
 the sallies.

THE first of January 1234, *Tachar* and *Meng-kong* made great rejoicings in their camp, to celebrate the first day of the *Chinese* year ; while the besieged had nothing before their eyes but the most dismal objects. The soldiers, made prisoners at the breach by the *Mungls*, informed them, that there had been a famine for three months in the city ; where, after the inhabitants had boiled the leather of their saddles, boots, and drums, to make food, they had slain the old and feeble men, with many prisoners, and wounded soldiers, to eat their flesh : that the troops, who remained in a condition to serve, gathered the bones of dead men and animals, to make broth of them and dried herbs. They added, that most of the private men were inclined to surrender. *Meng-kong*, having learned these particulars, ordered his soldiers to put a bullet in their mouths, to keep them silent ; and, taking advantage of a thick fog, attacked the western side with his whole army. He made five breaches, and employed rope-ladders : but, after an attack which continued from morning till evening, and in which he lost abundance of men, was obliged to retire. On the other hand, the besieged having lost the

* GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 83, & seqq.

(P) Princes imagine often, on the renewal of the war, to that they cannot commit faults. the destruction of himself and his people ? Could he have committed greater faults than those which brought

A. D.

1234.

The city
taken.

greater part of their officers and soldiers, there remained for defence of the city no more than a few officers, at the head of the Mandarins of letters (Q); and some soldiers, half-dead with hunger, sustained by the example of *Hû-sye-hû*.

THE night following, the emperor *Shew-fu* assembled the lords of his court, and told them, that he would transfer his fallen throne to *Cheng-lin* (R) (or, as others write, *Shing-lyen*), a prince of the blood; who, at the emperor's pressing instances, at length accepted of it. *Shew*, after bestowing praises on him, said, *If you escape, you will continue our race, and restore the renversed crown.* Next morning, while the Mandarins performed the ceremony of acknowledging *Cheng-lin*, the *Song* and *Mungl* troops mounted the south walls, and forced 200 men, who defended them, to surrender. The Mandarins who were about the new emperor, at this news, flew to succour them; but found the standards of the enemy planted on the ramparts. Mean time, the south gate being abandoned, *Meng-kong* and *Tachar* entered with their troops. Prince *Hû-sye-hû*, with 1000 soldiers, stopped them in one of the streets, and fought with an intrepidity which made the enemy wonder at him. The emperor *Shew-fu*, seeing all irreparably lost, got hastily into a house; where he lodged the seal of the empire: then, causing sheafs of straw to be set round the mansion, entered into it, and ordered his people to set fire to it as soon as he was dead. After this he slew himself (S); and his orders were executed.

The emperor's
death.

HU-SYE-HU, who still fought like a lion in the streets, when he heard of his master's death, went and drowned himself in the river *Jû*; the officers with him, and 500 soldiers, followed his example. Mean time, while the new emperor *Chang-lin*, attended by some Mandarins, performed the Chinese

(Q) The *Kin*, like the other nations who have conquered *China*, or part of it, adopted the laws and customs of the *Chinese*, who have both civil and military Mandarins, or commanders, as the *Portuguese* term them.

(R) He was the brother of general *Pesa*, defeated by *Shetyen che*, near *Wey-whey-fû*. *Gaubil*. — Doubtless the same who was afterwards put to death, as before related.

(S) He hanged himself in the

same house, which was called *Yew-lan-bu-yen*; and the place where it stood is still shewn at *Ju-ning-fû*, named, in the history of the *Mungl*, *Tjay-cheu*, a city of *Ho-nan*. *Abû Igânî Khân* says, that it was not known for certain (among the western writers) what became of *Altûn Khân* (by which general name he calls the emperors of *Kitay*): but that it was believed, he threw himself into a great fire, which he had caused to be made for that purpose.

ceremonies;

ceremonies for the death of his predecessor, and gave orders ^{2.} *Khân* for burying his ashes on the bank of the river, the con-
federate generals, seizing the palace, divided the spoil ¹; and, the same day, *Chang-lin* was killed in a tumult: which put an end to the dynasty of the *Kin*, whose beginnings were so glorious and successful ².

AFTER the taking of *Ju-ning-fû*, the *Song* and *Mungls* ^{The Song} agreed to settle the limits of the two empires. *Ho-nan* was proceed-
to be delivered up to the former, as soon as the war should be ^{ings}
finished: but, without either waiting for the expiration of the term, or giving *Oktay Khân* notice, they introduced their troops into *Kay-feng-fû*, *Lo-yang*, or *Ho-nan-fû*, and other considerable cities, in *June* and *July*; without the precaution however of furnishing them with provisions. The *Mungls* complained of these hasty proceedings; and *Súpútay*, who had encamped to the north of the *Whang-ho*, repassed that river, and resolved to be revenged on the aggressors. A ^{offend the} great part of the garrison of *Lo-yang*, who were out in search ^{Mungls.} of provisions, were cut in pieces by a detachment of the *Mungls*; and the governor obliged to surrender for want of them. As *Súpútay* seemed resolved to march towards *Kay-feng-fû*, the *Song* general, being destitute of all manner of necessities, abandoned the place: and on these occasions the *Song* shewed but little conduct. The *Song* emperor (T), either to satisfy the *Mungls*, or because his officers had not done their duty, ordered them to be punished, by lowering their degrees in the rank of Mandarins.

In *December*, *Oktay Khân* recalled *Súpútay* into *Tatary*, to consult him about some new military expeditions. At the same time he sent an officer to *Hang-chew*, in *Che-kyang*, the court of the *Song*, to complain of certain proceedings: on the other hand, the *Chinese* sent a lord, to continue the peace. The *Khân's* answer is not mentioned; but the event shewed, that he was not well content.

In spring 1235, and the 7th year of his reign, *Oktay* or- ^{Several}
dered the encamping place of *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorum*) to be in- ^{expedi-}
closed with walls; and to build the palace (U) called *Wan-gan*, ^{tions.}
five ^{A. D.}
1235.

¹ See the *Kin* history, vol. VII. b. 12.
supr. p. 85, & seqq.

² GAUBIL, ubi

(T) Named *Li-tsung*. One of his first queens, being in great favour, obtained high employments for her brother *Kya-tse tau*, who soon became prime minister; and, by his bad conduct, as well as incapacity for affairs, ruined the empire of the *Song*, who reigned in *South China*.

(U) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* says, in this year he ordered a magnificent
K k cent

2. *Khán Oktay*. five *Li* (or furlongs) in circumference. In the first months of the year he sent an army into *Korea*; and, having levied more than fifteen hundred thousand good troops, resolved to render his name immortal by great conquests. He sent *Sápú-tay* with 300,000 men, to ravage the countries to the west, north and north-east of the *Caspian* sea. In this army went *Patú* (or *Batú*), eldest son of the late prince *Chuchi* (or *Juji*), *Mengko*, eldest son of *Toley*, *Quey-yew*, eldest son of the emperor himself, with several other princes (X), and lords of tribes: among others were *Lyang-hú-tay*, son of *Sápú-tay*, the general, and *Mangusár*, of the *Chalar* (or *Jakayr*) tribe, and family of *Che-lau-when* (Y).

The Song attacked. *KOTOVAN*, the emperor's second son, with the general *Chahay* (Z), was ordered to attack the *Song* in *Se-chuen*. Prince *Kuchú*, his third son, with the generals *Temutay* and *Chang-jau*^a; prince *Pitú*, son of *Lyew-ko*, late king of *Lycatong*, besides other *Mungl* and *Kitan* princes, with the general *Chahan*, were commanded to march towards the borders of *Kyang-nan*. The *Song* emperor sent his best officers to the frontiers; and, notwithstanding his great power, began to fear the consequences of so many formidable armies coming to attack his dominions: for they consisted of excellent *Chinese* and *Tatar* troops, commanded by old captains trained to war, and almost always conquerors. *Wang-fu-hyen*, an officer of reputation among the *Kin*, who commanded in *Kong-chang-fú*, in *Shen-si*, a strong city, well provided

^a Or *Chang-jauw*.

ent palace to be built in the country of *Karakum* (or *Karakorum*), and sent for the most able painters in *Kitay*, to adorn it: that he enjoined all the princes and great officers of the empire to build handsome houses about it: that he made a fine fountain there, ornamented with a tiger spouting water, in full proportion, all cast in silver: that at some distance from the palace he made a park, two days journey in compass; which he stocked with deer, and other game, for hunting; and inclosed it with pales twelve feet high. Our author adds, that *Oktay* caused *Herát*, the capital of *Khorassán*, in *Persia*,

which had been destroyed by his father's orders, to be rebuilt.

(X) *Atúlgázi Khán* places among them *Bádur*, son of *Jagatay*; and says, they were sent against the *Russians*, *Jerkas* (or *Cberkas*), *Bulgars*, the country of *Tura*, and the *Baskkiri*. He makes them return after seven years absence; but in the reign of *Oktay*.

(Y) Who was one of the four intrepids. *Mangusár* had distinguished himself in the army of *Toley*, in the years 1231 and 1232. *Gaubil*.

(Z) Of the hord of *Sun-russ*. He drank the water of *Panch-ni* with *Jenghiz Khán*.

both

both with troops and stores, knowing that *Kotovan* was to pass that way, went out to meet, and offered him his troops. The prince hereupon took him under his protection, left him governor of the city, and gave him a considerable military post^b.

IN 1236, the army of prince *Kuchû* made great ravages in the province of *Hû-quang* : in *January* they took the city of *Kyang-lin* (at present *King-chew*) ; and in *March*, *Syang-yang*, where they got a great booty in money and warlike provisions : for the officers of the *Song* falling at variance, one of them, through malice, set fire to the magazines of the suburbs ; which gave the *Mungls* an opportunity of becoming masters of the city. The inhabitants of *Te-gan*, another city of *Hû-quang*, were almost all put to the sword in *August* ; and in *October*, the *Mungls* lost their general, prince *Kuchû*, who was greatly beloved by the emperor his father, *Yeh-chû-tsay* had already persuaded *Oktay* to repair the hall of *Konfusius*, or, to speak more properly, the palace, where this ancient sage is honoured. That prince had likewise caused a great sphere to be made, and a palace built, to teach the *Chinese* sciences. At his minister's request, he also set free many *Chinese* literati and doctors, who had been made slaves in *Hû-quang*. In *February* this year, the *Mungls* introduced silk or paper money, which had been used before by *Chang-money-tsong*, sixth emperor of the *Kin*.

PRINCE *Kotovan*, having passed *Kong-chang-fû*, prepared to attack the city of *Myen*, in the district of *Han-chong-fû*, in *Shen-fû* ; into which, after forcing the passages, he entered with an army of 500,000 men, consisting of *Chinese*, *Mungls*, *Tatars*, and strangers, from the west. *Tsau-yew-ven*, governor of *Myen*, one of the best officers belonging to the *Song*, after being driven from the fort and pass of *Syen-jin*, near the city of *Fong*, in the district before-mentioned ; with 10,000 choice men, passed the river in the night, and put his troops in ambuscade, in a place called *Lew-ki*, with orders to beat their drums and light fires within, while they cried without *kill, kill*. *Tsau-wan*, *Yew-ven*'s brother, had the boldness to attack general *Ta-hay*, who began to appear with 10,000 horse and foot, while the troops in ambush lighted fires. *Yew-ven* divided his forces into three bodies, and, followed by 3000 soldiers, advanced towards a gorge of the mountains called *Kitovan* ; where he posted in the most difficult places 800 stout horse ; who, though surrounded by the enemy, stood their ground, resolved to die.

^b GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 88, & seqq.

2. Khàn
Oktay.

Terrible
battle.

As the wind and rain obstructed their march, the officers intreated him to stop; but *Yew-ven* refused, and arrived at *Long-wey-few*: where his brother *Tsau-wan* having joined him, a great battle was fought between the *Song* and the *Mungls*, with such slaughter, that the blood ran for two leagues together. At break of day, the *Mungl* forces being joined by general *Tabay*, the little army of the *Song* was surrounded, and great havock made on both sides. *Tsau-yew-ven*, seeing all lost without resource, resolved to sell his life very dear: *It is the decree of heaven*, said he, *I must die*. After this he slew his horse, giving abusive language all the while to the *Mungls*. Then, with sword in hand, he charged a great body of the enemy; in which brisk attack he was slain, with his brother, and almost all his soldiers. The *Mungls* lost a great number of men in this action. The battle was fought in *July*, near *Yang-ping*, a fort to the west of the city *Pau-ching*, which last is two or three leagues to the north-west of *Harchong-fû*.

Se-chwen
reduced.

AFTER the defeat of general *Tsau*, prince *Kotovan* entered *Se-chwen*, and encamped near *Ching-tû-fû*, the capital of that province: most of whose cities fell into the hands of the *Mungls*; who yet could not reduce *Ho-chew*, *Quey-chew*, *Lû-chew*, and *Shun-king-fû*. In *October*, a detachment of his troops went and besieged *Ven-chew*, as it is still named: a city belonging to the *Song*, in the district of *Kong-chang-fû*. *Lyew-jû-i*, who commanded in the place, finding no hopes of being relieved, after he had fought night and day for some time, assembled his domestics, and advised them to poison themselves. Among the rest, a child of six years old fell on his knees; and, having desired he might have leave to do the like, took the cup, and died courageously. Afterwards *Lyew-jû-i*, and his two children, slew themselves; and more than 40,000 people, soldiers and inhabitants, chose to follow his example, rather than surrender.

Success
in Hû-
quang.

MEAN time *Kew-when pu-wha* ravaged great part of the countries which are on the borders of *Kyang-nan*, *Hu-quang*, and *Ho-nan*; then marched towards *Whang-chew*, a considerable city in *Hu-quang*. In *November*, *Meng-kong* put himself at the head of an army of the *Song*; and, advancing toward *King-chew*, destroyed more than twenty posts where the *Mungls* had left troops. General *Chahan* had laid siege to *Ching-chew*, a city in *Kyang-nan*, on the *Kyang*, at present called *I-ching-hyen*: but was obliged to raise it, through the activity of the governor *Kyew-yo*, who made great destruction

of the *Mungls* by his ambuscades, by his engines for casting stones, and by setting fire to their quarters almost everywhere. 2. *Kbán Oktay.*

IN May 1237, *Meng-kong* appearing in view of the city of *Whang-chew*, then besieged by *Kew-when fû-wha*; this prince, whose army was fatigued, thought it better to withdraw his forces, than venture a battle. After this, he gave orders for investing *Gan-tong*, now *Shew-chew*, in the district of *Fong-yang-fû* in *Kyang-nan*: but this siege succeeded with him no better than the former. *Tû-kew*, the governor, in his frequent sallies, burnt twenty-seven intrenchments, which the *Mungls* had made over the ditches, after they had filled them up. He likewise rendered ineffectual their bombs: while *Lu-ven-te*, an excellent officer, and native of the place, during the confusion, in which the attack of their trenches had thrown the enemy, broke through their troops with some brave soldiers, and got into the city; where, in conjunction with *Tû-kew*, he, by his vigilance and activity, obliged them to raise the siege, after sustaining great loss of men.

CHAHAN, who had charge of the engines, and other instruments made use of before *Gan-tong*, resolved, in 1238, to raise the siege of *Lu-chew*, a strong city in *Kyang-nan*. To effect this, he gave out, that he had with him 800,000 men; that he would build barks on the lake *Tsau*, and, after taking *Lu-chew*, ravage the countries along the *Kyang*. *Chahan* caused the city to be surrounded with a rampart of earth, secured by a double ditch. Mean time *Tû-kew*, who had previously thrown himself into the place, having ordered infinite bundles of herbs to be steeped in oil, and cast into the *Mungl* intrenchments, at the same time shot stones down upon them from a tower seven stories high. The *Mungls*, attacked in this unexpected manner; could neither defend themselves from the shot, nor extinguish the fire, which spread on all sides. *Tû-kew* at the same time made a general sally; so that the *Mungls*, being surprised, were constrained to retreat, for fear of seeing their whole army perish. The *Song* pursued them for above three miles; and this was one of the greatest checks which the *Mungls* had as yet received. *Lu-ven-te*, the son of *Tû-kew*, possessed all the defiles; so that the enemy were obliged in September to retire towards the north.

IN *Hû-quang*, general *Meng-kong* every-where beat the *Mungls*; and, in March 1239, retook *Syang-yang*, which he fortified, as well as *Fan-ching*, situated over against it: representing to the emperor his master the importance of those two posts, and determined always to have a great army in the neighbourhood. The forces of *Kotavan*, after taking great

2. *Khân Oktay*. Spoil in *Se-chwen*, retired to the borders of *Shen-si*. The *Song*, taking advantage of this retreat, retook *Ching-tâ-fû*, capital of that province, and assembled there a great body of troops. *Tahay Mongu*, the *Mungl* general, hereupon re-entered *Se-chwen*, defeated the *Song* army in a pitched battle near *Ching-tâ-fû*; seized that metropolis, and set forward to penetrate into *Hâ-quang*, by way of *Quey-chew*. *Men-kong*, on this advice, furnished all the posts on the borders of *Se-chwen* and *Hâ-quang*, with men and provisions: then caused all the passages of the *Kyang* to be guarded; and, having ordered a great number of barks to be prepared, in *December* began his march. This general rendered ineffectual the *Mungl* enterprises, and gained great honour by the reduction of *Quey-chew*; which was a place of great importance to the *Mungls*, situate on the north side of the *Kyang*, and on the borders of the two before-mentioned provinces^d.

*Customs
farmed.*

SINCE the conquest of *Ho-nan*, *Yeh-chû-tsay* had raised the customs of the countries of *China*, subject to the *Mungls*, to 110 *Van* of *Lyang*, or *Taëls* in silver. *Gautâ-kauman*, a *Whey-hû* (Z); offered 220 *Van* for those customs. The minister opposed a bargain which tended to ruin the people: but his arguments not prevailing, he, in anger, gave a heavy sigh, and said openly; that the misery to which they were going to reduce the *Chineses*, would be quickly followed by the greatest evils.

*Meng-
kong's
exploits.*
A. D.
1240.

IN 1240, *Oktay Khân* ordered his eldest son *Quey-yew* to return into *Tutary*, with the detachment which he commanded in the west; where, it is said, he made great conquests, without mentioning the countries which he subdued. The same year *Meng-kong* became famous by the great advantages which he obtained over the *Mungls*. He burned the magazines of provisions which they had at *Ju-ning-fû* in *Ho-nan*; and the wood which they had laid up at *Teng-chew*, in the same province, for building barks: he likewise recovered the booty and slaves which they had made in *Hâ-quang*, and secured in the city *Swi-chew*. After these great advantages he visited the frontier posts, and trained to war a great number of peasants, whom he furnished with arms and officers: in short, he had the glory to see all the countries between *Se-chwen* and the rivers *Kyang* and *Han* filled with husbandmen; who were in a condition to defend their lands, fill their magazines, and form, in a short time, bodies of troops.

^d GAUBIL, p. 93, & seqq.

(Z) By *Wley-hû* are meant the *Mohammedans*.

IN February 1241, *Oktay Khân*, after a great hunting near the lake *Kye-kye chay-ha*, was taken very ill: hereupon the empress *Tolyekona*, apprehending that he would not live long, sent for the minister *Yelu-chû-tsay*, to consult him on the occasion. *Chû-tsay* told her boldly, that the emperor had bad counsellors; that avarice reigned at court; and that employments were sold, and the prisons filled with honest men: whose only crime was their disapproving of the unlawful means which were practised to get money; while persons of no worth, and loaded with a thousand crimes, were in place. The empress took measures to free the prisoners, when her husband began to mend; a general amnesty was published; and in October the *Chineſes* were allowed to become inferior Mandarins in the tribunals.

THE emperor loved wine passionately, and *Chû-tsay* had often warned him against it: but although that prince took his advice as the effect of his zeal, yet he did not forbear the practice. In November the grandees invited him to a hunting; and, contrary to the minister's remonstrances, he went. The fifth day, being come to the mountain *U-lye-kû hâlan*, he sat up all night drinking, by the persuasion of *Gautû-lau-man*; which debauch cost him his life: for he died next morning, aged fifty-six, after a reign of thirteen years. He nominated for his heir and successor his grandson *Shelyemen* (A), the son of his third son *Ku-chew*, who died in *Hu-quang*, in 1236; as hath been before related.

OKTAY (or, as the *Mungls* call him, *Ogotay*) was a prince of courage, much prudence and greatness of soul. *Yelu-raſter: chû-tsay* had inspired him with a love for the sciences, and application to the affairs of government. This *Khân* had a great authority over the princes, as well those of his family, as such who were his vassals: he loved good order, and had much integrity.

OKTAY had several wives who bore the title of empress: the first, *Polaba*, of the house of *Hong-kila* (or *Kongorat*), by whom he had no issue. The second, *Gang-whey*, who brought up prince *Mengko* (or *Mangû*), eldest son of *Toley* and (B) *Sarkutna*. The sixth was *Tolyekona* (C), a princess, who,

(A) *Shiramon*, or *Siramon*, as he is called by the more western writers.

(B) She is called by *Abûl-ghâzi Khân*, *Siurkhotni Begbi Jebân*. *Hist. Turks, &c.* p. 158.

(C) This princess was of the

tribe of *Naymachîn*, and is the same whom *D'Herbelot*, p. 358. calls *Turakinah Khâtûn*; which last word is *Mogul*, and signifies queen, or empress. That author believes she was a Christian; but the *Clineſe* history

K k 4

ſays

2. *Khân Oktay.*

who, besides the advantages of her person (D), was endowed with an uncommon share of wit and address. By his several wives he had seven princes (E); and one princess, married to the prince of *Honkila*^f.

great liberality.

THE western historians of *Asia* seem to have been but little acquainted with the actions of *Oktay Khân*, or his successors; especially if we may judge by what has been communicated from them by *European* authors. Besides the remarks already inserted in the notes, we learn from them, that, in the year 1225, he sent *Argun Aga* into *Khorassân*, as governor; and the Amir *Azzo'ddîn Mokaddem Herâwi*, surnamed *Jamebâf*, to rebuild *Herât*, and cause the land to be again cultivated in 1238^g: that Soltân *Alao'ddîn*, the *Seljukian*, who reigned at *Kontyah*, or *Ikonium*, in *Anatolia*, sent a celebrated embassy to congratulate him on his accession to the throne of the *Mungls*; and that *Oktay*, in return for his civility, was pleased to offer him an employment in his palace^h; which complement *Alao'ddîn* did not at all relish. It is added, that this prince was so generous and liberal, that he bestowed more than ten millions of gold in presentsⁱ. We shall illustrate this part of his character, as well as his justice, by some instances related by *Abû'lghâzi Khân*,

^f GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 96, & seqq. p. 397.
^g See before, p. 250.
^h p. 684. art. *Oktay Khân*.

ⁱ LA CROIX.
^j D'HERBEL.

says nothing of her religion: however that be, he is much deceived as to the time of her death, which happened in 1265, under the reign of *Hûpilay* (or *Kublai*). Gaubil. — D'Herbelot puts her death twenty years earlier.

(D) According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, *Oktay* had four lawful wives: 1. *Burakjîn*. 2. *Taragana* (mother of *Kayuk*), of the *Markat* tribe, according to some; according to others, wife of a chief of the *Virats*; who being taken captive, and her husband slain, *Oktay* married her; and loved her better than his other wives, although she was not very handsome. 3. *Zaxîn*, or

Jajîn. The name of the fourth is not known.

(E) *La Croix* affirms, the oriental historians make no mention of *Oktay's* children, excepting *Kayuk*, the eldest; but *Abû'lghâzi Khân* says, he had five, all by *Turagana* (or *Turakina*): 1. *Kayuk*, who, during his father's life, resided in the country of *Pamak*, and was always in a languishing state of health. 2. *Kutan*. 3. *Kuku*, who was a promising prince, but died before his father. 4. *Karazar*, or *Karajar*. 5. *Kâsbi*, so called because born at the time when *Jenghiz Khân* conquered *Targut*; but, as he gave himself up to excessive drinking, he died in the flower of his age.

A POOR

A POOR smith, having made six iron skewers, went to the 2. *Kbân* market in order to sell them; and, observing *Ugaday Khân* Oktay. to pass by, held them up that he might see them. The *Khân* hereupon sent to ask what he meant by that motion? *An in-* The smith answered, that they were six skewers, which *stante.* he had a mind to make him a present of. The *Khân* accepted of them; and, in return, gave him so many dinârs, or crowns of gold.

AN indigent person, who had neither wives nor children, *Another.* having waited on *Ugaday*, one day gave him to understand, that he had an inclination to fall into some little way of trade, but wanted money to carry it on. Hereupon the *Khân* ordered 200 dinârs of gold to be given him out of the treasury. Some court lords, who were present, would have dissuaded the *Khân* from this bounty, on a suggestion, that the man, having no family, the money, after his death, would pass to strangers. But *Ugaday* did not countermand the order; saying, "Since this man has implored my assistance, it " would be unjust in me to send him away empty-handed, " when it is in my power to help him." Hereupon he commanded the money to be paid him immediately; adding, "Now I have done my part, he may die when it pleaseth " God:" In effect, the old man had scarce received the sum, before he fell down stark dead.

ANOTHER poor man, named *Muslies*, having complained *A third.* to *Ugaday Khân*, that he had not wherewithal to support life; he ordered 500 gold dinârs to be given him. When he had eaten out that money, he came again to see the *Khân*, and received 500 more. Those being spent, like the rest, he came a-new to implore the monarch's assistance. Hereupon the lords, who were then in waiting, chid him for daring still to importune the *Khân* for money, after he had received so much already: saying, it was unjust to give such a quantity to one man; and that, considering how the cash already bestowed on him had been squandered, the treasury would not suffice to supply his expences long. But *Ugaday* finding, on enquiry, that he employed the sums he had received only in providing well for his back and belly; he declared that he could see no cause to reprimand the man so much; and, at the same time, ordered 500 dinârs more to be given him: recommending to him, however, to be more frugal of them than he had been of the former thousand.

ON a time, a man, belonging to the tribe of *Virats* (*Oy-Instances rats*, or *Brats*), who hated the *Mohammedans* exceedingly, of came and told *Ugaday*, or *Oktay*, that *Jenghiz Khân* had appeared to him in a dream; and commanded him to acquaint his

Tolyekona's regency.

his majesty, that he would have all the *Mohammedans* in his dominions put to the sword. The Khân asked him, If *Jenghiz Khân* had spoken to him in person, or by an interpreter? The man having answer'd, In person; the Khân asked again, If he could speak the *Mungl* language? The *Virat* replied, that he could not. Upon this *Ugaday* said to him, "My father spoke no other language: how durst you then come to tell me, that he spoke to you; seeing, that neither you understood his language, nor he yours?" And having, in this manner, detected him in a lye, he ordered that his impudence should be punished with death.

his justice. ANOTHER time, *Ugaday* having forbidden the killing of sheep any other way than by striking a knife into the breast; it happened that a *Mohammedan*, who had bought a mutton, carried it into his house, and privately cut the head off. A *Mungl*, who suspected what the *Mohammedan* intended to do, by the care he took to shut the door, got upon the house, to look down the chimney: and having, by that means, been witness to the fact, came down; and, seizing the man by the collar, carried him bound before the Khân. *Ugaday*, having well considered the affair, ordered the *Mungl* to be put to death, and the *Mohammedan* set at liberty: for this reason, that the latter, by taking all possible care not to be seen by any body, had, in effect, obeyed the law; whereas the former had openly violated the law, by getting upon his neighbour's house without his knowledge^k.

CH A P. II.

The Regency of Tolyekona; and Reign of Quey-yew Khân.

S E C T. I.

The Regency of Tolyekona, or Turakina Khatûn.

Chû-tlay's advice rejected.

AFTER the death of *Oktay*, the empress *Tolyekona* (A) caused herself to be acknowledged for regent of the empire at *Karakorum*, in spite of all the remonstrances of *Yichu*

^k ABU'LGH. p. 153, & seqq.

(A) According to *La Croix*, the empress *Turakina* was sister to Soltan *Jalâlo'ddin*. Mem. de de Trevoux, May 1711. — The Chinese history makes her of the *Naymachin* tribe; and she had

Quey-yew in 1206; before which time it is not probable that a sister of *Jalâlo'ddin*, would have been sixth wife to a son of *Jenghiz Khân*. Gaubil.

Chû-tlay;

Chû-tsay; who declared that *Shelyemen* ought to be proclaimed emperor, in obedience to his grandfather's will. But the empress rejected this proposal, under various pretences; and knowing dexterously how to take advantage of the absence of the best generals, who were in *China* and the west, she, by the support of her son *Quay-yew*, and several chiefs of tribes, governed the state with the authority of an emperor. Mean time she gave notice to the commanders who were in foreign parts, and sent them orders relating to the wars. This princess had a great deal of address, and knew how to gain the interest of the grandees. She particularly made use of the services of *Gautû-lauman*, the *Whey-hû* lord before-mentioned, who was much esteemed by her; and through her means had insinuated himself into the favour of her late husband. As this grandee managed the treasury, he furnished *Tolyekona* with a great deal of money; which she employed to pay the troops, make creatures, and dispose all parties to consent that her son should be emperor.

YELU Chû-tsay, finding he only lost time in endeavouring to persuade the empress to a speedy enthronement of *Shelyemen*, attempted to remove *Gautû-lauman* from the ministry; by representing to her that the finances were out of order, and that every thing was done at *Karakorum* by dint of money. But, far from paying any regard to his remonstrances, *Gautû-lauman* gained a greater ascendant than ever in the mind of the empress, who besides was much esteemed by all the *Mungls*. *Yelu Chû-tsay* became so greatly chagrined to see himself as it were disgraced, after the figure which he had made in the state, that, taking it deeply to heart, he died two years after (B) at *Karakorum*, at the age of fifty-five.

THIS great man was a prince of the *Lyau* family, as the term *Yelu* in his name indicates. The first time he was brought before *Jenghîz Khân*, that prince asked him, "If he was not pleased to see his house revenged of the evils which it had suffered from that of the *Kin*?" *Chû-tsay* answered, "That, in honour, he was obliged to be affected with the misfortune of princes, to whom he had been much beholden, both in point of interest and honour." Afterwards, when become the Khân's prime minister, his whole study was to render his reign glorious. He was continually inspiring that prince, his children, and the *Mungls* in general, with an aversion to slaughter and pillage, as well as a love for the people, and good government. The pains which he took to reform the manners and dispositions of the

(B) In March 1243.

Tolyekona's regency. *Mungls* cannot be sufficiently commended. He was their first master, and, as it were, their lawgiver: he made for them a kalendar, which he finished in *Persia*, after the conference which he had with the mathematicians of that country.

great knowledge: HE was well versed in the *Chinese* sciences and history, and possessed, in an eminent degree, the qualifications of a minister. He had a firmness of resolution not to be shaken, an extraordinary presence of mind, a vast knowledge of the countries subject to his master, discernment in the choice of persons, and sure resources for supplies of money and provisions on all emergencies. His zeal was purely disinterested, and he continually sacrificed his own advantages to those of the state. He was at great expence to procure the *Mong* workmen, officers, and engineers, from all countries. At the taking of *Ning-hya*, capital of the *Hya* kingdom, the *Mungls* committed great disorders in plundering the city and palace of the king: *Chû-tsai* took for his part the geographical maps, the books, paintings, and several bales of *barb*. The army, after this, being afflicted with a malignant fever, and other diseases, the minister became the physician, and, by giving *rhubarb* to the soldiers, saved their lives.

zeal for learning: HIS zeal for advancing the sciences was very ardent. He rescued from death many thousand *Chinese* literati, and caused public colleges to be built; in which the *Mungls* were taught history, geography, arithmetic, and astronomy. He sent for learned men from the countries of the *Igirs*, *Arabs*, *Persia*, and other western regions; and ordered many books to be translated. It would be endless to enumerate all the great things which this sage minister did for the glory of his master, and happiness of the people. This appeared in nothing more sensibly than in his regulations with regard to the customs, commerce, the public granaries, and the subordination which he introduced among the Mandarins both civil and military. The natural ferocity of the *Mungls*, their ignorance, and the manner in which they had been educated, were great obstacles to the execution of his grand designs. He procured to be abolished the custom of selecting, at certain times, the most beautiful maidens for the emperor's palace. He was, with regard to himself, quite irreproachable. His sons and grandsons were educated by himself, and formed by his hand to the love of the sciences and virtues. One of his sons was particularly eminent that way; and, from his father's memoirs, composed the history of the *Kim* and *Lyau*^a.

^a GAUBIL hist. Gentch. p. 101, & seqq.

AFTER the death of *Yelu Chû-tsay*, *Tolyekona*, at the instigation of his enemies, had an enquiry made into his effects; but that enquiry filled them with confusion: they found only a small quantity of money, but a great number of volumes, written with his own hand, on history, astronomy, agriculture, government, and commerce. They likewise met with ancient coins, musical instruments, old books, and inscriptions, cut either on stones, marble, or metal. He was very sedulous in his travels to amass these sorts of curiosities, instead of the immense riches which he might have acquired. *Chû-tsay* had many enemies, but the history (C) has done justice to him; and the *Mungls*, to this day, bestow on him the greatest eulogies. The remains of his tomb are still to be seen some leagues to the south-west of *Pe-king*. Let us now return to the *Mungl* affairs.

IN 1241, the *Song* generals, who had retaken *Ching-tû-fû*, the capital of *Se-chwen*, left there for governor a good officer, named *Ching-long-chi*: but *Wang-sbi-hyen* (D) having been sent by general *Tahay* to besiege him; he was, after ten days brave defence, betrayed by an officer, who delivered up the city. *Long-chi*, being taken, was put in a chariot, and carried before *Han-chew*, a city in the same district, in order to oblige the governor to surrender: but, as soon as he became acquainted with their design, he cried out as loud as he could, to let that commander know, that he ought to die rather than surrender; on saying which words, he was immediately slain. After this, 3000 of the garrison sallied to attack the *Mungls*; but, being surrounded, were all put to the sword. Mean time *Yue-lima-tse*, a foreigner, but remarkable for his fidelity, was sent with a train of seventy persons to the *Song*, with proposals of peace: but, on his way through *Hu-quang*, he was stopped at *Chang-sha*, by the officer who commanded there; and when that lord could not be prevailed on, either by threats or promises, to enter into the *Chinese* service, the Mandarin imprisoned him in a fortress, where he died soon after, at the age of thirty-six: but *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Koplay*) *Khân* rewarded the son for the loyalty of his father.

A POTENT army, commanded by *Yeko Noyen*, a great *Meng*, *Mungl* lord, and *Yelu Ko*, a *Kitân* prince, having marched by the way of *Si-gan-fû*, capital of *Shen-si*, and entered *Se-chwen*, laid siege to *Lû-chew*. This news coming to the ears

(C) The *Chinese* history of the *Mungls* has given at large the life of this great man. *Gaub.* *Kong-chang*, which (p 498.) surrendered to *Kotorvan*; and died, much regretted, soon after *Yelu*

(D) He was the governor of *Chû-tsay*. *Gaubil.*

**Tolyekona's re-
gency.** of *Meng-kong*, in the beginning of 1242, he caused the frontiers on the side of *Hu-quang*, which he guarded with great attention, to be examined; and, finding a city not well provided, according to his orders, cut off the governor's head. This example of severity made the other officers more vigilant; and it had been happy for the *Song* if all their generals had been of *Meng-kong's* character ^b.

**A. D.
1244.**

**Quey-
yew de-
clared
Khân.**

**Conquests
in the west.**

**Death of
Sû-pû-
tay.**

PRINCE *Gan-chi-tay*, who commanded at *Tsi-nan-fû*, had orders in 1244 to attack the *Song* on the side of *Feng-yang-fû* in *Kyang-nan*; and in July 1245, the generals *Cheng-jau* and *Cha-han* made incursions into that province, as far as *Yang-chew*. In the same month the empress *Tûrakinah*, or more properly *Tolyekona*, having convened a general assembly of the grandees and princes, by her intrigues got her son *Quey-yew* to be declared Khân; and, soon after his installation, the princes *Patû*, *Mengo*, with the generals *Sûpûtay*, *Mangkûsar*, and others, arrived at *Karakoram*, after an absence of several years. Their first expedition was to the north of the *Caspian*, where *Mengo* defeated a prince called *Pacheman*; who was taken and slain, as he was flying to one of the islands in that sea. After this expedition, they marched against the *Olotse* (or *Russians*), took the city of *Tuli-tse-tse*, and sacked that of *Ye-li-tsan*; in both which they met with a very great resistance. Then they ravaged the country of *Ye-lye-pan*, made a road over the mountain *Atsali*, took the country of *Machar* (E), and vanquished king *Kyo-hyen*. Being advanced to the river *Kon-ning*, a great battle was there fought, in which the *Mungls* were beaten. Upon this ill success *Patû* and *Mengko* were for retiring; but *Sûpûtay* kept up the courage of those princes.

THE news of *Oktay's* death made them resolve to return; and they arrived at *Karakoram* towards the end of the year 1246. Not long after, *Sûpûtay* died at the age of thirty-seven, lamented by all the princes of the imperial family; and especially by the *Mungl* officers who had served under him. The history remarks, that the army commanded by this general, *Patû*, and *Mengko*, entered a country whose inhabitants had blue eyes and fair hair: that the days, at the summer solstice, were very long; and that they had scarce any night at that season. We know that this, and other armies of the *Mungls*, ravaged *Russia*, *Poland*, *Moravia*, *Bohemia*, *Austria*,

^b GAUBIL, p. 88, & seq.

(E) Meaning, perhaps, *Majar*; by which name the *Turks* and *Tatars* denote *Hungary*.

and *Hungary* : but it is difficult to discover the names which ^{3. Khân} are given to those countries in the *Chinese* history, which ^{Kayúk.} speaks of them in so concise and confused a manner c.

S E C T. II.

The reign of Quey-yew, or Kayúk Khân.

THE emperor *Quey-yew* (A) having had a very great *The Bon-* respect and tenderness for his mother *Tolyekona*, that *was encon-* princess had the greater share of the government in her *aged.* hands. *Ching-hay*, and *Gautú-lauman*, before-mentioned, were his chief counsellors (B) ; and it is under this Khân that the *Chinese* history begins to speak of the extraordinary credit which the Bonzas of the west (C) had at the *Mungl* court ; whereas during the reigns of *Jenghiz Khân* and *Oktay Khân*, neither the Bonzas nor Lamas were employed in affairs. Among the occidental Bonzas were two brothers, born in (D) *Chú-kyen* (or *Kashmír*), the elder named *Wa-to-chi*, the younger *Namo*. They were both very learned in the doctrines of *Fo*, and loved by the emperor : who gave the former a gold seal, which he wore at his girdle ; and sent him as commissioner over the empire to examine into the distresses of the people.

IN *September* this year the *Song* empire received one of the *Meng-* greatest losses which could have happened to it, in the death of *kong diess*.

c GAUBIL, p. 103, & seq.

(A) Called *Gáyúk*, or *Kayúk*, by the *Persian* and *Tatar* historians.

(B) It does not appear on what grounds *La Croix* affirms, that the two first ministers of *Kyúk Khân* were Christians ; nor can *Gaubil* tell what to think of Christians being spread through *Tartary*, and the court of the *Mungl*. It is certain, that the *Chinese* have often considered, as western Bonzas and *Mohammedans*, the Christians whom they have seen among them ; and, notwithstanding all that has been said by the above-mentioned author, *D'Herbelot*, *La Chaise*, in the life of St.

Lewis, *Marco Polo*, and others ; yet, when matters come to be compared and weighed, one must needs adhere to what is related in the *Chinese* history. *Gaubil*.

(C) These are the Lamas, or priests of *Tibet* : called of the west, to distinguish them from the *Chinese* priests of *Fo* ; who are simply named Bonzas by the *Portugueses*, and *Ho-sheng* by the *Chinese*.

(D) The country of *Kashmír*, the most northern province of the *Mogul* empire in *India* :—it is in the history expressly said to be *Kashmír*. *Gaub.*

3. *Khân*
Kayuk.

general *Meng-kong*. He was a native of *Tsau-yang*, a city in the district of *Syang-yang* in *Hu-quang*. From the time of the war in *Ho-nan*, the *Mungl* commanders held him in great account for his valour and knowledge in military affairs. Where-ever he had occasion to fight the *Mungls*, he defeated them. A series of considerable actions, with a great neglect of pleasures and riches; much liberality, as well as assiduity, to comfort the poor officers and soldiers, joined to a thorough knowledge of the places where he made war, and this supported by an extraordinary degree of intrepidity and activity, gained him a high reputation among the *Chineses* and *Tatars*. He was withal learned, and delighted to read the ancient book *I-king* (E).

Korea
humbled.
A. D.
1247.

THE kingdom of *Korea* having refused to pay tribute to the *Mungls*, in 1247 *Quey-yew* sent thither an army, which obliged the king not only to submit to that imposition, but likewise to receive commanders appointed by the *Mungl*. The history says very little concerning the reign of this *Khân*, or his actions either in *China* or *Tartary*; and although it speaks of an army sent by him into the west, yet it neither mentions what it did there, nor the country to which it was destined.

Death
of *Quey-*
yew.

IN March 1248 (F), the emperor *Quey-yew* died, at the age of forty-three, in the country of *Hong-syang-i-cul* (G). He had by the empress *Waulihamisib*, named by the western Asiatic writers *Ogulkanmisib* (H), three sons and two daughters. No mention is made of the actions of the three princes (I).

The

(E) One of the classical books among the *Chineses*, explained by *Kong-fu-tse*, or *Kon-fusius*.

(F) The year of his death is marked in the history by that of the *ape*; and it is certain, that his death happened in 1248. *Gaubil*. Frier *Rubruquis* could never learn the circumstances of this prince's death, whom he calls *Ken Khân*. One Frier *Andrews* told him, it was occasioned by the poison given to him by *Baatu's* orders: others said, that *Baatu*, being sent for to court, and being afraid, sent his brother *Stitchin* before; and, while he presented *Ken Khân*

the cup at table, a quarrel arising between them, they slew each other. *Purch. Pil. r.* vol. III. p. 23, & seq. — *Motkin* lies, or ignorance.

(G) Others say, in *Wbey mi-sye yang-ki-cul*. Its situation is not marked; but it could not be far from *Karakorum*. *Gaub.*

(H) So we find her named in *D'Herbelot*, p. 358, of his *Biblioth. Orient.*

(I) Nor, it seems, of their names. *La Croix* says, the oriental historians make no mention of *Keyük's* children; yet *Abûlghâzi Khân*, p. 157, says, he left three sons, *Khoja*, *Ogul*, and *Bagu*, born of the same mother,

The eldest of the princesses married the prince of the *Pe-tata* 3. *Khân*, (or white *Tata*), descended from *Alakus*, mentioned in the *Kayúk*. reign of *Jenghiz Khân*. The younger was married to the grandson of *Stúgú*, prince of *Turfan*.

AFTER his death, the empress *Waulihamisb* (K) governed *Empress* the empire; and, whether by order of her husband, or of *Wauli* her own accord, she resolved to cause prince *She-lye-men* to *regent*. be declared emperor, pursuant to the appointment of the emperor *Ogotay*. Her regency was not very happy. Prince *She-lye-men*, who wanted nothing of the emperor but the name, made very little account of the grandees and princes; giving access to none of them but such as his mother, the empress dowager, the empress *Wauli*, and the empress *Tolyekona*, thought fit. People complained loudly that the court was too expensive in jewels and precious stones, which they purchased dear of the *Whey-hu* (L) merchants; and that the subjects were continually forced to furnish horses to the lords, who rode post day and night. Mean time the drought and mortality among the cattle had reduced many countries to famine; and there was not money to pay the great armies which were on foot. At length the empress regent agreed with the princes and great lords to hold a general assembly at *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorum*), in the beginning of the year 1251.

AT the time appointed the states met: *Patú* (or *Batú*), *Meng-ko* eldest son of *Chuchi* (or *Fuji*), presided in the assembly; where they began to deliberate about proclaiming an emperor. *Pala*, a *Mungl* lord or prince, spoke first in the name of the empress regent; and declared, that, according to the orders of the emperor *Ogotay*, *She-lye-men* ought to be elected *Khân*. *Moko*, one of the sons of *Toley* (or *Tuli*), said, that

deceased
A. D.
1251:

mother, named *Khamisb* (doubtless the *Haymisb* of the *Chinese*, and *Ganmisb* of the *Persian* historians); he adds, that *Bagu*, who had a son called *Oku*; and *Oku*, ten sons. Both this author, and *La Croix*, put *Kayúk's* death in 1246.

(K) The history blames *Key-saw* for not having governed by himself; for giving too much power to his mother, and the great men, as well as favouring too much the Bonzas of the west; but praises him for his liberality and his courage in the

wars. He commanded in chief the armies sent against *Korea*; and conquered the country of *Asú*, near the *Caspian* sea. *Gaub.* —Where that country is, does not appear. *Altúlgázi Khân* says, he outdid all his predecessors in the magnificent presents, which, at the beginning of his reign, he distributed among the grandees of the empire. But that was to secure his interest against *Shelyemen*.

(L) By the *Whey-hu* are to be understood properly the *Mohammedans*. *Gaubil*.

3. *Khân*,
Kayük.

by the
States;

by the in-
fluence

there was none who durst oppose the positive command of a dying emperor. *Patú* said nothing at first, and seemed inclined to execute the will, of *Ogotay*. The brothers and uncles of *She-lye-men*, with the sons of *Quey-ycw*, and their friends, followed the advice of *Pala*. The general *Mangusar* was the first who proposed *Meng-ko* for emperor: he was seconded by *Hu-lyang-hutay*, great general of the troops, who made a speech in favour of that prince; and said, that the circumstances of the times required that he should be elected. The advice of the great general was of mighty weight in the affair. In fine, *Patú*, who spoke last, declared that *Meng-ko* ought to be chosen (M). This opinion being carried by a majority of voices, *Meng-ko* was accordingly proclaimed and acknowledged emperor at *Karakorum*. The partisans of *She-lye-men*, spirited doubtless under-hand by the empress regent, appeared resolved to proclaim that prince. On this occasion a second assembly was held in *June*, at the source of the river *Wa-nan*, or *Onon*: but, maugre all the cabals of *She-lye-men*, the princes and generals of his party, the election of *Meng-ko* was confirmed; and the year 1251, which is the year of the *hog* (N), is marked in history for the first of his reign.

THIS is the *Chinese* account of *Meng-ko*, or *Mangusar Khân's* election. Let us now see what the more western historians say on that occasion. According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, after the death of *Kayuk Khân*, the *Mungls* were long in doubt on whom to confer the government, considering the great number of *Jenghiz Khân's* descendants: but as *Sarkhoktney* (O) *Beghi Jehân*, the favourite widow of *Tasly* (*Toley*, or *Tuli*) *Khân*, had by her charities gained the hearts of all, every one wished that the empire might devolve to one of her sons. It is true, *Batú*, son of *Chuchi*, or *Juji Khân*, who resided in *Dasht Kipjak* (P), seemed to be the person whom the succession naturally had an eye: but as he had no desire to take the trouble on him, he invited all the princes of the house of *Jenghiz Khân* to repair to him, in order

* GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 105, & seqq.

(M) According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, in gratitude to *Batú*, for the service done him on this occasion, he yielded to him in every thing, and relied on him in all affairs of consequence; he likewise changed his name from *Batú* into that of *Saghin Khân*.

(N) In the duodenary cycle of the *Mungls* and *Tatars*.

(O) Called in the *Chinese* history *Sarkutna*.

(P) That is, the plain of *Kipjak*; intimating its being champaign country, for it consists of wide extended plains.

choose a Khân. Some resolved to go; others refused; alleging, that the election ought to be made in the place where the Khâns usually resided. However, the widow of *Taylay* persuaded her five sons to attend *Batu's* summons; and the rather, as, being much distempered in his feet, it was fit they should pay him a visit. *Batu* received them with all imaginable honours; and, the day of meeting being come, recommended *Mangu*, the eldest of *Taylay's* sons, as a proper person to fill the vacant throne. This proposal having met with a general approbation of the princes and lords, they agreed to put off his inauguration till the end of the current year: and, at the beginning of the next, viz. 648, in another assembly, he was proclaimed Khân. When the ceremony was over, *Mangu* treated all those who met on that occasion for seven days; in which time were consumed, every day, eight waggon-loads of wine, two of brandy, and twenty of *kumis*, or liquors. There were likewise killed for dressing, 300 horses, as many cows, and 1000 sheep^b.

4. Khân,
Mangû.
of prince
Batû.

A. D.
1250.

CHAP. IV.

The Reign of Mengko, or Mangû Khân.

THE emperor *Mengko* had much vivacity and courage, having gained great experience in the campaigns which he made in *Shen-si* and *Ho-nan*, with his father *Töley*; as well as in the war which engaged him so long in the west. He was personally acquainted with the vast dominions of the *Mungls*, and most of the generals, whether *Chinese*, *Tatars*, or foreigners. He appointed his brother *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Kublai*), lieutenant-general in all the countries south of the *Great Kobi*, or desert; that is, of *Tartary* bordering on the great wall of *China*, *Lyau-tong*, and the conquered provinces of *China*. He nominated generals to command in the countries of *Almalig* and *Kshgar*, on the river *Amû*, and in the parts adjoining to the rivers *Irtish*, *Selinga*, *non*, *Tula*, and *Kerlon*. He likewise ordered a great army to encamp near *Karakorum*. He recalled the seals from the mandarins and officers, and published rules for government.

MEAN while general *Mangûsar* having discovered a conspiracy, formed by several princes and lords, in favour of *he-lye-men*, he was ordered to seize them: which he did, and cut off their heads. *Abû'lghâzi Khân* relates the circum-

Fourth
Khân,
Mengko.

Plot in fa-
vour

^b ABU'LGH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 158, & seq.
si supr. p. 109

* GAUBIL,

4. *Khan*,
Mangû.

of *Shira-*
mun;

who is
watched.

stances of this plot in the following manner: Shortly after *Mangû Khân*'s advancement, *Shiramûn* (in *Chinese*, *She-h-men*), one of *Ugaday Khân*'s grandsons, persuaded the other princes of that Khan's race to make away with *Mangû*, as having usurped the throne in prejudice to them. This, he said, might be done with very little risque, because he suspected nothing. The proposal being approved of, *Shiramûn* marched before, with a detachment of 500 men, and some waggons, loaded with arms. But a domestic of the *Khân*, who was in search of some strayed dromedaries, happening to pass by a place where they stopped in the evening, suspected they had some ill design in hand, and hastened back to inform the *Khân* of it. *Mangû*, on this advice, sent 1000 of his principal officers, with 2000 soldiers, to know the occasion of their meeting; and being answered by *Shiramûn*, that he was going to pay his compliments to the *Khân*, they conducted him and his followers to court. *Mangû* treated them very handsomely for three days: but, on the fourth, having strictly examined some of them, concerning the intention of their assembling, and they confessing that it was to revolt, he put to death fourscore, and pardoned the rest, together with *Shiramûn*, and the children of *Kayâk Khân*. The monk *Rubruquis*, who makes *Shiramûn* *Kayâk*'s brother, reports, that the plot having been discovered, much in the manner as above related, *Mangû Khân* put him to death with his eldest son, and 300 *Tartar* lords; not sparing even the ladies, who were first whipped, to make them confess. However, he pardoned *Shiramûn*'s youngest son, and let him possess his father's effects ^c.

AFTER this, *Mengkö* took all places of trust and consequence from those whom he knew to be inclined to *She-h-men*; and caused that prince, as well as others, of the family of *Ogotay* and *Quey-yew*, to be narrowly watched. About the same time he ordered *Holitay*, one of his generals, to enter *Tibet*, and put to the sword all those who refused to submit to the *Mungls*. He also appointed Bonzas of the sect of *Ta* and *Fo*, to govern the other Bonzas of their respective sects. He conferred on the princess his mother the title of empress, and caused a palace to be built, to honour the memory of prince *Taley* (or *Tuli*), his father. He bestowed on him the title of *Whang-ti* (A), or emperor, and the name of *Jû-i-tsung* (B).

^b ABU'LG. p. 159, & seq.

^c PURCH. pilgr. vol. iii. p. 23.

(A) *Whang*, august; *Ti*, lord, sovereign.

(B) *Jû i*, full of spirit; *tsung*, respectable.

PRINCE *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Kublay*) always preserved much esteem and gratitude for a *Chinese* lord, called *Tau-sbû*, from whom he had learned the *Chinese* language and literature. *Tau* was one of the most learned men of his time, and of known integrity, with a genius and prudence more than common. When *Hû-pi-lay* went to take possession of his government, he carried that lord with him, to profit by his knowledge and advice: *Tau-sbû* began by presenting the prince with a book upon good government; wherein he fully set forth the manner in which *Hû-pi-lay* ought to comport himself towards the *Chinese*, *Tatars*, the troops, the lords, and the princes of his house. This work giving *Hû-pi-lay* a higher idea of his master than before, he put himself wholly under his direction: and to this sage conduct it was that he owed the empire which he afterwards obtained. By *Tau-sbû*'s advice he applied himself wholly to war, and the care of the troops; leaving other affairs to the Mandarins appointed by the emperor.

As in *Hô-nan*, and the conquered parts of *Hû-quang* and *Kyang-nan*, there were many towns, and even cities, without inhabitants, as well as great and beautiful plains quite desert; *Tau-sbû* erected at *Kay-song-Fû* a tribunal, whose business was to assemble as many husbandmen and peasants as they could; among whom, after furnishing them with proper necessaries, they distributed lands to cultivate; and settled what they were yearly to give the emperor, towards supplying the public magazines and granaries. This regulation extremely pleased the *Chinese*, who were, besides, charmed to see *Hû-pi-lay* skilled in their sciences. On the other hand, he gave the *Tatars* no less pleasure, by paying the troops; by well distinguishing the officers of merit, by consulting the old and experienced, shooting with the bow, going a hunting, and doing many other things agreeable to their taste.

In January 1252, the princess, mother of the emperor Mengko's *Mengko*, died, generally lamented. She was daughter of the prince of the *Kara-it*, brother of *Wang-Khân*; for whose relations, as well as tribe, the *Mungls* had always a very great respect. About the same time the *Khân* being informed that several princes were still inclined to set *She-lye-men* on the throne, the desire of keeping possession caused him to do things which made a great noise. He ordered prince *Hoan-gur*, son of *Hasar*, *Jenghiz Khân*'s brother, who commanded the troops encamped near *Karakorum*, to make a review of them there; and repaired himself in summer to that city; where he ordered all the grandees, generals, and princes of the blood, to attend him. He banished the princess, who was

4. *Khân*, the third wife of the late emperor *Ogotay*, and confiscated her effects. He, in like manner, took from the other wife of that monarch all their gold, silver, and precious stones which he distributed among the princes, lords, and officers. Prince *Hatan* was exiled to *Bisbâleg*; *Myeli* (C) to a country near the river *Irtisb*; *Perko* to *Kurchi* (D); *Toto* to *Imi* (E). *Mongoto* (F) was banished also; as well as the brothers of *She-lye-men* and prince *Haytu*, who was the son of *Hasbe* (G), son of *Ogotay*. As for *She-lye-men*, he was fettered, and confined in a fortress^d.

and cruel-
ty.

BUT what made the greatest noise of all, was the sentence of death pronounced against the empress *Wauli-baymish* (H), formerly regent of the empire, and dowager of *Quey-yen*; and against the princess, mother of *She-lye-men*. Sentence was executed upon both these great ladies; and, to palliate the action, it was given out, that they were magicians (I), and made use of divers forceries to set the crown on *She-lye-men*'s head. But the history disculpateth these princesses, and treats *Mengko* very ill. It says plainly, that they ought to have adhered to *Ogotay*'s will; adding, that posterity would accuse *Mengko* both of tyranny and usurpation. After this, the new Khan bestowed great largesses on the troops, diminished the taxes, and ordered all the officers to hold their troops in readiness, on the first warning. This same year *Mengko* made a solemn sacrifice to heaven, on a mountain; and informed himself, from the *Chinese* literati, of the ceremonies observed in the sacrifice. The Lama *Na-mo* was at

^d GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 109, & seqq.

(C) *Hatan* and *Myeli* were two of *Ogotay*'s sons.

(D) *Gaubil* knows not where *Kurchi* is situate. *Kurchi*, or *Ku ji*, has a great similitude with *Kurje*, or *Kurj*, a country mentioned by *La Croix*, on the north of *China*; but that country, which he mistakes for *Korea*, appears, from circumstances, to be *Lyau-tong*, which we cannot well suppose is meant here.

(E) *Gaubil* is likewise at a loss for *Imi*, which seems to be *Imil*, a city mentioned by *Alâ'jâr-j* and *Alâ'lgâzi Khân*; but where situated, neither of them specifies. There is a ri-

ver of this name, to the south of the *Irtisb*.

(F) *Perko*, *Toto*, and *Mongoto*, were grandsons of *Ugady*.

(G) This must have been *Kasbi*, mentioned by *Abû'lghâzi* among the sons of *Ogotay*, & hath been observed in a former note.

(H) By the oriental authors called *Ogul Ganmish*. In the life of St. *Lewis*, *Sbarmis*.

(I) *Mengko* told the ambassadors of St. *Lewis*, that *Sbarmis* was a sorceress; but, it is likely, ordered that none should speak of her death. *Gaub.*

clared head of his religion in the empire, with the title of the emperor's doctor and preceptor. His brother *Watq-chi*, another Lama, had great employs at court.

In December the Khân erected the lands of China into fiefs, for the princes of his house. *Hû-pi-lay* had for his share *Hq-nan*, and part of *Shen-si*. This prince having received orders the same month to attack the city of *Ta-li-fû*, in *Yun-nan*, he took with him the general *Hû-lyang-bûtay*, and *Tau-sbû* his counsellor, before-mentioned. About the same time envoys arrived from the country of *Intû*, or *Hintûs* (K), to render homage to the emperor.

In February 1253 *Mengko* assembled the princes and grandees at the river *Onon*, from whence he resolved to send armies on foreign conquests; one to *India* and *Kashmîr*, another against *Korea*, and a third against the *Khalîfah*, or *Soltân of Bâghdâd* (L). This last, the most considerable of the three, was put under the command of *Hyy-le-hû*, or *Hulâkû*, the emperor's brother. Among the generals who served under him was *Kokan* (M), a native of the city *Ching*, dependant on *Wha-chew*, in the district of *Si-gan-fû*, capital of *Shen-si*: he was versed in mathematics, military affairs, and geography; he was likewise in great reputation among the troops.

PRINCE *Hû-pi-lay*, who had assembled his army the year before at *Lin-tau-fû*, in *Shen-si*, entered *Se-chwen*; and by difficult roads, through mountains and precipices, arrived on the river *Kin-sba*, or the *Kyang*. Great part of *Yun-nan* province was then possessed by princes independent of China. *Tali*, in particular, had a king of its own, who was taken with that city in December. *Hû-pi-lay* would have put all the inhabitants to death, but *Tau-sbû* diverted from that cruel design. The prince caused a map of the country to be given him, subdued the neighbouring princes, and penetrated into *Tibet*, where several others submitted to him. After this he returned to his government, leaving *Hu-lyang-hotay* to command the troops.

In 1254, *Mengko* again assembled the *Tatar* princes and lords, at the source of the *Onon*, where he made them great presents in gold, silver, and silks: he likewise fixed what

(K) It is also called *Sbin-tû*, that is, the country of *India*, or the *Hindous*; called *Hindûstân* by the orientals; who also distinguish it into *Hend* and *Send*, like the *Chinese*.

(L) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* says, these expeditions were occa-

sioned by the Khân's neighbours, both on the east and west, forming designs against his empire.

(M) His father *Ko-chay*, and grandfather *Ko-pau-yu*, were generals of *Jengbiz Khân*.

4. *Klân*,
Mangû.

by Meng-
ko.

Mungls
improved.
A. D.
1255.

The court
removed

to Shang-
tû.

the emperor was thenceforward to bestow on them every year : and performed another sacrifice to heaven. He ordered the troops in *China* to make great magazines of provisions in such cities of *Ho-nan* as they had inclosed with walls. Hitherto they had only made incursions into *Se-chwen*, to pillage the country, from whence they were obliged to retreat, and often with loss, for want of subsistence. For this reason *Mengh* ordered general *Wang-te-ching*, son of *Wang-sbi-hyen*, to inclose several towns with strong walls, and lay in store of provisions. The Khân likewise gained the love of the people, by the care he took to hinder his troops from ravaging the plains and lands of the peasants. He caused diligent enquiries to be made secretly upon that head ; made those amends who had been sufferers, and punished with death, even considerable officers, who had been aggressors. Nay, he severely punished his own son, for having, one time, in hunting, spoiled the plowed lands of certain countrymen*.

In February 1255, *Hû-pi-lay* sent for a famous Chinese literato, called *Hyu-heng*, born at *Ho-ney* (N), in *Ho-nan*, who was much endeared to the *Mungls*. He took infinite pains to induce them to study the sciences ; which they at length did, under his tuition, with such success, that they fell short in nothing of the *Chineses* themselves.

In June 1256, *Mengko* made great feasts for the princes and grandees. At the same time he received homages from several princes of *Yun-nan*, and the neighbouring princes, as well as from the Soltans of the west. As *Karakorum* seemed to him very incommodious for holding general assemblies, and keeping his court ; he ordered a Chinese Bonza, called *Lyew-ping-chong*, to chuse a place in *Tartary*, which might thenceforth be capital of his dominions. *Ping-chong*, who was a man of great genius, skilled in mathematics, history, and almost all parts of literature, made choice of a place called *Long-kang*, to the east of the city *Whan-chew* ; where they built a great city, with a palace for the emperor and grandees, temples, and tribunals ; the whole surrounded with high and thick walls. In the neighbouring country they pitched on places for hunting, fishing, and whatever else might serve for the conveniencies of the new city ; which was called *Kay-ping fû* (O), and in a short time filled with an infinite num-

* GAUBIL. p. 112, & seq.

(N) In the district of *Wbay-kin Fû*.

(O) And afterwards *Shang-tû*.
Lat. 42° 25' long 111° 50' west
of *Pe-king*.

ba

ber of *Chineses* and *Mungls*. Yet *Karakorum* still continued to be considerable, and enjoy a jurisdiction of greater extent.

IN 1257, *Mengko* sent orders to his generals in *Se-chwen*, *Hu-quang*, and *Kyang-nan*, to prepare for attacking the *Song* on all sides; resolving himself to make the campaign in the first of those provinces. Before he left *Tartary*, he went to honour the memory of his grandfather *Jenghtz Khán*, in the palace destined for that use: and in *July* made a solemn sacrifice to heaven. After this he appointed his brother *Alipúko* (P) to command in *Karakorum*, and left the general *Alan-tar* to assist him with his advice. Then setting out the same month, he came to the mountain *Lew-pán*, in *Shen-si*, where *Jenghtz Khán* died. He was scarce arrived, when he understood that his brother *Hú-pi-lay* was come, with his family, and without any attendance, in the form of a criminal, to submit himself implicitly to the orders of his majesty: which news affected *Mengko*, and began to remove the suspicions which he had conceived against his brother.

HU-PI-LAY was greatly loved and esteemed by the *Chineses*, whom he governed with gentleness. He was accused of making himself independent; and his having gained the affections of the soldiers and the *Chineses* was interpreted to his disadvantage. *Mengko* began by depriving him of his government, and turning out some generals, who seemed too much attached to him. Officers were appointed to command in *China*, and Mandarins to try those who were found to be criminals. While these judges repaired to *Si-gan Fu*, capital of *Shen-si*, and prepared to execute the emperor's orders; *Hú-pi-lay*, stunned with this sudden disgrace, seemed inclined at first view to have recourse to arms, and revenge himself on those who were the authors of it: but as he did nothing without the advice of *Tau-shú*, this lord counselled him instantly to depart, without any troops, and, throwing himself at the emperor's feet, offer to give up to him his wives, concubines, and children, with all the riches that he had in gold, silver, and precious stones. *Hú-pi-lay* took his advice; which had so happy an effect, that *Mengko*, when he beheld his brother's humiliation, found himself touched; and his ancient tenderness for him returning, he embraced him several times with tears, revoked all his orders, gave him full power, and ordered him to prepare for the siege of *Vú-chang Fú*, capital of *Hú-quang*; then to march to *Hang-chew*, the metropolis of *Che-kyang*, and empire of the *Song*. At the

4. *Khán*,
Mangú.

Expedition
into Shen-
si.

A. D.
1257.

Kublai's
prudence

prevents
his dis-
grace.

(P) Called *Aribuga*, *Arigbuka*, and *Artikbuga*, by the oriental authors.

same

4. *Khân, Mangû.* same time he nominated general *Chang-jan* to command under him f.

Hâ-lyang's conquests.

WHILE these things were transacting on this side, *Hu-lyang-botay*, after the conquest of *Tibet* in 1255, subdued most of the countries bordering on *Tun-nan*: after which he undertook to penetrate as far as *Tong-king* and *Kochin-china*, which, at that time, were comprehended under the name of *Gan-nan*. Pursuant to this design, he sent officers to the king of that great country, to summon him to pay tribute to the *Mungls*: but, on advice that those envoys were imprisoned, he marched to the capital of the kingdom, ruined it, plundered the country; and was on the point of returning towards *Tali*, when he received orders from *Mengko* to make all possible haste to join *Hâ-pi-lay*, at the siege of *Vâ-chay Fû*.

Mengko's force. THE army of *Mengko* was divided into three bodies, in order to enter *Se-chuen* by three different parts, when the *Arab*, *Persian*, and other foreign merchants, offered the emperor precious stones, valued at 500,000 *lyangs* (Q). The *Khân* refused them at first, saying, that, in his present circumstances, silver and copper money was of use to him: however, in regard to the general *Tsay-tyen-che* (R), and other western lords, he took some of their jewels, and gave them silver; but forbade to offer him any for the future. As soon as the army decamped from the mountain *Lâ-pan*, *Po-ti-chi*, a great *Tatar* lord, was nominated to command the first body: *Mu-ko*, the emperor's brother, led the second: and the *Khân* himself would conduct the third; which took the route of *Han-chong Fû*, in *Shen-si*.

Vigorous opposition

THE *Song* always took care to furnish *Se-chuen* with good troops, well officered; so that, in spite of the formidable armies of the *Mungls*, they stood their ground: and although beaten, being but few, they commonly retook the cities which the enemy had reduced; because the *Mungls*, for want of provisions and forage, were obliged to withdraw. *Nyew-tyen* of the *Chan-chû* tribe, whose father and grandfather were renowned in the army, having been sent before by *Mengko*, learned, towards the beginning of the year 1258, that *the*

A. D.
1258.

f GAUBIL, p. 114, & seqq.

(Q) Or *Tael*s; amounting to 2,500,000 *livres*. Reckoning at 6 s. 8 d. *English*, 500,000 come to 166,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

(R) An *Arab*, of the family of *Mohammed*, who surrendered to the *Mungls*, on their irruption into *Arabia*. *Gaub.*

2, general of the *Mungls* in *Ching-tâ Fû*, was reduced to great extremities, besieged on all sides by the *Song*. Hereupon, being, after infinite fatigues, arrived in sight of *Han-chew*, he resolved to succour *Atahû*. For this purpose he made extreme haste towards him; and meeting by the way with a detachment of the enemy's army, fought them for a whole day, and gained a complete victory. For all this the *Song* took *Ching-tâ*, and *Atahû* died. *Nyew-lyen*, driven almost to despair, for not having prevented that loss, marched directly to *Ching-tâ*; and, posting himself between the city and army of the *Song*, intrenched his forces. In short, the city, for want of victuals, surrendered, and the enemy's troops hereupon dispersed.

NYEW-LYEN, being informed that *Mengko* was arrived at *Han-chong Fû*, left the government of the city to *Lyew-henna*, and went to *Mahû*; from whence he sent troops to facilitate his passage of the river *Kyan-lin*, over a bridge of boats.

THE princes *Moko* and *Tachar* (S) having joined the *Khân*, *Lang*, he took *Long-gan Fû*; and, at the head of his choicest troops, *chew* *st* attacked *Lan-chew* (T). *Yang-ta-ywen*, who had at first *ki* *renders*. ordered the officer sent to summon him to surrender, being seized with fear on sight of the *Mungl* army, went out, with design to submit: but, changing his mind, returned to the city. *Mengko*, enraged at the murder, protested that he would ruin the city: but *Li-hû-lan-ki*, who was a good officer, and native of *Shen-si*, having represented; that, without the assistance of *Yang-te-ywen*, they could scarcely succeed in the war of *Se-chwen*, he sent an officer to assure the governor of his favour, who thereupon surrendered.

GENERAL *Hû-lyang-ho-tay*, in his return from *Gan-nan*, *Quey-lin* entered *China* by way of *Tong-king*; and, proceeding forward *Fû taken*. to *Quang-si*, seized *Quey-lin Fû*, capital of that province, notwithstanding the difficulties of the roads, and troops of the *Song*, who endeavoured to dispute his passage. But that commander, and his son *Achû*, either defeated them wherever they met, or duped them by false marches: so that the *Chinese* were surprised to see him penetrate as far as *Chang-sa*, a city of *Hu-quang*, which he invested in the beginning of the year 1259°.

* GAUBIL, p. 117, & seq.

(S) This was a prince of the blood, not the general of that name, *Gaubil*. (T) Now *Pan-ning Fû*, in *Se-chwen*.

THE

4. *Khān*,
Mangū.
Ho-chew
besieged.
A. D.
1259.

THE first day of the same year, *Mengko*, with the army arrived at the mountain *Cheng-quey*, where, in a great council of the ancient generals, *To-wban*, of the *Chalar* (or *Jalayr*) tribe, affirmed, that the war in *Se-chwen* would prove unfortunate, as the heats and moisture would destroy the soldiers; for which reasons he advised his majesty to return to the north. But *Pa-li-che*, of the tribe of *Orla*, insinuating that *To-wban* spoke through fear, was of opinion that the emperor should stay where he was. *Mengko* praised that general for his advice; and resolved to besiege *Ho-chew* (U) which he invested in *February*. The place was strong, and defended by *Vangkyen*, a very intelligent officer, who had a good garrison, and plenty of provisions. *Lu-ven-te*, governor-general of the province; who so bravely defended *Gan-jing* in *Kyang-nan*^b, watched all advantages, and lost no occasion to harraße the *Mungls*, who were always obliged to march in strong bodies, to prevent being surprised by the troops which he had posted in all the difficult passages.

out of fear
son.

MENGKO having sent a *Chinese* officer to summon *Vangkyen* to surrender, that commander, knowing that he had been in the service of the *Song*, after reproaching him with treason, ordered him to be carried to the place of arms, and put to death. Mean time *Nyew-lyen*, advancing to join the *Khān*, caused a bridge of rafts to be made near *Fu-chew*. *Fu*, another general, went and encamped near *Quey-chew*, on the borders of *Hu-quang*. It was not long before *Mengko* perceived that the siege of *Ho-chew* would cost him much trouble. In the same month the *Mungls* were repulsed before the western gate: nor were the attacks more successful in *March*. In *April* the thunder and rain, which continued for twenty days, did them much damage. For all this they one day scaled the walls, and made great slaughter among the defendants. However, *Vangkyen*, after opposing them for several days and nights, at length repulsed them.

The
Mungls
distressed.

MEAN while *Lu-ven-te* attacked with much resolution the raft-bridge at *Fu-chew Fu*, and got into the city of *Kon-chew Fu*, eight leagues south-south-west (X) of *Ho-chew*. There he gathered more than 1000 barks to ascend the *Kya-ling*; but being attacked on that river by the general *She-tyen-che*, this

^b See before, p. 501, where it is called *Gan-tong*.

(U) Lat. 30° 8' long. 10° 8' the west border of *Sben-f*, to the south-east of *Si-ning*.

map it is written *Ko-chew*. (X) It should be south-south-east, according to the Jesuit map of *Se-chwen*.

latter took 100 barks, and pursued him to *Cbong-king*. For all this defeat, *Lu-ven-te* distressed the *Mungls* greatly, by cutting off their provisions, which was one of his principal cares. They suffered much likewise by diseases: and *Vang-kyen* had always the advantage over them, both in the attacks and sallies. The *Mungls*, weary of the siege, which, notwithstanding the diligence and bravery of *Vang-te-ching*, who had the conduct of it, was very little advanced in *July*, resolved to employ their best troops, and carry the place, cost what it would. On the other side, *Vang-kyen* and his garrison swore to perish, sooner than surrender.

THE tenth of *August* *Mengko* visited the works; and sending for *Wan-te-ching*, ordered him to get things ready for scaling the walls the night following. These orders were executed with much secrecy and conduct. The *Mungls* were already mounted in great numbers on the walls, when the governor, on notice given him, hastened to their defence. The assailants cried out, *Vang-kyen, surrender, and you shall have your life.* But he, without minding them, assembled his people, and attacked them with so much fury, that *Vang-te-ching*, who mounted the walls first, and most of those who followed him, were slain upon the place: the rest were pursued by the victor, who put several quarters of the *Mungls* into disorder. *Mengko*, upon this, ordered a general assault, and went himself to the scalade. But *Vang-kyen* was not to be forced. At the same time a storm fell, and blew down the ladders. Hereupon a dreadful slaughter ensued, in which an infinite number of *Mungls* perished; and, among the rest, the emperor, whose body was found pierced with several wounds. Thus died *Mengko* (Y), at the age of fifty-two, after a reign of nine years.

UPON this disaster, the prince *Moko*, and the rest of the generals, agreed to raise the siege, and retire towards *Shen-si*. He likewise sent a lord to invite his brother *Hu-pi-lay* to return into *Tartary*, and be proclaimed emperor. The army after this decamped; and the horse which carried the *Khân's* corps was placed in the midst of a great body of troops¹.

¹ GAUBIL, p. 119, & seqq.

(Y) According to *Abulghazi Khân*, *Mangu*, having sent *Koplay* eastward, and *Halaku* westward, marched himself to *Cbinu Machin*, or *Jinu Majin* (rather *Chin wa Machin*, that is, *Chin and Machin*), and in winter laid siege to *Cbinu*, or *Jinu*, the capital. That in spring, a mortality arising among his soldiers, his generals would have had him raise the siege: but, obstinately refusing, he at length fell ill himself, and was carried off in eight days, in the year 655 of the *Hejrah*, that is, of *Christ* 1257.

THIS

5. *Khân*, THIS KHÂN, as to his person, was of a middle stature, Kublay. and flat-nosed (Z). Several of his wives had the title of empresses, after the example of *Jenghiz Khân* and *Ogotay*. The *Person and character* first of them was of the *Hongkilâ* (or *Kongorat*) tribe, and family of *Te-in*. By them all he had five sons, and seven daughters.

THE history reproaches *Mengko*, for his attachment to the Lamas^k.

C H A P. V.

The Reign of Hû-pi-lay, or Kublay Khân.

S E C T. I.

Progress of the War in China, till Peyen, or Baya, was made Generalissimo.

Kublay
marches.
A. D.
1259.

DURING the winter of this year, *Hû-pi-lay* (A) parted from *Long-kang*, afterwards called *Shang-tâ*; and, in July 1259, encamped to the south of the river *Jû*, in *Ho-nan*. There he forbade committing massacres: and having given one part of the army to *Chang-jau*, the two bodies reduced the fortresses which are near the city *Ma-chang*, in the district of *Whang-chew*, in *Hû-quang*. In September

^k GAUB. p. 121.

(Z) It may not be amiss to give the whole passage wherein this is found, from *William de Rubruquis*, who was sent into *Tartary* in 1253: in *January* following he arrived at the court of *Mangu Khân*, and was admitted to audience, sitting on a bench before the ladies. The house was hung with cloth of gold. In the midst was a fire, made of thorns, wormwood-roots of a very large size, and ox-dung. The Khân sat on a bed, and was clad with a robe of spotted fur, which shined like a seal-skin. He was of a middle stature, flat-nosed, and about forty-five years old (1). His

wife, who was a little pretty woman, sat by him: and, in another bed near it, sat *Sirin* (or *Kbirina*), one of his daughters, who was grown up, but very ill-favoured; and several little children. *Purchas* pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 25.

(A) *D'Herbelot* writes *Kobla*, or *Koblay*: *M. Polo*, *Kublay*; some, *Kupilay*, *Kopilay*. Several *Mungis* at *Pe-king* pronounced *Hû-pi-lay*. The Chinese know him under the name of *Yawen-shi-tsu*. *Gaubil*. — *Le Croix* writes *Kublay*; in *Abû-ghâzi Khân* we read *Koplay*; with the addition of *Khân*, or *Khaan*, in all.

(1) He was then forty-eight years of age.

received

received an express from his brother *Moko*, to hasten his return with his best troops : but *Hu-pi-lay*, not thinking it for his honour to quit the country without doing some remarkable action, ascended the mountain *Hyang-lu* (B), near *Han-ang Fu*, a city of *Hu-quang*; and took much pleasure to behold the course of the great *Kyang*, which he intended to pass. Although the *Song* had a numerous fleet; and many roops, on this river, yet *Tong-wen-ping* undertook to make her attempt. Having embarked with some companies of soldiers, he caused the drums to beat, and rowed briskly, to attack the van-guard of the *Song*. These, astonished at the resolution of the *Mungls*, made great cries, and fear threw them into disorder.

5: *Khan*,
Kublay.

HEREUPON *Tong-wen-ping* making a signal to the troops of *Hu-pi-lay*, this prince embarked; and next day his army appeared before *Vu-chang Fu*. The news of these motions caused a general fear, and greatly alarmed the court at *Han-kew*. The emperor of the *Song*, on this occasion, opened his treasures, and distributed immense sums (C), with pieces of silk, to his troops: great levies were made throughout the empire; and a numerous army was ordered to *Han-ang Fu*, to succour *Vu-chang Fu*. The general of this army was *Kya-tse-tau*, a man raised to the highest dignities of state, without talents equal to the charge. He was neither loved nor esteemed by the troops. The officers could not endure to be commanded by a person who had no experience; and often openly made a jest of the courage of their general. *Kya-tse-tau* was, besides, very vindictive, as well as vain: often without cause used the best officers ill; and in the disposing of posts never considered the merit of persons; which made several of them resolve to go over to the *Mungls*, from whom they were sure to receive better treatment.

Besides
Vu-
chang.

THE governor of *Vu-chang Fu* amused *Hu-pi-lay* at first with false hopes, and slew the officer sent to treat with him: but was himself slain some time after in a sally which he made. *Kya-tse-tau* led the greater part of the army to *Whang-chew Fu*; and in this march shewed that courage did not belong to him. In November, *Liu-vente*, governor of *Se-chwen*, received orders to repair to *Vu-chang Fu*, to command in that

Makes
peace

(B) From thence one has a prospect of the cities *Vu-chang Fu*, *Han-ang Fu*, and *Han-kew*; with the course of the rivers *Han* and *Kyang*. *Gaubil*.

(C) They reckon 106 *van* of *taels* in silver, or 5,500,000 *livres*; 7700 *van* of *tyau*, of *kasbes*, or copper deniers. The *tyau*, at present, is 1000 *deniers*. A *van* is 10,000 *livres*.

important

5. *Khán*,
Kublay.

with the
Song.

important place. The siege went on apace; and the garrison had already lost many officers, as well as soldiers. *Kya-tse-tau*, apprehending the consequences of the loss of that city, sent to propose conditions of peace; one of which was, that the empire of the *Song* should become tributary to the *Mungls*. But *Hú-pi-lay* would not hearken to them. At this time *Kya-tse-tau* learned, by an express from *Wang-hya*, what had happened at *Ho-chew*, and took occasion from thence to renew his propositions. At the same juncture *Hú-pi-lay* received positive advice that the general *Alantar* was doing his endeavours to set his brother *Alipuka* on the throne; and that several princes and lords were of his party. Upon this a great council was held, in which *Hau-king*, a learned and sage counsellor, advised *Hú-pi-lay* to make peace with the *Song*; to fix his court at *Yen-king*, and cause himself to be proclaimed emperor. This advice being followed, *Kya-tse-tau* promised to pay annually twenty *van* of silver (D), and as much in silk, by way of tribute, and acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the *Mungls* over the *Song*. In consequence of this treaty, after the limits of both empires had been settled, *Hú-pi-lay* decamped, and repassed the *Kyang*. *Hú-lyang-ho-tay* likewise raised the siege of *Chang-fbu*, and crossed the same river, in his way to the north: but some troops of his army having stayed behind, on the other side, till February 1260, *Kya-tse-tau* ordered them to be put to the sword (E).

THE history, in this place, represents *Kya-tse-tau* as one of the most wicked ministers who ever existed. He made a shameful treaty for the *Song*, and concealed it from the emperor *Li-tsong* (F), who believed the retreat of *Hú-pi-lay* was owing to that officer's valour and conduct: the 170 soldiers massacred by his order, gave occasion also to give out, that the *Mungl* army had been defeated. So that the court at *Hang-chew* lavished their praises and rewards on *Kya-tse-tau*, not dreaming that what this wicked man had done would shortly ruin the empire^a.

Proclaim-
ed *Khán*.
A. D.
1260.

HU-PI-LAY, after the treaty concluded with the *Song* minister, left *Hú-quang* with his best troops; and, in December

^a GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. p. 123, & seqq.

(D) That is, a million of livres, or about 50,000 *l.* sterling.

(E) A little lower, the number of those cut to pieces is said to have been 170.

(F) He was fourteenth emperor of the *Song* dynasty, which ruled over the southern *China*, and consisted of eighteen princes.

er following, encamped in sight of *Ten-king*. His return produced a general joy in the people of the north, who wished to see him immediately settled on the imperial throne. Most of the princes of his house, as well as of the *Chineses* and *Mungls*, but above all the princes of *Hongkila* (or *Kenzorat*), his first wife, pressed him to declare himself emperor. While *Hu-pi-lay* seemed unresolved what to do on this occasion, there arrived a *Mungl* lord, deputed by *Hulagú*, and, in the name of that prince, made strong instances for having *Hu-pi-lay* proclaimed. At length, in April 1260, *Moko*, *Hu-pi-lay's* brother, *Hatan*, son of *Ogotay*; whom *Mengko* had banished to *Bishbalg*; *Tachar*, grandson of *Tymuko*, fourth brother of *Jenghiz Khan*; the deputy of *Holagú*, with those of many other princes, and a grand number of *Tatar* lords, assembled at the new city of *Kay-ping Fu*, afterwards *Shang-tá*, in *Tartary*, and declared *Hu-pi-lay* emperor of the *Mungl*. Afterwards they saluted him as such; and the troops did the same. The *Chineses* every-where made great rejoicings: and the new monarch thought of nothing but to chuse good generals, able ministers, and above all wise men, who should promote the silk manufactures, commerce, and agriculture.

3. *Khán*
Kublay.

A. D.
1260.

MEAN time it was confirmed, from all sides, that prince *Arikbuga* *Alipuka* (or *Aribuga*), intended to make himself emperor: aspires that he had a great army at *Karakorum*, commanded by general *Alantar*: that he was supported by the princes *Asutay*, *Tu-long ta-she*, and *Siliki*, three of *Mengko's* sons, besides some others; and that many officers, who served in the provinces of *Se-chuen* and *Shen-si*, were in his interest. Hereupon *Hu-pi-lay* ordered his generals in *Tartary* to send him an exact account of what they knew in relation to the intrigues of his competitor. In *China*, among other trusty lords, he made use of *Lyen-hi-hyen*, born in the country of *Igúr*; *Chang-ting*, a *Chinese*; and *Chau-lyang-po*, a native of *Nyn-che* (G). He appointed *Hi-hyen* the first governor-general of *Shen-si* and *Se-chuen*, with a good army under his command. This *Hi-hyen* was an able minister, as well as general, very learned, and had a prodigious memory. As an instance of his merit, prince *Hatan* desired to serve under him.

NOR was *Alipuka* idle on his part: he sent general *Alantar* to the northern provinces of *Tartary*, with large sums of money, and quantities of silks, to gain the heads of tribes.

(G) Or *Ny-che*, the country are descended from the *Kin*. of the *Kin* and *Manchews*, who See before, p. 47, & *alibi*.

5. *Khân*
Kublay.

When-tá-hay, governor of *Lú-pán*, where *Jenghiz Khán* died, who had 60,000 men at his devotion, joined the governor of *Ching-tú Fú*, capital of *Se-chwen*; while other officers of *Ali-pu-ko's* party seized *Fong-tsyang Fú*, in *Shen-si*, and carried on a correspondence in *Si-gan Fú*, the metropolis of the province. After these precautions taken, *Alipuko* caused himself to be acknowledged emperor at *Karakorum*, as soon as he came to understand what had passed at *Kay-ping Fú*. *Lyew-tay-ping*, and *A-lú-whay* (H) (who, in the time of *Mengü*, commanded in *Si-gan Fú*, where they were hated by the people, to whom they were a charge), being now at *Fong-tsyang Fú*, in behalf of *Ali-pu-ko*, as soon as they heard that *Hi-hyen* was on his march for *Shen-si*, set out post for *Si-gan Fú*, where they arrived the first of *May*, and began to persuade the inhabitants to declare for his party. But two days after *Hi-hyen* arrived, and gave heart to the people, who might dread the return of those two officers ^b.

Attempts
on *Shen-si*.

THE general immediately caused the order for acknowledging *Hü-pi-lay* to be published through the city; likewise the patent whereby he was declared commander and governor of the provinces of *Se-chwen* and *Shen-si*. This done, he charged the officers to keep strict guard at the gates and walls, and to examine closely all those who went either in or out. He particularly gave a secret direction not to suffer either *Lyew-tay-ping*, or *Ho-lú-hay* to get away. Soon after, the guards gave notice, that they had stopped a stranger at the gate, who said he came from *Lú-pán*. This was a trusty officer, who had watched all the motions of *When-tá-hay*; and from him *Hi-hyen* learned the names and number of those who were of that governor's party. Hereupon the general assembled the officers and Mandarins; and, after consulting with them, caused *Lyew-tay-ping* and *Ho-lú-hay* to be put under an arrest. Then he sent *Lyew-he-ma* into *Se-chwen*, to put to death *Mi-lyo-che*, governor of *Ching-tu Fú*, and *Kitay-twha*, who commanded on the frontiers. He gave an arrest to general *Vang-lyang-ching*, to go join prince *Hatan*; and appointed *Pachun*, a *Mungl* officer, to sustain *Lyang-che* with 5000 choice men, drawn from *Se-chwen*. This done, he put to death *Lyew-tay-ping* and *Ho-lu-hay*, as rebels; and received orders soon after to save their lives.

His army
defeated.

WHEN-TU-HAY, who heard all this news with surprise, plainly perceived that *Hi-hyen* was thoroughly instructed.

^b GAUB. p. 132, & seq.

(H) Called, lower down, *Ho-lu-hay*.

ed in matters ; and, losing hopes of taking *Si-gan Fn*, resolved to repass the *Whang-ho* ; and, after reducing *Kan-chew* (I), went and joined, *Alantar*. Prince *Hatan*, not being able to prevent either, marched northward with his horse ; and, having encamped between the rebels and *Karakorum*, sent *Hi-hyen* an account how things stood. As he was quickly joined by *Wang-lyang-ping* and *Pachun*, he resolved to march in three bodies, and seek the enemy, whom he attacked to the east of *Kan-chew*. *When-tu-hay* and *Alantar* had the advantage at first, by means of a great wind, which incommoded with the sand and dust the cavalry of *Wang-lyang-ping*. Hereupon this general ordered his men to alight ; and, falling on the enemy's left wing, put them into disorder, and then posted himself to the north of them. The right wing likewise began to stagger, and *Pachun* wheeled to the south. Mean time *Hatan* cut off their retreat towards *Karakorum*, and made so long an attack, that the troops of *Alantar* and *When-tu-hay* gave way on all sides. These two generals were both killed in the battle (K) ; and a great slaughter was made among their troops, who were not able to retire either towards the north or the great wall. In short, *Hatan* and his lieutenants gained a complete victory ; and, by this means, *Shen-fi* and *Se-chwen* became intirely fettled.

This year *Hu-pi-lay* sent for to court a Chinese doctor of great reputation, called *Tew-me*, an intimate friend of *Tau-lu* *lutions*. *Ju* and *Hyu-heng*. He was one of those whom the emperor consulted most about the manner of governing the people ; for he made it his business to have a personal knowlege of those who were best able to make his reign illustrious, either by means of arms, the sciences, public works, wealth, or commerce ; and laid it down as a rule, to employ persons of merit, let their country or religion be what it would. Ever since the empire was founded, very few (literary) Mandarins were appointed to govern the people, and regulate the affairs of private men ; no account having been made of any but officers. The person who at this time kept the seal was called *Talua* (L), or *Targuji*. This was then the most considerable employment, and he took place of the ministers of state, who had not the authority which they possessed since. The *Khân*

(I) A city of *Shen-fi*, near the great wall of China, towards *Se-chew*.

(K) Which was fought in May, according to some ; to others, in September. *Gaub.*

(L) *Talua* is a corrupt Chinese pronunciation of *Targuchi*, or rather *Targuji*, as it is pronounced both by the *Mungli* and *Manchev*s.

5. Khân
Kublay.

ordered *Lyew-ping-chong* and *Hyu-heng* to settle the number, order, and authority of the Mandarins; with the salaries of each. In consequence of which he appointed the several tribunals of ministers of state, censors of the empire, ceremonies, Mandarins, crimes, public works, war, and other affairs. He regulated also the officers of the army, and those of the imperial palace: settled the tribunal of mathematics; and published all those different regulations. He caused the miseries of the people to be enquired into; and ordered the state of each country to be laid before him; setting forth what was either good or bad in it, what it produced, and what might be done to make it rich and commodious. This attention of *Hu-pi-lay* to such momentous matters, acquired him much honour in the opinion of the *Chinese*; who likewise saw, with extreme pleasure, people of their nation possess very important posts in the court, the army, and the provinces.

Learning
encouraged.

HU-PI-LAY loved men of learning, and such were at his court, who were of all sorts of nations. The history bestows great commendations on a *Persian* lord, named *Chama-lu-ting*, who was an able mathematician. He composed a piece of astronomy for the use of the court; and presented the emperor with large and beautiful instruments, belonging both to that science and geometry. *Gayfue* (M) had the inspection of what concerned medicine, and was one of the principal Mandarins for mathematics. A great number of men from *Igûr*, *Persia*, *Great Bukharia*, and other countries, were employed to translate books. In imitation of the *Chinese* emperors, *Hu-pi-lay* made choice of the most able doctors to compose an academy: they are called *Han-lin*; and this tribunal is at present in great consideration. As the Khân assembled a great number of doctors on this occasion, he set apart a distinct body of *Han-lin*, both to write and compose the history of the empire. At the head of these he placed *Wan-gu*, a person of probity, prudence, and capacity, who furnished good memoirs for the history of the *Lyau Kin*. He wrote a great deal upon the *Chinese* classical books and made a large collection of imperial edicts. When for

* GAUBIL, p. 132, & seqq.

(M) The history praises his charity to the poor; and the exactness with which he performed his devotions to his *Fo*. He came from the kingdom of

Fû-lin, a great country west of the western sea. Hence it appears, that he was a *Christian*, and perhaps a *Frank*, or *European*. *Gaubil*.

ning *Fâ* was taken (N) he was put in the list of those who were sentenced to die; but was saved by *Chang-jau*.

MEAN time *Hu-pi-lay* sent *Hau-king* to the court of the *Song* emperor; both to notify his advancement to the throne, and execute the treaty concluded with *Kya-tse-tau*, during the siege of *Vu-chang Fu*. But as the *Chinese* monarch knew nothing of that treaty, his minister, fearing the envoy would discover his knavery, imprisoned him near *Nan-king*; and took all possible care that neither *Hu-pi-lay* nor his master should hear any thing from this lord. The *Song* emperor indeed was informed that a *Tatar* envoy was arrived on the frontiers; but *Kya-tse-tau* had the art to turn his thoughts to other matters.

THE *Mungl* emperor, being young himself, took a great liking to *Pasepa*, a young lord of *Tibet*, full of wit, and very polite. *Pasepa* was of an ancient family, eminent for virtue, whose ancestors, for ten centuries, had been the principal ministers of the kings of *Tibet*, and other western princes. This lord became a Lama, and made himself considerable among those of his sect. In 1260 *Hu-pi-lay* sent for him; and, in *December*, declared him chief of all the Lamas, with the title of doctor and master both of the empire and the emperor. *China* and *Lyau-tong* were divided into ten departments, with each its officers and Mandarins; and ten lords were appointed to be at the head of affairs relating to them: an order was likewise published, that the presidents in all the tribunals should be *Mungls*.

HU-PI-LAY was likewise pleased to ordain, that the fifty-seventh year of the *Chinese* sexagenary cycle, and year of the *fox* (O), in the *Mungl* duodenary cycle, that is, the year of *Christ* 1260 should be the first of his empire. He also, after the manner of the *Chinese*, gave to the years of his reign a title, viz. that of *Chong-tong* (P), of which the year above-mentioned was the first^d.

THE beginning of the next year the emperor set at liberty all the literati, who had been made slaves during the late

^d GAUB. p. 136, & seqq.

(N) Which put an end to the *Kin* empire.

(O) There is no such year as that of the *fox* in the *Mungl* or *Kitayan* cycle, in the epocha ascribed to *Ulugh Beigh*, by which the year 1260 should be

that of the *Dakûk*, or *ben*, the tenth of the cycle.

(P) The emperor who reigns at present (1726) bears the title of *Yong-ching*, as his father did that of *Kang-hi*. These titles they change whenever they think fit. *Gaub.*

M m 3

wars.

5. *Khân*
Kublay.
Song mi-
nister's
treachery.

A. D.
1260.

Affairs of
Se-chwen.
A. D.
1261.

5. *Khân* wars: Mean time *Kya-tse-tau*, the *Song* minister, having mal-treated *Lyew-cheng*, who commanded in the quarter of *Lü-chew*, in *Se-chwen*, this officer put himself and that city, with its dependencies, in subjection to the *Mungls*. Hereupon *Lyew-ywen-ching*, commander of the *Mungls* at *Ching-tü Fû*, went to pay him a visit. This coming to the knowledge of *Tu-ling*, governor of *Se-chwen* for the *Song*, who was *Lyew-cheng*'s enemy, and had been his accuser to *Kya-tse-tau*, he marched with forces to invest *Lu-chew*. At his approach, several *Mungls* were for abandoning *Lyew-cheng* to the fury of *Heng*; but *Twan-ching* told them he was resolved to die with *Lyew-cheng* in defence of so important a place. As his cohorts happened to arrive opportunely, *Lyew-cheng* made a sally, and obliged his enemy to raise the siege, who thereupon was broken.

Alipuko
defeated.

IN October the emperor *Hü-pi-lay* set out for *Tartary*, followed by the princes *Hatan* and *Tachar*, with a great body of Chinese troops, in order to attack those of his brother *Alipuko*. The two armies met at *Simutü Nor* (Q); where, after a bloody fight, that of *Alipuko* was intirely defeated; but this prince broke through the *Khân's* troops, and retired to the north (R). *Hü-pi-lay* took possession of *Karakorum*, where he found a great deal of riches; then returned to *Asping Fû*, and from thence to *Yen-king*. Towards the end of the year, *Lyew-cheng* repaired to the court: and *Lu-chew*, the new governor of *Se-chwen*, having taken *Lu-chew*, at the beginning of 1262, *Hü-pi-lay* made *Lyew-cheng* governor of *Quey-chew*, in the same province, on the borders of *Hu-quang*; and this lord did the *Mungls* great services.

(Q) *Simutü Nauei* signifies the great lake. *Naor*, or *Nor*, is the *Mungl* word. Our author knows not where this lake is.

(R) According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, *Artokbuga*, having been left regent by *Mangu Khân*, on his death got himself proclaimed *Khân*, and slew *Koplay Khân's* envoy, sent to dispose him to quit his pretensions. Mean time *Burga* being elected *Khân* of *Kipjak*, after the death of his brother *Batû Sagbin Khân*, *Artokbuga* made war on him: but, having been defeated, fled towards *Karakum*, or *Karakorum*. On this news *Koplay*

marched against him; but fled: and some time after fighting means to be reconciled to his brother, obtained his favour. *Abû'lgh.* hist. *Turks*, &c. p. 115. —According to *La Crux*, after the last battle, *Artokbuga*, being vanquished, came and threw himself at his brother's feet, who only made him some reproaches at first; but afterwards shut him up between four walls covered with thorns of the tree *Adragant*, and strictly guarded till his death, which happened a year after. Hist. *Jenghiz*, p. 399.

LI-TAN, the son of a great Mandarin, who had surrendered to *Jenghiz Khân*, commanded the *Mungls* in the districts of *Tsi-nan Fû*, *I-tu* (at present *Tsing-chew Fû*), and other places in *Shan-tong*. His power likewise extended over the parts of *Kyang-nan* subject to the emperor *Hû-pi-lay*; ever since whose accession to the throne, *Li-tan* had resolved to go over to the *Song*. This lord, having in *January* sent for his son from *Kay-ping Fû*, caused the two cities before-mentioned to be fortified, and then threw off the mask; declaring openly for the *Song*, to whom he delivered up several places of importance. On this occasion *Wang-ven-tong*, one of *Hû-pi-lay*'s ministers, was detected in corresponding with *Li-tan*, and put to death. This *Li-tan*, who was a good commander, took the field, and made some conquests. Hereupon the emperor ordered prince *Apiche*, and general *She-tyen-che*, to haste and besiege *Tsi-nan Fû* in *May*. *Chang-hong-fan*, son of *Chan-jau*, who was posted on the west of the city, raised a wall of earth; and, having laid an ambuscade of cuirassiers, left the east gate open, and dug a deep foss.

5. *Khân*
Kublai.
Litan re-
volts.

LI-TAN sallied presently, to attack this intrenchment; and while one part of them passed the ditch and entered the gate, the other scaled the wall: but the troops in ambush issuing forth, cut this whole detachment in pieces, and *Li-tan* had much ado to escape. The *Song* had indeed sent succours to *Li-tan*; but the general who commanded this army being seized with fear, on his entering *Shan-tong*, retired, after having conveyed 30,000 *lyangs* (S) to *I-tu*. The *Mungl* generals, after this, inclosed the city with a strong wall of earth, so that *Li-tan* could make no sallies: yet he still held out; and, after having consumed all the provisions, salted human flesh, and had no other food. At length, seeing no hopes of relief, he first slew his wife and concubines, and then threw himself headlong into a lake. However, *She-tyen-che* still found life in him, and slew him with his own hand; then ordered him to be cut in pieces (T). After this, the army marched to *I-tu*, which surrendered of its own accord ^e.

THE *Chinese* great men who were at court, particularly *The Song* general *Kokan*, provoked at the conduct of the *Song* towards *insincerity*.

^e GAUB. p. 138, & seqq.

(S) Or *taels*; that is 250,000
livres. Gaub.

(T) This is one of the most
ignominious treatments that can
be given to a *Chinese*.

5. *Khân*
Kublai.

the *Mungls*, pressed *Hu-pi-lay* incessantly to declare war against them. The emperor hereupon complained, in a manifesto, of their unfair dealing; and either being ignorant of, or dissembling, the detention of *Hau-king*, said, that, before he resolved on war, he would wait the success of that envoy's negotiations. Mean time he appointed *Achu*, son of *Hu-hang-ho-tay*, who was reckoned a great captain (having followed his father in all his wars in *Tibet*, the *Indies*, *Gan-nan*, and *China*), to command the army destined for the south.

Ahamâ's
artifices

ONE of *Hu-pi-lay*'s faults was the love of money. It was difficult to persuade him that the Mandarins were dishonest, who furnished him with it: or, to speak more properly, he was not pleased to hear them ill spoken of. *Ahama*, a Mohammedan lord, and Arab by nation, was one of those bad subjects, who study only to procure money for their prince, by enriching themselves; without regard to the unlawful means which they make use of, the evils which they cause to the state, and the injury which they do to the reputation of their master. *Ahama*, who was superintendant of the customs through the empire, had recourse to many contrivances to deceive the emperor, and the *Mungl* grandees. He would submit his accounts to none but the emperor, pretending to be independent of the ministers. *Tew-me*, *Tau-shu*, *Hyu-heng*, *Liew-ping-chong*, and other *Chingse*, knew, from the first, the character of *Ahama*, and did not fail to acquaint the *Khân* with it. *Chang-wen-kyen*, in particular, made it appear, that it was contrary both to reason and practice to withdraw the customs from the jurisdiction of the ministers. As *Hu-pi-lay*, in this point, followed the advice of the *Chingse*, *Ahama* had recourse to a thousand artifices to be revenged on them: he caused vast sums of money to be brought in to the emperor, giving him to understand, that it was the fruit of his good management; when, at the same time, the money was forced from the people by his commissaries, who were men of no credit; and, indeed, no better than public robbers. He never ceased urging the *Mungl* lords to complain that the *Chingse* had too much power. But *Tau-shu* and *Hyu-heng*, being masters of more genius and address than *Ahama*, they discovered all his fourberies, and took care to make the prince *Cheng-king* (U) acquainted with them.

Mungls,
their igno-
rance.

AHAMA was greatly mortified to see the illustrious *Tau-shu* declared prime minister in January 1263. This lord,

(U) Elsewhere *Cheng-kin*. He was the son whom *Hu-pi-lay* designed for the empire; but was

not appointed heir apparent till the year 1273. *Ganbil*.

who

who was one of the most learned men among the *Chineſes*, 5. *Khân* counselled *Hû-pi-lay* to found, in all the countries within his vast dominions, colleges and academies, to educate youth in the sciences, arts, and good behaviour. The *Khân* himself was sensible of the ignorance which reigned, for the general, among the *Mungl* lords; and was ashamed to see the difference which there was between them and the *Chineſes*, as well as the strangers from the west, who were in great numbers at his court. The *Mungls* knew only how to handle the sword and bow; and their whole science was limited to some knowledge they had of horses. *Hû-pi-lay* began this reformation, by causing the princes his sons to be well educated. *Chau-pi*, a native of *Tay-tong-fû*, had already translated, into the *Mungl* language, part of the classical books; and *Hyu-heng* made an abridgement of the *Chinese* history and chronology (X). The emperor gave these works to the *Mungls*, to learn; and did not disdain to examine them himself upon the book of *Hyu-heng*.

A. D.
1263.

THE observation of the rites due to the memory of their *Palace of* ancestors is, in *China*, an affair of state; and one of the principal duties from which the emperors themselves are not exempt. *Hû-pi-lay* built a magnificent palace (Y), in honour of his ancestors; and, in *March*, the same year, went to pay his respects to them (Z). He was the first *Mungl* prince who performed this ceremony after the *Chinese* manner. He ordered the Bonzas and Lamas to recite, for seven days and nights, the prayers of their *Fo* (A): and since then this practice had been observed every year (B).

MEAN

(X) He agrees exactly with *Couplet*, as to the number of years between *Tau* and *Hu-pi-lay*. *Gaubil*.

(Y) The public palace, where the *Chinese* emperors honour their ancestors, is called *Tay-nyau*.

(Z) The name of them were, 1. *Lye-tsû*, or *Yesukay*. 2. *Tay-tsû*, or *Jengbiz Khân*. 3. *Tay-song*, or *Ogotay*. 4. *Chu-chi*, or *Tuji*. 5. *Chabatay*, or *Jagatay*. 6. *Jui-tsong*, or *Toley*. 7. *Ting-song*, or *Qey jaw*; that is, *Kayuk Khân*. 8. *Hyen-tsong*, or *Mengko Khân*. *Gaubil*.

(A) I know not whence the

name of *Fo* is derived, which is given to their object of worship by the *Chinese* Bonzas, called *Ho-shang*: for *La* is the name which the Bonzas of *Tibet*, called *Lama*, give to *Fo*.

(B) I cannot tell the reason, 1. Why *Hû-pi lay* does not speak of any of *Yesukay's* ancestors. 2. Why he speaks not of the brothers of *Jengbiz Khân*. 3. Why, having spoken of *Chu-chi* and *Chabatay*, he does not speak of the fifth and sixth sons of *Jengbiz Khân*. Before this, among other ceremonies, they poured out and offered mares milk to their ancestors, while their

5. Khán
Kublay.

Lyew-
ching's
address.

MEAN time *Lyew-ching*, governor of *Quey-chew*, in *Szechwen*, was contriving how to get possession of *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching*. *Lû-ven-te* came to be made governor of *Hu-quang*, and his brother *Lû-ven-whang* was governor of *Syang-yang*: they were both good officers, and very watchful. *Be Lû-ven-te* being covetous, *Lyew-cheng*, by means of the fault, laid a snare for him, which he did not expect. All the subjects of the *Song* and the *Mungls* carried on a trade together at *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching*, *Lyew-ching* proposed settling custom-houses near those two cities. *Lû-ven-te* agreed to the proposal; and, finding the expedient to be very profitable, built large storehouses for the merchandizes. The *Mungls* inclosed their magazines with walls; and, under pretence of defending them against robbers, by degrees, introduced soldiers to guard them: and *Lû-ven-te* perceived, when it was too late, that he had been a dupe to his love of money. The *Mungls*, too well fortified to fear any danger, made incursions on all sides, and were very attentive to observe who went in and out of *Syang-yang*.

Arikbuga
submits.

IN 1264, *Lyew-ping-chong* and *Ahamâ* were declared ministers. This last had the management of the revenue and customs, without being accountable to any but the emperor. In March, prince *Alt-puko* (C), brother of *Hû-pi-lay*, with the princes and lords of his party, came and submitted themselves to his clemency. The princes he pardoned; but put to death such of the lords as had seduced them to take up arms. The emperor gave to *Kay-ping-fû* the title of *Song-tu* (D), or high court; whither he went in March, and did not return to *Yen-king* till August. Every year he made this journey; and his *Mungl* successors followed his example. In January, the king of *Korea* sent an envoy, with compliments to *Hû-pi-lay*; and this custom has continued ever since. The year *Kya-tse-tau*, the *Song* minister, abolished the paper money, which was then in use in *Southern China*, and instituted another sort of paper money; which raised the deniers to an exorbitant value, and thereby rendered him very odious.

Gan-tong
prime minister:

IN 1265, *Gan-tong*, descended from *Mûhuli* in the fourth generation, being then no more than twenty-one years of

their *Sam-man*, or priests, recited prayers. It does not appear, that any of the emperors, before *Hû-pi-lay*, built *Tay-myau*, or temples: nor do I know, that, before *Quey-yeen*, the *Mungls* had in their country any monasteries of Lamas. *Gambel*. (C) The same whom *D'Hébelot*, p. 267, calls *Arighbaga*. (D) The *Ciandu* of *Shan*. *Polc*; spelled, in *English*, *Chandu*.

age, was the admiration both of the *Mungls* and *Chinese*, for his prudence and capacity. The most experienced generals ^{g. Khân} Kublay, proposed him to be generalissimo of the troops : the *Chinese* grandees counselled the emperor to set him at the head of state affairs ; and the most able doctors reaped some instruction from his conversation. His high birth and good mien, his probity and reserve, rendered him beloved and respected by all the lords at court. He was, this year, chosen to be minister. The first thing he did was to fetch *Hyu-beng* back to court, and learn from him the science of government. *Hyu-beng* had never ceased to acquaint the emperor that *Ahama* was a bad man ; and the vexation it gave him to see him at the head of the finances, with the quality of minister, made him retire from court, to apply himself to study. *Gan-tong* had for an associate in the ministry a lord of the country ^{associates} *Pe-yen*. of *Parin* (E), named *Pe-yen*, who was of his own character. He had passed his youth in *Persia* and *Syria*, and was newly arrived in the retinue of some lords sent by *Holagû* to the emperor : who, charmed with the polite behaviour and good aspect of *Pe-yen*, sent to speak with him in private ; and from the first interview perceived that he was a great master, both in state and war affairs. *Hû-pi-lay*, on this occasion, appointed him also to be a minister ; and said, that it was not fit such a man as *Pe-yen* should be in the service of any other but of him who was chief of the *Mungl* princes f.

IN 1266, the *Tay-myau* was finished ; in which there were ^{Hall of} as many halls as princes honoured there. In each hall was ^{ancestors.} placed a tablet, inscribed with the name and title of the prince ; and on the side of such table there was another, with the name and title of the princess who was his first wife. Among those princesses was the empress *Waulhamisb*, wife of *Quey-yew*, who was put to death by *Mengko*, or *Manghû*, *Khân*. This year, *Hû-pi-lay* asked *Te-whéy*, whom he knew to be well versed in the history of the *Lyau* and *Kin*, if it was true, that the *Lyau* owed their ruin to the Bonzas, and the *Kin* to the Literati ? *Te-whéy* answered, that it was not fact as to the first ; but that the *Kin* had not employed the *Chinese* literati enough.

IN April 1267, was finished, by the emperor *Hû-pi-lay*'s *Ta-tû* order, the city called *Ta-tû*, or *Tay-tû* ; that is, *the great city*.

f GAUBIL, p. 142, & seqq.

(E) A country of *Tartary*, to *Parin* is the *Parin* of *Hû-pi-lay*'s the north of *Pe-che-li* : but *Gau-* t.m.:
bil is not sure, that the present

court ;

5. *Khân court*; to the north-east of *Yen-king*, named also *Chong-tu*, or *the court of the middle*. These two cities, being very near each other, must have made a very spacious one. *Ta-tu* (G) is the bulk of the *Tatar* city, at present called *Pe-king*, the capital of *China*.

Syang-
yang be-
sieged.

LYEW-CHING, having persuaded *Hu-pi-lay* to besiege *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching*, before he made war on the *Grand Kyang*, that general and *Achû* were appointed to undertake it. *Achû* immediately set about fortifying a post at the mouth of the river *Pe*, which was finished in *December*. *Lu-ven Whang* sent his brother advice of this; and observed, that it was to be feared the *Mungls* intended to reduce the city by famine. He added, that it was necessary, without delay, to secure the posts which were in the neighbourhood, and drive the *Mungls* out of them. *Lû-ven-te* seemed to make a jest of his brother's fears; saying, that the place was furnished with provisions for several years, as well as numerous warlike troops. At the same time he gave out, that next spring he would repair thither in person. In 1268, *Lyew-ching* and *Achû* assembled the *Chinese* sailors, to build fifty large barks of war, and exercise the *Mungls* in combats on the river. This the two generals ordered to be done both night and day; and *Achû* soon became very expert himself. In *September* they formed the siege of *Syang-yang*, with an army of seventy thousand men.

A. D.
1268.

Haytû
defeated.

THIS same year, *Haytû* (H), who, among others, as before-mentioned, had been banished by *Mengko*, because he favoured *She-lye-men*, appeared in *Tartary*, with a great army. This prince resolved to be revenged on *Mengko*, when he could find an opportunity: and, after his death, founded a considerable dominion in the country of *Almâlig* (I). He gained the affections of the people there, and drew to his interest the chiefs of tribes who encamped to the north-north-east of *Turfan*, as well as to the west and north of mount *Altay*. He likewise stirred up several princes of his family; and resolved at length to declare against *Hu-pi-lay*: but his first attempt proved unsuccessful; for he was beaten, and forced to retreat to *Almâlig*.

(G) This is evidently the *Kanbala* (or *Kambalu*) of *M. Polo*: The vestigia of the ancient *Yen-king* are still to be seen, a few furlongs to the south-west of *Pe-king*. *Gaubil*.—*Kanbala*, or *Khan palu*, signifies the palace of the *Khân*. *Khân balig*,

as the oriental writers name it, signifies the city of the *Khân*.

(H) Perhaps the *Algu* of *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, p. 163, & 167, or *Naligu* of others, grandson of *Jagatay Khân*.

(I) Between *Turfan* and *Kabgar* in *Little Bûkhâria*, often mentioned before.

SHE.

SHE-TTEN-CHE, having been made generalissimo of the army to be sent against the *Song*, amounting to 300,000 men, of the best soldiers; several foreign lords, *Igûrs*, *Persians*, and *Arabs*, as well as princes, and chiefs of tribes, desired to serve under that *Chinese* lord; who was loved and esteemed by all. This general examined the avenues of *Syang-yang*; and, judging that the siege would be long, in January 1269, ordered strong walls to be built, to cut off the communication with other places; and caused great re-trenchments to be made at a post called *Lû-men*, to shut up *Fan-chin*. Mean time *Say-tyén-che*, an *Arab* lord, with a great body of troops, most of them foreigners, from the west, had orders to encamp at *Ching-tû-fû*, capital of *Se-chwen*, and make incursions on every side.

TATA-TONG-KO having introduced the *Igûr* characters, the *Mungls* began to have some notion of history; and the natives of *Igûr*, as well as other countries, composed some books in the *Mungl* language. After that, *Yelû-chu-tsay* sent for *Chinese* literati, to teach the *Chinese* characters. The *Persians*, *Arabs*, and the Lamas of *Tibet*, had likewise their characters, as well as the *Nyu-che* or *Kin*, and *Kitan* or *Lyau*. The *Mungl* emperors had, since the time of *Jenghîz Khân*, employed in the public acts the *Igûr* and *Chinese* characters; but *Hû-pi-lay* imagined, that it was requisite for the grandeur and glory of his nation, that it should have characters of its own. He gave this commission to *Pa-se-pa*, chief of the Lamas, who was thoroughly acquainted not only with the *Chinese* and Lama characters, but also with those of *Tibet*, called the characters of *Tangut*, of *Igûr*, the *Indies*, and several countries of the west of *Asia*. *Pa-se-pa*, having examined the nature of these several characters, with their conveniencies and inconveniencies, rejected the *Chinese* (which represent the ideas of things), and thought only of those which were proper to express the different sounds. Of these he formed one thousand; with rules for pronouncing, shaping, and writing with them. *Hû-pi-lay* was so well satisfied with this work of *Pa-se-pa*, that, in 1269, he declared this Lama a Regulo; and, in the patent which he gave him, was lavish in his praise. In February, he, by edict, ordered his characters, which were called the new *Mungl* characters, to be used in all the tribunals; although, at first, the *Mungls*, who were accustomed to the *Igûr* letters, as well as the *Chinese*, who liked their own best, found some difficulty to learn the new ones.

5. *Khân*
Kublay,
Syang-
yang re-
lieved.

IN March, *Hya-quey*, general of the *Song*, entered the *Han*, with a great fleet, manned with an infinite number of soldiers: but, not liking their looks, thought proper to retire again, though not without loss. However, that river overflowing in autumn, *Hya-quey* took advantage of the inundation, and entered *Syang-yang*, with all sorts of necessaries, in spite of *Achú*; who yet defeated him in his return. Since the time *Lá-ven-te* had been duped by *Lyerw-chong*, he became inconsolable for his error; and the siege of the above-mentioned city gave him so much vexation, that he died in *December* this year. The death of this general gave a mortal wound to the *Song* affairs; and the *Mungls*, contrary to their custom, proceeded with so much precaution before *Syang-yang*, only because they feared the ability, attention, and bravery, of *Lá-ven-te*, from whom they had suffered so many evils in *Se-chuen*.

Ahama's
power:

IN 1270, *Ahama* began to dread the probity and genius of several great lords who were at court. He had found means to render the fidelity of *Lyen-hyen* suspected and remove him from court: but this minister, having cleared himself, resumed his employment, and joined more than ever with the *Chinese* grandees, to destroy *Ahama*. This minister accused *Hi-hyen* of negligence, in suffering an officer within his jurisdiction to remain in prison, after the emperor had ordered his discharge. On *Ahama's* complaint, *Hi-hyen* was removed, and sent home; where he lived like a philosopher. *Hú-pi-lay* one day asked the lords about him, *what Hi-hyen did in his house?* *Ahama* made answer, and said, *he spent his time in plays and feasting*. The emperor, offended at this discourse, replied, *that Hi-hyen was too poor to think of feasts and comedies*.

disgraces

Hi-hyen: *HI-HYEN*, although a stranger, was in great esteem among the *Chinese* literati, because he professed to follow the doctrine of *Konfusius*. He was an enemy to the *Mohamedans*, *Tau-tse*, and *Bonzas*; especially the *Lamas*, or those of *Tibet*. A *Tau-tse*, who had access to court, would fain persuade the emperor to drink a liquor; which, according to the principles of his sect, would prolong his life, and make him happy after death. *Hi-hyen*, being consulted hereupon by the emperor, made a fine satire on the sect of *Tau-tse*; concluding with an harangue on the long life and virtues of the ancient emperors *Tau* and *Shun*. *Hú-pi-lay* after this dismissed the *Tau-tse*; but would persuade *Hi-hyen* to follow the maxims and rules of conduct laid down by *Pa-se-pa*. *Hi-hyen* answered, that he followed the rules of *Konfusius*: and, without being afraid, repeated the precepts of that philosopher's

losopher's disciples, on the sincerity of great men when they speak to the emperor; and the care with which a son ought to keep the precepts of his forefathers. Nothing could be more à-propos than this answer. *Ahama* passed for a knave, and yet had the confidence of *Hû-pi-lay*^h. *Jenghîz Khân* had given orders, not to make use of Bonzasⁱ, and yet the court was full of Lamas. *Hû-pi-lay* was one of those great princes who did not take it ill to be told their faults; and always set a high value on those courtiers who were of *Hi-hyen's* character, praising the delicacy and integrity of his answers.

AHAMA was hated by every body: but, because he imposed on the emperor by projects which gave him hopes of money, he was in favour; and, in 1270, his majesty gave his son the department of war. Among the princes, none but *Ching-kin*, the emperor's eldest son, dared to speak against *Ahama*; yet *Hyu-heng* said openly, that it was dangerous to give such great posts to the father and the son. *Ahama* hereupon laboured to get *Hyu-heng* appointed minister, with intention to ruin him: but this latter, suspecting his design, never would accept of that post. The year following, *Hyu-heng* conveyed to the emperor a writing, wherein he accused that minister of deceiving his sovereign, destroying the government, and ruining the people. As *Hû-pi-lay* made no answer to this accusation, *Hyu-heng* fell sick with vexation. Hereupon the emperor comforted him, by promising him the foundation of colleges or academies, to teach the sciences and morality.

In December this year, *Lycw-ping-ching* persuaded the emperor to give to his dynasty the name of *Ywen* (K). This Bonza said a world of obscure and enigmatical things on the occasion, with relation to the two figures of *Fû-hi* (or *Fo-hi*), first emperor of the *Chineses*. The first is expressed by the character *Kyen*, *heaven*; the second, by the character *Quen*, *earth*. The Bonza in his long discourse insisted, that, according to the sense of those two *Qua* (L), the *Mungls* ought to assume the title of *Ywen*. No body could find any thing solid in what he advanced, much less in the arguments which he drew from the sense of the words *Kyen* and *Quen*. However, the great reputation he had acquired, for a thorough

^h GAUBIL, p. 148, & seqq.

ⁱ See before, p. 464.

(K) *Ywen* signifies *beginning*. which number are *Kyen* and
(L) *Qua* is the name of the *Quen*. Gaubil.
figures ascribed to *Fo-hi*; of

5. *Khân*
Kublay.

knowledge of antiquity, supplied all defects. He was commended by every body; the emperor was felicitated on the occasion; and, by a public declaration, notified to his subjects, that they were thenceforth to give the *Mungl* dominion the title of *Yuen*.

Syang-
yang
strengthened.

IN May, *Hû-pi-lay* freed the people of *Szechuen* for a season from tribute; and, at the same time, ordered general *Say-tyen-che* to plunder that part of the province which was still subject to the *Song*. *Say-tyen* executed his commission with rigour, and almost ruined the district of *Kya-ting-shi*. The troops who were before *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching*, resolving to take those two cities by famine, general *Chang-lung-fang* made new intrenchments on the mountain *Van*. In June, a fleet of the *Song*, with 100,000 men aboard, and provisions for the besieged, appeared before *Lû-men*; but *Achû*, who commanded there, dispersed them, and took a great many barks, with all sorts of arms and other valuable booty.

The go-
vernor
distressed:

A. D.
1272.

LU-VÊN-WHANG, governor of *Syang-yang*, being greatly incommoded by the blockade, and finding no possibility of making sallies with success; in the beginning of the year 1272, ordered several bundles of herbs to be made, in one of which he inclosed a man, who could dive, and remain a long time in the water, without either eating or drinking. In his hair was put a letter, written on wax, to acquaint the governor of *Gan-lo*, a city of *Hû-quang*, with his distress. The bundles were cast into the water; but both they and the bearer of the letter were taken. The governor of *Gan-lo* was *Li-ting-chi*, a man of consummate experience, as well as heroic zeal for his prince. He had orders to guard all the mouths of the brooks and rivers which fell into the *Han*. On one of those brooks, called *Tsing-ni*, he caused 100 flat and light barks to be built. He joined three of them together to make a large one, and had all the rest covered with decks. Three thousand soldiers, natives of *Syang-yang*, *Gan-lo*, and *Shan-si*, offered to man those barks, and succour *Syang-yang* at all hazards. *Chang-quoy* and *Chang-fun*, who passed for intrepids, asked to command those 3000 men. *Li-ting-chi* bestowed grand titles on those two officers, distributed rewards among the soldiers, and furnished the threefold bark with all sorts of arms and provisions.

sends for
relief.

It being now in March, and the river high, about ten or eleven at night, the two intrepids entered the *Han*, at *Ko-tew-hyang*; where they drew up their little fleet. *Chang-quoy* led the way, and *Chang-fun* made the rear-guard. In spite of wind and stream, which were against them, they passed

passed before the retrenchments of the *Twen*, and fell to the east of *Mo-hong-tan*. The *Twen*, who had laid chains across in every part, on sight of the *Song* bark, ranged their own in order, and scoured the river, so that it seemed impossible to advance. For all this, *Chang-sbun* cut his way through, and fought for seven or eight leagues so vigorously, that the *Twen* were forced to give back, and stretch more chains. *Chang-quey* was already arrived, early in the morning, at *Syang-yang*, to the great joy of that city: but, after all his efforts, *Chang-sbun* was not able to reach thither; being killed, fighting like a hero. His body, which was found pierced with ten wounds, four made by pikes, and six by arrows, was buried with great pomp^k.

LU-YEN-WHANG would fain have kept *Chang-quey* of two with him: but that officer, depending on his own valour, *intrepids*: would needs return to *Gan-lo*. He found out two men, resolved to die; and such skilful divers, that they could remain for several days in water. These two men went to, and returned from, *Gan-lo* under water, and brought advice, that *Li-ting-chi* had assembled, at *Long-vey-chew*, 5000 choice men, to succour *Lu-ven-whang*. At this agreeable news *Chang-quey* went aboard his bark, and resolved, at any risk, to-join the succours designed for *Gan-lo*. That officer had beaten one of his soldiers; and, finding him missing, on the review which he made of his little troop before he set sail, concluded he had fled to the *Twen*. This accident made him hasten his departure; and, by favour of the stream, he, with his hatchets, cut the chains which obstructed his passage. He likewise attacked the retrenchments of the *Twen*; and, having ruined them by means of lances, fiery arrows, and other arms, arrived by night at *Sin-ching*, after having put the enemy's barks in disorder.

ACHU and *Lyrw-ching* then went aboard their barks; *their glori-* and, encouraging all by their presence, a bloody battle *en-rious* ensued. Both sides of the river were lined with lodgements of *death*. soldiers, and the river was covered with vessels. Each lodgement, as well as bark, had its lanthorns lighted; and, on any other occasion, it had been an agreeable spectacle. In spite of the valour and number of the *Twen* troops, *Chang-quey* was already gotten near to *Kew-lin-tan* and *Long-vey-chew*; when, seeing standards displayed, he made great rejoicing, believing them to be the 5000 men sent by *Li-ting-chi*: but his joy was of no long continuance; for he soon found himself surrounded by the *Twen*. The troops of *Gan-lo* had indeed

^k GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 151, & seqq.

5. *Khân*
Kublay.



left that place; but the winds and stream made them retire, and the *Twen* posted themselves at *Long-wey-chew*. *Chang-quey*, after he had fought like a lion, and received several wounds, was taken, and brought before *Achá*; whom he would not kneel to: and he likewise swore never to have any other master than the emperor of the *Song*. Hereupon that general ordered him to be killed, and four prisoners were charged to carry his body to *Syang-yang*. This sight threw the inhabitants into a consternation; and *Lu-xi-whang* ordered him to be buried near *Chang-shun*; building a house, as well as tomb, to honour their memory.

Fan-
ching
battered

AMONG the general officers who commanded at the siege of *Syang-yang* was an *Igur* lord, named *Ali Yaya* (M): he had a great knowledge of the western countries, and the manner of making war. In 1271, he advised the emperor to send for several of those engineers out of the west, who knew how to cast stones 150 pounds weight, which made holes seven or eight feet wide in the thickest walls: and with these, he said, *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching* would soon be taken. *Hu-pi-lay*, liking the proposal, ordered two of these engineers to be sent for; who, after giving a specimen of their art before the emperor, at *Ta-tú*, were sent to the army, towards the end of the year 1272.

A. D.
1273.

with en-
gines, and
taken.

THE river *Han* runs between *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching*, in which last place *Fan-shun* and *Nyew-fu* commanded at the beginning of the year 1273. The two engineers, *Alawating* and *Ifemayn*, planted their machines, which immediately made a breach in the walls. Hereupon the *Twen*, commanded by *Ali Yaya*, made an assault; and, after a bloody conflict, the suburbs of *Fan-ching* were taken. Flushed with this success, *She-tyen-che* ordered *Achá* to attack the bridge, which joined that city to *Syang-yang*, and offered mutual succours. *Achá* conducted the troops with hatchets and scythes, to cut the wood and posts; while *Ali Yaya* caused stones to be shot against those who opposed that general. Other officers were commanded to cut the fastenings and stakes, and take away the crosses which held up the chains. After these things were done, they burnt the bridge of barks. A great detachment was then posted along the *Han*, to hinder any succours from getting to *Syang-yang* by water. These precautions having been taken, the greater part of the army attacked *Fan-ching* on all sides, and made themselves masters of the walls and gates. *Fan-tyen-shun*, seeing the city taken, flew

(M) He was an *Igur*, or *Oy-ly Haya*. Many *Igur* names ended in *Haya*.

him-

himself: saying, that he had lived a subject to the *Song*, and would die their subject. *Nyew-fú*, at the head of one hundred foldiers, resolved to fight from street to street, and slew a great number of the *Twen*. Both parties were so overcome with thirst, that they drank human blood to quench it. *Nyew-fú*, full of rage and despair, set fire to the houses, that the great beams falling might kill his pursuers, and embarrass the way. At length, pierced with several wounds, he ran his head against a pillar, and threw himself into the flames, where he expired. The officers and soldiers, who were at his sides, followed his example. Thus the *Mungls* became masters of *Fan-chin* in January: where most of the general officers distinguished themselves; but their loss of subalterns and soldiers was considerable¹.

KYA-TSE-TAU, the *Song* minister, would have commanded the army destined for the relief of *Syang-yang*; but it was refused him. General *Kau-to* was also proposed; but not employed. It was only resolved to send an army; which posted itself between *Hü-quang* and *Kyang-nan*. However, the report spreading as if *Kau-to* was to march with succours to relieve that city, *Lu-ven-whang*, fearing the arrival of a person who was his mortal enemy, dispatched several couriers, to signify that he had no occasion for succours: for although he was reduced to an extremity, yet hatred and enmity made him tell this lye.

AFTER the taking of *Fan-ching*, all the materials which served at the siege were brought before *Syang-yang*. The two engineers posted themselves to the south-east of the city, against a wooden retrenchment, which was raised upon the ramparts. This was quickly demolished by the great stones which they launched against it: while the noise and havock which they made struck terror into the hearts of the besieged; who had never seen or heard the like before (N).

The

¹ GAUBIL, p. 154, & seqq.

(N) It is strange, that after what has been said of the *pau*, or engines, for casting or shooting stones at the siege of *Kay-fong-fú*, p. 485, and elsewhere, that both the *Twen* and *Song* should consider those of the two strangers as new inventions, and till then unknown in *China*. These *pau* were named *pau of the Mohammedans*. Marco Polo,

cap. 48, speaking of the siege of this place, which he calls *Sian-fú*, says, that he, with his father and uncle, offered their service for making engines, after the European manner, for casting stones three hundred pounds weight. In which they employed *Nestorians*, who made three *Mangani*, as he calls them. And that the first stone, falling

N n 2

on

5. *Khán,*
Kublay.

The garrison had, from the walls, observed part of what passed at *Fan-ching*, which much damped their courage. *Lyew-ching* having, in an assault, received a wound with an arrow, shot by *Lu-ven-whang*; to be revenged, asked leave of *Ali Yaya* to go and attack him: but *Ali Yaya*, instead of permitting him, went himself to the foot of the wall, and offered *Ven-whang* honourable conditions; which were accepted of, and his request granted, that he might be of the van-guard when they went to attack *Gán-lo*. Possession was given to *Achú* in *February*; upon which *She-tyen-che* sent *Ali Yaya* to court, where he was received with distinction, and had his praise publicly set forth, with that of the other generals, by *Há-pi-lay*; who ratified all which he had promised to *Ven-whang*. This general, who followed *Ali Yaya* to *Ta-tá*, had also the honour to salute the emperor, and both were sent back (O) to the army, with new instructions.

Song minister's
vanity.

As the family of the *Lu* was one of the most considered in the empire of the *Song*, the defection of *Lu-ven-whang* made a great noise. His brother, his nephews, and other relations, who possessed his posts, sent petitions to the emperor, to declare themselves culpable; and worthy to be turned out of their employments, for being so unfortunate as to be allied to a bad subject, who had gone over to the enemies of the state. But *Kya-tse-tau* made no mention of their request; and, with his usual vanity, gave out, that this evil was owing to his being hindered from putting himself at the head of the army, and marching to fight the enemy.

Pe-yen,
made general;

THE emperor *Há-pi-lay* being informed, that several princes of his family were forming plots in *Tatary*, seemed inclined to make peace with the *Song*: but *Ali Yaya*, *Lyew-ching*, and others, having shewn how easy it would be to carry on the war with success, now *Syang-yang* and *Fan-ching* were taken, that prince resolved to continue it. *She-tyen-che*, on account of his infirmities, obtained leave to lay down his post of generalissimo, and proposed *Gan-tong* to succeed him. *Tau-fu* did the same: but the emperor appointed *Pe-yen* (P); whom he ordered to go, without delay.

A. D.
1274.

on a house, so demolished it, that the inhabitants immediately capitulated. This agrees with the Chinese history: but this latter declares positively, that the engineers were *Whey-há*, or *Mohammedans*: but our author *Gaubil* thinks it might

easily have mistaken them for *Christians*.

(O) This was in 1273; in which year *Ching-kiu*, *Há-pi-lay*'s eldest son, was declared his heir. *Gaubil*.

(P) Called, by *Marco Polo*, *Bayan*.

and

and put himself at the head of the army : complaining, that the *Song* had imprisoned his envoy, and not observed the treaty concluded with *Kya-tse-tau*. At the same time, the generals *Polo-whan* and *Lyew-ching* were commanded to march to *Yang-chew*, in *Kyang-uan*. 5. *Khán*,
Kublay.

S E C T II.

Pe-yen's Victories, and the Ruin of the Song Dynasty by that great Captain.

PE-YEN was saluted great general, near *Syang-yang*, by the officers; who were charmed with the manner in which he took possession of his new dignity. After which, *Lu-ven-whang* being appointed to command the embarked troops, the army marched toward *Gan-lo*; and, in October, encamped to the west of this place; which is separated from *Sin-in* by the *Han*. They had stretched iron chains across the river, and barred it up with great barks, fastened together. They had likewise driven thick posts into the bottom of the chanel. The walls of *Gan-lo* were of good stone; and the city was furnished with all sorts of necessaries. Besides all this, it had a strong garrison; and *Chang-chi-kyay* was intrenched in the neighbourhood with a good army. Notwithstanding the apparent strength of the place, most of the generals were for attacking both it and the *Song* forces. But *Pe-yen*, after holding a great council, and examining the prisoners whom *Aché* had made, resolved to go another way to work. He caused a vast quantity of wood and *Bambú* canes to be felled; and then ordered the general *Li-ting* to attack the post of *Whan-kyawan*. This post being carried, *Pe-yen* made use of his wood and *Bambús* to transport the barks into the lake *Teng*; from whence they entered the *Han* before *Gan-lo*.

ONE of the principal officers of the garrison, having, at the head of 2000 men, retired to *Tsuen-tse-hú*, was beaten, after a brave defence, and killed by *Pe-yen* himself. Afterwards, the general marched to *Sha-yang*; and, taking advantage of a high wind, which arose in the evening, by means of his *Kin-sbi Pau* (Q), burnt the houses, and took the city. They next besieged *Sin-ching*, opposite to *Gan-lo*. takes Sin-
ching,

■ GAUBIL, p. 156, & seqq.

(Q) *Kin*, metal, *Sbi*, juice; that is, melted metal *Pau*. I know not what this is. *Gaubil*.

5. *Khân*,
Kublay.

From whence *Pyen-ku*, falling on horseback, ran full-speed, shooting arrows on every side, with which he wounded *Lu-ven-wang*; and, having unhorsed, obliged him to retire. *Ven Whang* renewed the attack with fresh men; but *Pyen-ku*, with his fire-arms (R), made him give way a second time. However, that commander having ordered all his soldiers to the assault, they, by getting on one another's shoulders, mounted the walls, and took the city, on the second of December. *Pyen-ku*, after a brave resistance, ran himself through; and, being half-dead, threw himself into the fire. Three thousand men, whom he commanded, fought desperately, and died all with their arms in their hands. *Pe-jen* had the curiosity to see the dead bodies, which were pierced with many wounds; and, with the other general officers, admired so great courage.

THIS year great troubles arose in the cities of *Wa-to-uan* (S), *Irgben*, and *Käsfgar*: but *Hä-pi-lay* restored things to order again.

and Sha-
vü-kew;

PE-YEN, in 1274, assembled the generals at *Tsay-tya*, some leagues to the west of *Han-kew*, where the *Han* enters the Great *Kyang*, to consult on the manner and time of passing that river. *Hya-quey*, general of the *Song*, had fortified the posts along it, and put 8000 men into *Tang-lo-pä*. He likewise seized on *Sha-fü-kew*, and covered the *Kyang* with armed barks. *Pe-yen*, under pretence of fortifying himself, put troops into several posts; and, being acquainted with the country, gave his orders in such a manner, that the troops might come together again in a short time, to attack *Sba-vü-kew*, (T): the conduct of which he committed to general *Hargan*, of the *Chalar* tribe. To conceal his design, he besieged *Han-yang*, which made *Hya-quey* believe, that his view was to take *Han-kew*. In this persuasion he came to relieve *Han-yang*: of which *Pe-yen* being informed, he gave his orders to *Hargan*, who forthwith attacked *Sba-vü-kew*, and made himself master of that important place. This done, *Pe-yen* caused his barks, which were in the *Han*, to sail into the river *Lun*, where he had a hundred barks of war, besides

(R) It is not said what these fire-arms were. *Gaubil*.

(S) *Gaubil* cannot say what city this is; but explains *Va-ek-kan*, or *Go-el-kan*, and *Hä-pi-lay*, to be *Irgben*, or *Irgben*, and *Käsfgar*, in *Little Bukharia*.

(T) The Chinese geography puts *Tang-lo-pä*, above-mentioned, twelve leagues to the west of *Whang-chew-fü*, and *Sba-fü-kew*, or *Sba-vü-kew*, twelve leagues to the north-west; but I know not if that be exact. *Gaubil*,

many

many others at *Sha-vû-kew*; and *Hya-quay* had the vexation to see that general's horse encamp'd to the north of the *Kyang*. 5. *Khân*,
Kublay.

PE-YEN after this directed *Achû* to pass the *Kyang*, with stout troops, and send him notice when he was over. *Achû* that evening descended the river, two or three leagues to *Chin-shan-ki*; and next morning, at day-break, came in sight of *Sha-chew*, an isle of the *Kyang*; to the west of *Vû-chang-fû*. There he ordered *Shi-ke*, son of the general *She-tyen-che*, to advance before: who being met by *Cheng-pen-fey*, an officer of that city, he was beaten, and repulsed. But *Achû* coming up obliged *Pen-fey* to retire with loss, and then made towards the bank, where a fierce fight ensued; in which *Pen-fey*, being intirely defeated, was forced to return to *Vû-chang-fû*. *Achû* after this landed; and, having fortified himself, sent advice to *Pe-yen*, who received the express on the day of the *Red Dragon*, in the twelfth month (U). Hereupon the general ordered the greater part of his army to join *Ali Raya*, and follow his directions for attacking *Yang-lo-pû*; where *Wang-ta*, after defending himself valiantly at the head of 8000 men; was slain. As soon as this place was taken, *Pe-yen*, without delay, crossed the *Kyang* with all his army, instead of following *Hya-quay* (as several officers proposed); who, informed of the bold action of *Achû*, went off with 300 barks; and, after having set fire to the banks, fled sneakingly down the river. Mean time the city of *Han-yang* surrendered to the *Twen*.

A D.
1275.

PE-YEN having joined *Achû*, the siege of *Vû-chang-fû* was resolved on; in order to have a retreat on the *Kyang*; in case of any misfortune. A *Song* general set out from *Kyang-kin-fû* (now *King-chew*), in *Hû-quang*, to succour *Vû-chang*: but when he heard, that *Yang-lo-pû* and *Han-yang* were taken, he went back again. All these misfortunes had so discouraged the garrison of *Vû-chang*, that *Lû-ven-whang* soon prevailed on the principal among them to deliver up the city, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of two officers. The *Mungls* would have killed these officers; but *Pe-yen* praised their fidelity, and forbade them to put any body to death. This general, by his address, managed the people to his interest; and knew how to profit by the discontent

Vû-chang-fû
surrenders,

(U) That is the 26th of *January*, 1275. In the seventh moon [which we reckon *July*], 1274, *Tû-tsung*, emperor of the *Song*, died, and was succeeded by his son (*Kong-tsung*), but four years old; the empress his grandmother taking on her the regency. *Gaubil*.

5. Khân,
Kublai.

with other
cities.

which reigned among several of the *Song* officers. *Lu-ven-whang* gained over many lords of his family, who commanded along the *Kyang*: so that the cities of *Ki-chew*, *Whang-chew-fû*, and others, were taken, without striking a stroke^a. MEAN time *Kya-tse-tau*, the *Song* minister, under pretence of rewarding the services of *Lu-shi-quey*, governor of *Kyang-chew* (now *Kew-kyang*), a city of *Kyang-si*, upon the *Kyang*; got him made head of a tribunal at *Hang-chew-fû*, capital of the *Song* empire, and sent an officer to command at *Kyang-chew*. *Shi-quey* imagining, that they distrusted him; and, to be revenged on *Kya-tse-tau*, surrendered the city to *Pe-yen*. At a great entertainment which he gave that general, he presented him with two young ladies, of the imperial blood of the *Song*. *Pe-yen* refused to accept of the present, and shewed himself displeased with *Shi-quey* on the occasion: for that great man never addicted himself to a vice so common among the grandees of his nation. *Gan-king*, in *Kyang-na*, on the *Kyang*; and *Nan-kang*, in *Kyang-si*, eight leagues to the south of *Kyew-kyang*, with other cities, surrendered also. In short, every place submitted, on the approach of the *Tan* general.

Peace proposed.

LYEW-CHING, having miscarried in his attempt to pass the *Kyang* on the side of *Tang-chew*, was baffled before a place of no consequence. When he heard of the reduction of *Vû-chang-fû*, and the success of *Lu-ven-whang*, his enemy, it gave him deadly anguish, and he died, regretted by the *Twen*. *Kya-tse-tau* feared his daring spirit; and, knowing him to be so near, durst not venture out of *Hang-chew-fû*. But, as soon as he heard of his death, he caused a great fleet to be fitted out: and, putting himself at the head of 130,000 men, entered the *Kyang* by *Si-gan-chi-kew*, and went to post himself at *U-hû*. In February, he was joined by the fleet of *Hya-quey*. After this he sent to *Pe-yen* a *Mung* prisoner, with a grand regale of fruits; and was not ashamed to propose peace to him, upon the terms concluded with *Hu-pi-lay*. *Achû*, at the time of that treaty, was with his father *Hu-lyang-ho-tay* at the siege of *Chang-fa*; and, having been witness of *Kya-tse-tau*'s fourberies, acquainted *Pe-yen* therewith: who thereupon sent *Nankyatay*, a *Naymân* lord, of great descent, to that minister, with orders to reproach him for his unfair dealing: and to tell him, "that, for the honour of his master, he ought to have spoken of peace sooner; but that now the time was past."

Pe-yen's
answer:

^a GAUDEL, p. 159, & seqq.

MEAN

MEAN time *Pe-yen* laid siege to *Chi-chew*, in *Kyang-nan*, 5. *Kbân*,
 few leagues east-by-north of *Gan-king*: when *Chau-ma* *Kublay*.
 1, governor of the city, finding it impossible to defend *takes Chi-*
 , said to his wife, that he could neither resolve to be un-*chew*;
 faithful to his master, nor bear to see the city possessed by
 strangers. After speaking these words, he killed himself; and
 his wife did the same. *Pe-yen* then entered the city, and
 made the people fall on their knees, according to the *Chinese*
 ceremony. They obeyed; and, weeping, loaded with praises
 both *Chau-ma-fa* and *Pey-en*: who forthwith ordered the
 army and fleet of the *Song* to be attacked. *Kya-tse-tau* was at
Sû-hyang: *Sû-hû-ching* with 70,000 choice men, at *Ting-kyahew*,
 below *Chi-chew*; and *Hya-quey*, with 2500 barks, in
 the middle of the *Kyang*. *Hya-quey* was persuaded that
 he should never be pardoned the fault he had committed, in
 lying when *Pe-yen* was about to cross that river; and could
 not bear to see *Sun-hû-ching* preferred to him. This made him
 take the resolution, not to fight.

THE *Twen* general, having caused great heaps of grass *defeats the*
 and straw to be put upon rafts, spread a report, that he *Chinese*;
 intended to burn the enemy's barks. He then ordered his
 own to get ready for battle; while the horse and foot marched
 long both sides of the *Kyang*. The *Song* commanders were
 day and night on their guard, although their soldiers had
 no inclination to fight. At length *Pe-yen* ordered a great
 cannon to be shot from his *Pau*, against the body commanded
 by *Hû-cheng*; which put the troops in motion: and *Achû*,
 who encamped opposite to *Hû-cheng*, following the stream,
 advanced to attack his van-guard. On this *Kyang-tsay*, *Hû-*
cheng's lieutenant, made a shew as if he intended to stand
 the shock: but the troops, seeing their general on board
 his concubine's bark, cried out, that he had taken to flight.
 These cries begat confusion; and *Hya-quey*, calling out to
Kya-tse-tau, that there was no withstanding the enemy, fear
 seized him also. *Achû* took advantage of this disorder, and
 fell upon the *Song* troops; who were put to a general rout:
 while *Achû*, supported by *Pe-yen*, with all his forces, made
 a great slaughter. Many of the enemy's soldiers were
 drowned; and the *Twen* got an inestimable booty.

AFTER this defeat, *Kya-tse-tau* retired in haste; and soon *Affairs*
 after, *Hya-quey* joined him. *Hû-chin*, coming up to them, *desperate*.
 fell a crying; and said, *there was not a single man, who was*
willing to expose himself to death. Hereupon *Hya-quey*,
 mocking him, replied, *that he and Kya-tse-tau had fought*
even to death. When they had breathed a little, the minister
 asked him, *what was to be done, as things stood?* *Hya-quey*
 told

5. *Khân,*
Kublai.

told him, that the best way would be to go to *Tang-chew*; and there, gathering as many men and barks as he could, put to sea: after this he went his way, with a design to join the *Tuwn* on the first opportunity. Many of those who fled from the battle repaired to *Tang-chew*, and spoke openly against *Ky-tse-tau*; and indeed *Pe-yen* owed his great success as much to the bad conduct of the *Song* generals, as to his own valor and prudence. The consternation became almost universal through *Chè-kyang* and *Kyang-nan*: so that the governors of *Ching-kyang*, *Ning-que*, and *Ho-chew*, in the last of those provinces; and even of *Nan-chang-fu*, capital of *Kyang-si*, abandoned these cities; and the *Tuwn* took *Tau-chew* in the far province, several of whose Mandarins slew themselves, rather than surrender.ⁿ

The minister removed.

THE principal officer of *Kyen-kang* (now *Nan-king*), a *Kyang-nan*, took what gold and silks he could get, with abundance of silver, and abandoned that city: for a great number of Mandarins were weary of *Ky-tse-tau*'s government, and chose rather to see the state perish, than obey the minister: in *Hang-chew* itself there was a minister who deserted it. A lord, named *Wang-si-lin*, coming to hear of *Ky-tse-tau*'s shameful flight, gave a great entertainment to the lords who were his friends and relations; and, not being able to support his grief, slew himself three days after. Mean time the empress, who had the title of the *Song* monarch's grandmother, and regent of the empire, took the management of affairs from that minister; and published an edict to exhort the Mandarins to do their duty. She likewise caused writings to be posted up throughout the empire; wherein she invited the grandees, officers, and persons of fortune, to succour the state in such deplorable circumstances. *Chang-shi-kyay*, always faithful to his prince, retook *Tau-chew* in *Kyang-si*; *Ven-tyen-syang* sold his effects to levy troops, and raised 10,000 men. Others made great efforts likewise: but *Pe-yen*, by his activity and policy (X), disconcerted the most prudent measures of the loyal *Song*.

Pe-yen's
humanity.

IN March this general took *Nan-king* (Y): he bestowed bounty on the poor, and sent physicians into the towns and villages.

ⁿ GAUBIL, p. 162, & seqq.

(X) *Pe-yen* is the general whom *M. Polo*, and others, name *Bayan*; the word *Chinsan* (*Kinsan*), which he joins with it, is a corruption of *Tsay-syang*, which signifies minister of state.

Gaubil. *Polo* says, *Chinsan* signifies 100 eyes; nor has it in found the least similitude with *Tsay-syang*.

(Y) In the same month, *Chang-chew-fu* and *Su-chew-fu*,
21

villages afflicted with contagious diseases; he forbade the least pillage, on pain of death, and did friendly offices to every body; especially the officers, whom he always distinguished above others. In short, he made himself admired, as well for his sincerity, as for his disregard of pleasures and money.

HU-PI-LAT having renewed his complaints against the *Song* ministers, for the detention of *Hau-king*; the court of the *Ywen*. caused that lord to be enlarged. On his way back to *Ta-tu* he fell sick; and although the emperor sent physicians to cure him, yet he died as soon as he arrived at that city. On which occasion *Hü-pi-lay* made a great eulogy of the qualities of *Hau-king*, who had composed large comments on the *I-king* and *Chun-tsyen*. Another ground of complaint quickly followed: *Lyen-hi-hyen*, brother of *Lyen-hi-hyen*, who was president of the tribunal of ceremonies at *Ta-tu*, being transferred to *Nan-king*, *Pe-yen* sent him a guard of 500 soldiers. As he went to a fort (Z) near *Hang-chew-fu*, capital of *Che-kyang* and the *Song* empire, the garrison fought, wounded, and sent him to that city, where he died of his hurts. An officer likewise of the tribunal of public works, who was in his retinue, was slain. This affair made a great noise; and the *Song* ministers immediately dispatched a messenger, to assure *Pe-yen* that neither the empress regent, nor the emperor, knew any thing of the matter; and that they would, without delay, make the necessary enquiries to discover and punish the authors of that crime: they intreated *Pe-yen*, at the same time, to make peace on the conditions which they proposed.

AFTER *Vü-chong-fü* was taken, *Pe-yen* left the government thereof, and its district, to *Ali Haya* (A), with 40,000 men, and the two officers of the west, who were skilled in shooting great stones. This general made himself no less famous than *Pe-yen*: he knew how to gain the hearts of the *Chinese* (whose characters and sciences he understood very well), as well as of the troops, who had a great esteem for him. *Ali Haya* took the field, and attacked the naval force of *Kau-shi-kyay* in *Tong-ting Hü*, a famous lake of *Hü-quang*; which

in *Kyang-nan*, were taken; and *Po-lo-ban* reduced *Tsing-ko*, *Hay-chew*, and other important places in the same province. *Gaubil*, p. 166. — In the same month *Mangbola*, son of *Hü-pi lay*, followed prince *Gau-lü-che* into *Tibet*, to punish those who had revolted in that country. *Ibid.* p. 171. note (1).

(Z) It appears afterwards that the name of this fort was *Tü-jong-quan*; and that *Lyen-hi-kyen* went to treat about affairs with the *Song*.

(A) Before called *Ali Yaya*.

he

5. *Khân*, he defeated after a bloody fight, and slew the admiral with Kublay. his own hand. After this victory, he presented himself before *Yo-chew*, near the said lake, and reduced it: he likewise obliged *King-chew*, *Gan-la*, and other places, to surrender. Then drawing into the field, he, in several rencounters, beat general *Kau-ta*, an officer of reputation, who afterwards went over to the *Twen*. As the news of these conquests gave a sensible pleasure to *Hü-pi-lay*, who loved *Ali Haya*, he wrote the eulogy of that general with his own hand: wherein, among other soothing expressions, he said, "That when he knew him (*Ali Haya*) to be at such a distance from *Pe-yan*, and furnished with so few troops, he feared he should want opportunities of making conquests worthy of his courage."

*Affairs of
Tartary.*

SHE-TYEN-CHE died at *Ghing-ting-fü*, in *Pe-che-li*, on his return from *Hü-quang*, in the beginning of the year. This general had always commanded great armies with applause since the time of *Jenghiz Khân*. Before he died, he intreated *Hü-pi-lay* to forbid slaughter after he had passed the *Ky-ang*: the *Chinese* have made great encomiums upon him. This same year (1275) the emperor bestowed the government of *Al-mâlig* on his son *Nannühân*, under whom *Gan-tong* had command of the troops. *Hü-pi-lay* thought it convenient to oppose a prince of the blood, and a good general, to prince *Hay-tü*, who made incursions over all *Tartary* ^P.

*Yang-
chew be-
lieged.*

MEAN time *Achá* and *Chang-hong-fan*, who were in the neighbourhood of *Tang-chew-fü*, in *Kyang-nan*, after several small battles, in which they had always been victors, came to attack the southern gate of that city. *Li-ting-chi* commanded there; and, notwithstanding the great conquests of the *Twen*, sustained himself a long time. In *May*, a detachment of the *Song* retook the city of *Chang-chew-fü*, in the same province. *Chang-sbi-kyay*, having gathered a great number of barks, posted himself near the mountain *Tfyau*. He ranged ten great barks in a line, which he made almost immoveable by means of anchors: and forbade touching them under pain of death. *Aché*, who saw them at a distance, resolved to burn them. With this view he embarked a 1000 cross-bow men; and, putting himself in the middle of them, shot burning arrows, which set fire to the masts and sails of the enemy's fleet. At the same time he so briskly attacked *Shi-kyay*'s troops, that, for all their general's bravery, they could not withstand the shock, many of them jumping into the river. *Chang-hong-fan*, and *Tong-wen-ping*, watching their

*Great na-
val vic-
tory.*

^P GAUBIL, p. 165, & seqq.

time, with their chosen troops, fell on the body commanded by *Shi-kyay* in person; who, having had none with him but new levies, was obliged to retire towards the mountain *Chen*. *Achû* took more than 700 barks; and many of the *Song* officers dispersed. As for *Shi-kyay* himself, who was always firm, and never disheartened at any misfortune, he demanded new succours from the court: but, receiving no answer, he was obliged to run from place to place to raise new recruits; and, although neglected, still encouraged the people, and exhorted them to be faithful to their prince.

IN the interim, *Hû-pi-lay* saw himself threatened with a bloody war in *Tartary*. The officers of *Hay-tû* went over all the tribes to make friends, and the prince himself stirred up all those of his family against the emperor: however, it does not appear from the history, what were either his complaints or pretensions. Whatever they were, he this year appeared with prince *Tua*, at the head of 100,000 men, in the country of *Igûr*, and besieged *Idikut* (or *Idikut*) in his capital (B); whom they would oblige to become their ally, and renounce the party of *Hû-pi-lay*. But *Idikut* answered, "that he knew but one master to whom he was tributary, and would rather be cut in pieces than depart from his duty." Accordingly he defended himself valiantly till succours arrived; and then forced the princes to raise the siege. After this he went to court, where the emperor did him all sorts of honours, and loaded him with riches. *Idikut* was grandson and heir of *Idikut*, who submitted to *Jonghtz Khân*, and had married a daughter of the emperor *Quey-yew* (or *Kayuk*).

THIS war, which threatened *Tartary*, made *Hû-pi-lay* recall *Pe-yen*, to command in the north: but, at that general's intreaty to continue the war in the south, the emperor complied, and ordered him to march immediately towards *Ling-gan* (C) (or *Hang-chew-fû*). In October, a Chinese officer, named *Li-fû*, threw himself into *Chang-sba-fû*, a city of *Hû-quang*, resolved to perish in defence of the place: he had 3000 men in garrison, with much provision, and other necessaries. They were besieged by *Ali Haya*; and although the streets were full of dead bodies, and the inhabitants in great distress, yet they held out with so brave a governor. *Achû* had been a long time before *Yang-chew-fû*, but the brave

(B) This, we presume, was *Ho-chew*, a few leagues to the east of *Turfân*, as hath been already remarked, p. 378.

(C) So the capital of the *Song* empire was then called.

5. *Khân*,
Kublai.

Li-ting-ehi and the citizens still defended themselves with a valour admired by the *Mungls*.

↳
towards
the capital.

PE-YEN being come to *Man-tew* with his army, passed the *Kyang*; and sent *Algan*, accompanied by *Gau-lá-che*, to attack the fort of *Tü-song-quan*, near *Hang-chew-fü*. *Tong-wen-ping* and *Sjang-wey* went toward *Wha-ting*, along the sea-coast; in which detachment was *Fan-wen-hü*. *Pe-ya* and *Atahay*, preceded by *Lu-ven-whang*, went to lay siege to *Chang-chew-fü*, into which *Yen-tyen-syang* attempted in vain to throw succours, for he was always beaten. *Algan*, after taking *Quang-te*, appeared in sight of *Lin-gan*; which alarmed the court, who made all above fifteen years of age take up arms.

Mi-yew's
bravery.

MEAN time, *Song-tá-hay*, son of general *Tachar*, *Li-hing*, of the family of the kings of *Hya*, and *Lu-fbi-quey*, who rendered *Kyew-kyang*, being detached by *Pe-ya*, made great conquests in *Kyang-fü*. When they were near *Wá-chang-fü*, an officer named *Mi-yew*, born at *Mi-chew*, advanced to meet them with some troops; and cried out, that he came to fight. At these words he fell upon the body commanded by *Song-tu-hay*, who caused him to be surrounded: but although *Mi-yew* received four shots from arrows, and three wounds with pikes, yet, taking a sword in each hand, he cut down all before him, till, coming to a little bridge, one of the planks broke under him, and he was taken. *Song-tá-hay*, who admired his courage, offered him great presents; and, by means of his son, invited him to take part with the *Mungls*: but it was all in vain; he caused himself to be stripped, and defired he might be slain. His son fell on his knees, and, with tears, cried, *My father, what shall I do after your death?* *Mi-yew* embraced him, and, with an undaunted tone, said: *My son, you need only appear in the streets; and there is no person will refuse to assist you, when they know that you are the son of Mi-yew.* Hereupon *Song-tá-hay* ordered him to be killed.

Chang-chew-fü
taken.

PE-YEN, who found much resistance at *Chang-chew-fü*, shewed on that occasion how far his courage and activity extended. He beat down the houses which were about the city, and raised an inclosure of earth, in order to get upon the walls. Night and day he appeared armed, to support the labourers against the sallies of the besieged. He caused great heaps of dead bodies to be placed upon his rampart: then ordering the whole army to be in readiness, the officers and soldiers, getting one upon another, mounted from the ram

part to the top of the walls; and *Pe-yen* himself was one of the first who entered the city. *Tau-in*, one of those who commanded in the city, was killed at the beginning: *Cheng-chau* and *Wang-gan-tsyé* (D) still defended themselves in the great square. It was proposed to *Cheng-chau*, the fourth commanding officer, to escape through the north-east gate, which was still open: but he answered, *Any other place, though but an inch from hence, will not be fit for me to die in.* He was killed about noon; and *Pe-yen* caused the inhabitants to be put to the sword (E). He ordered *Wang-gan-tsyé* to be bound, and then to kneel; but he chose rather to die. *Lyew-sbi-yong*, with some horse, forced an intrenchment, and escaped toward *Sû-chew-fû*. The son of *Lyen-hi-kyen* had strong suspicions that *Chan-jû*, one of the commanders of *Tû-song-quan*, when *Hi-kyen* went thither to treat about affairs, was the author of his uncle's murder, as before related: so that, after that fort was taken, he watched *Chang-jû*, who had made his escape, followed, and killed him.

CHI-NI-CHONG (F), principal minister of the *Song*, in *Peace sued* December, sent *Lyew-yo* to *Vû-si-hyen*, a city of *Kyang-nan*, for. near *Chang-chew-fû*, to assure *Pe-yen*, that the assassination of *Lyen-hi-kyen* was committed unknown to his court; and, at the same time, desired peace. *Lyew-yo* affirmed that all the mischief was owing to *Kya-tse-tan*, who had violated the public faith, and betrayed the empire (G): he added, weeping, that the emperor his master was still in mourning, and

(D) He was son of the illustrious *Wang-kyen*, who commanded in *Ho-chew*, in *Se-chwen*, when *Meng-ko* was killed before it *Gaubil*.

(E) The inhabitants of *Chang-chew* must have committed some very heinous action, to provoke *Pe-yen* to this; for he was far from being cruel. *Gaubil*.—*M. Polo* observes, that the *Alans* having taken the outer wall of *Tinguigui*, and made themselves drunk with the wine which they found there; the citizens came and slew them all in their sleep, for which reason *Bayan* (or *Pe-yen*), afterwards when he took the city, put them all to the sword. *Tinguigui*, by its situation, seems to be *Chang-chew*

fû. See New Collect. Trav. in 4to. vol. IV. p. 599—It must be observed also, that *Chang-chew* had been taken once before by the *Mungs*; and perhaps its being retaken by the *Song*, was owing to the disaffection of the inhabitants.

(F) Written in this place *Thini-thang*: in another, *Tchini-chong*. We follow this last reading.

(G) On the displacing of this minister, his effects were confiscated, and he retired to *Chang-chew-fû* (a city of *Fo-kyen*): where, on his arrival, he was slain by a Mandarin, who could not bear to see the man enjoy life who had ruined the empire by his wickedness. *Gaubil*.

5. *Khân*, in an age not fit to govern. *Pe-yen* reproached *Lyew-yu* *Kublay*. with the many treacheries employed by his ministers; the murders in the persons of the envoys, even of *Hü-pi-lay*; and the unfair dealing with regard to the conditions which had been agreed to: "As to the minority of your prince, you ought to consider, said *Pe-yen* to *Lyew-yo*, that formerly your dynasty wrested the empire from a prince who was nearly of the same age as yours: at present, heaven takes the empire from an infant to give it my master. There is nothing in this which is contrary to reason." After these words, he sent back *Lyew-yo*, and ordered *Nan-kyai* to follow him.

Pe-yen's
answer.

SHORTLY after, *Pe-yen*, preceded by *Lu-ven-wang*, made his public entry into *Sü-chew* (then called *Ping-kyang*); there he received an express from *Chi-ni-chong*, wherein the *Song* emperor offered to be called nephew, or grand nephew, of *Hü-pi-lay*, and pay him tribute. But every thing was rejected by *Pe-yen*; who, being joined by *Argan*, and some other generals, prepared to make himself master of *Ling-gu* without delay.

Great
magnani-
mity

A. D.
1276.

of the Chi-
nese.

MEAN while *Ali Haya* pushed the siege of *Chang-fa* vigorously. He caused the ditches to be drained; and, after making several breaches in the walls, ordered an assault to be given in *January* 1276. As the garrison had suffered extremely, and were not able to sustain this last attack, the officers spoke of surrendering: but *Li-fü* opposed that motion; and declared he would kill those who any more talked in such a strain. A Mandarin of *Heng-chew*, who was then in the city, ordered the cap of ceremony to be put on the heads of his two young sons, and made them perform the ceremony of beating the head (H) to those who were present: after which, he and his two sons, with his domestics, threw themselves into the fire, and there perished. *Li-fü* performed the ceremony for them of pouring wine on the earth; and then made all the Mandarins write the *Chinese* character which expresses the fidelity due to the sovereign: they all swore likewise not to surrender. One of the most considerable began, by going into an inclosed place, and drowning himself in a pond. *Li-fü* then sent for *Shen-chong*, one of his officers, and said to him: "I have no strength; I must die; I would not have the people of my family dishonour me by slavery; after you have slain them all, kill me." *Shen-chong* fell on his knees, and protested he could not un-

(H) That is, to fall on their knees, and strike their heads thrice against the ground.

dertake

dertake such a task. But *Li-fū* importuned him so much, ^{5. Kban} that at length he consented. He slew all *Li-fū*'s domestics, ^{Kublay.} after he had made them drunk; then slew *Li-fū* himself, and, having set fire to the house, returned to his own: there he first slew his wife and children, then himself. All the Mandarins of the city, excepting two, killed themselves: most of the inhabitants did the same; and the very wells were filled with the bodies of those who threw themselves in, not one being found empty: so that *Ali Haya*, entering the city, was much surprised to find it without any people. Most of the other cities of that part of *Hū-quang*, called *Hū-nan* (I), submitted to the *Twen*†.

In the first month the empress regent of the *Song*, finding that *Pe-yen* would not grant peace, on condition that the ^{the em-} ~~emperor~~ ^{press sub-} should be called grand nephew of *Hū-pi-lay*; offered ^{mits} that he should be stiled subject, with a yearly tribute of twenty-five Van in silver, and as much in silk. This step was taken without the knowledge, and against the advice, of the minister *Che-ni-chong*, who was for having the court remove elsewhere. But the empress would never consent to it; and, in anger, cast the ornaments of her head on the ground, reproached the great men for having deceived her; shut the palace gates, and forbade any such proposals to be made to her. *Che-ni-chong* (†) had promised *Pe-yen* to come to confer with him; but did not keep his word. That general, re- ^{to Pe-yen.} solving not to be duped, went and encamped on the mountain *Kau-ting*; from whence he ordered some troops of horse to advance as far as the north suburbs of *Lin-gan* (or *Hang-chew-fū*). *Ven-tyen-syang* and *Chang-sbi-kyay* proposed setting the empresses, emperor, princes, and the ministers, on ship-board, that they might put to sea; while they two, and the officers who were willing to follow them, attacked the *Mungls*: but the prime minister rejected that measure. After this, the empress-grandmother sent the great seal of the empire to *Pe-yen*, in token of surrender; and that general dispatched *Nan-kyatay* with it to *Hū-pi-lay*. As *Che-ni-chong* did not approve of this step, he immediately left the court, and retired to *Wen-chew-fū* (K).

* GAUBIL, p. 170, & seqq.

(I) *Hū-quang* province is divided into two parts, of which *Hū-nan* is the southern. It should be written *Cbi*, or *Che*, *Chin-i*, or *Cbi-ni-chong*.

(†) We are not sure whether above 150 miles to the south-east of *Lin-gan*, or *Hang-chew-fū*.

5. Khân
Kublay.

Shi-kyay
proposes
peace.

CHANG-SHI-KYAT, not able to bear this shameful act of submission without fighting, retired with a body of troops, and encamped at *Ting-hay*. Hereupon *Pe-yen* sent *Pyen-hyau*, an officer of note, to exhort him to surrender. *Shi-kyay* imagined at first that *Pyen-hyau*'s design was to pursue him; but when he understood the true motive of his arrival, he ordered his tongue to be cut out, and himself hacked to pieces. The general *Lyew-shi-yong*, who had so well defended *Chang-chew-fu*, went out to sea, and drank himself to death. Next time *Ven-tyen-syang* and the minister *U-kyen* went to wait on *Pe-yen*; and, with a view to repair the honour of the empire, which had been impaired by former negotiations, spoke thus: "If the empire of the north would withdraw its army, and make peace with ours as a neighbour; then we might talk of money and silks to give your troops: but in case you intend to destroy the dynasty of the *Song*, consider, first, that we have still large and good countries, strong cities, ships, money, and troops; and you know there is no promising for the events of war."

Detained
by Pe-yen,

PE-YEN, charmed with the grand qualities of *Ven-tyen-syang*, whose character he was acquainted with before by report, sent back *U-kyen*, and detained him, under pretence of conferring with him about important affairs; and ordered the generals *Mangú-tas* and *Sú-tú* to do him all sorts of civilities. *Ven-tyen-syang* boldly reproached the deserting lords of the *Song* with their perfidy and cowardice: he even told *Pe-yen* to his face, that it was unjust to detain thus the envoy of a crowned head. When *Lu-ven-whang* would have exhorted him to talk in a more moderate strain; that illustrious Mandarin shewed him clearly his ingratitude for the imperial family of the *Song*, from whom he had received so many benefits and honours. After this, *Pe-yen* sent an officer to *Hü-pi-lay*, and put *Ven-tyen-syang* in his train.

who enters
Lin-gan.

IN February, *Pe-yen* appointed *Tatar* and *Chinese* lords to govern the city of *Lin-gan*. By his orders they took and sealed up the books, the registers, the geographical maps, the historical records, the paintings, the edicts, and other things belonging to the great tribunals: they likewise carried away the seals of all the tribunals. He sent two great lords to guard the palace of the empress grandmother, and have an eye on all that passed there. They behaved to her with the greatest respect; and seemed rather to make their court, than to watch her. All this was done without the least disorder: so that the *Chinese* themselves, in all their affliction, could not but admire at the police and good regulations which *Pe-yen* caused to be observed. The *Song* emperor had two brothers,

brothers, whom his father had by his other wives: these young princes were carried away; and, after they had been concealed for seven days upon a mountain, were conveyed by a Mandarin to *Wen-chew-fu* before-mentioned. This same month, *Hya-quey*, who for a long time was inclined to submit to the *Ywen*, went over to them; and delivered into their hands the strong city of *Lu-chew* (L) in *Kyang-nan*.

IN *March*, *Pe-yen* on horseback, followed by all the general officers, and with the standard of the great general carried before him, left *Hu-chew-fu* (M), and came to *Lin-gan* (N); where he visited all parts of the city, and had the curiosity to see the flux and reflux of the river *Che*. The emperor and empress desired to see him: but he excused himself, by giving them to understand that he was not thoroughly acquainted with the ceremonial proper to be observed on such occasion. Next day he left *Lin-gan*. In *May*, the generals *Atahay* and *Li-ting* entered the imperial palace, and caused the ceremonies to cease, which were used in appearing before the emperor. They then, saluting the emperor, and the empress his mother, acquainted them, that they were to set out for the court of the emperor *Hu-pi-lay*. The princess at this message could not refrain from tears; and embracing the emperor's son, said, "My son, the son of heaven (O) grants you life, you must beat the head to him." The young prince, at these words, turned his face towards the north; and, falling on his knees, along with his mother (P), they both saluted the emperor *Hu-pi-lay*, by striking the ground nine times with their heads. This ceremony being over, they were both put in a chariot, and sent to *Ta-tu*.

THIS was a sad spectacle for all the faithful subjects of the *Song* race. *Su-ing-pyau*, one of the greatest lords of the court, not being able to survive the misfortune of his prince,

* GAUBIL, p. 173, & seqq.

(L) Or *Lyd-chew fu*.

(M) Near the sea, about 40 miles north of *Lin-gan*, or *Iang-chew-fu*.

(N) On the news of *Pe-yen's* approach, many ladies of the palace, fearing violence from the soldiers, drowned themselves; but their fears were groundless, for *Pe-yen* did not offer the least disorder to be committed. *Gaubil*.

(O) The empress gives to *Hu-pi-lay* the title of *Tyen-tse*,

or son of heaven; which the emperor of *China* bore. *Gaubil*.

(P) The captive emperor, named *Kong-ti*, or *Kong-tsong*, was then near seven years of age: the empress, intitled grandmother, was the wife of *Li-tsong*, his grandfather; the grandmother of *Kong-tsong* and of *Tu-tsong* was also conveyed to *Ta-tu*, or *Pe-king*, along with other princes of the imperial family. *Gaubil*.

5. *Khân*
Kublay.

threw himself, with his two sons and one daughter, into a well. The empress's grandmother was suffered to remain in her palace till she recovered from her illness. *Pe-yen* gave orders to take the gold, silver, precious stones, jewels, and other costly things of the imperial palace, and send them by sea to *Tyen-tsin-wei* (Q); from whence those immense treasures were conveyed to *Ta-tû*. *Pe-yen*, having had an express order to repair to court, left the generals *Argan* and *Tong-wen-ping* to command the army which was in the neighbourhood of *Lin-gan* (R).

Emperor
arrives

LI-TING-CHI, *Kyang-tsai*, and other *Song* officers shed torrents of tears when they heard that the emperor was carried prisoner to *Ta-tû*: they assembled in great numbers at *Yang-chew-fû*, and swore to do their utmost to rescue the prince out of the hands of the *Twen*. Pursuant to this resolution they wrote circular letters; and, having distributed the money to the most hardy soldiers, got together an army of 40,000. This army, under the command of *Kyang-tsai*, attacked the city of *Qua-chew* (S), where the emperor was arrived. The *Twen* troops, conducted by *Atabay*, *Li-tung*, and other generals, fought the *Song* for three hours together and repulsed them. *Kyang-tsai*, who fought continually as he retreated, was surrounded by *Achû*, come from the taking of *Whay-gan-fû* (T), who summoned him in vain to submit. The inhabitants of *Cheng-chew-fu* attempted also, without success, to deliver the emperor *Kong-tsung*; who at length, in May, arrived at *Shang-tû* (U). *Hû-pi-lay* sent the prime minister to meet him; and the princess of *Hongkila*, empress and first wife of the *Mungl* monarch, ordered a lord to fir-

at Shang-
tû.

(Q) Since the year 1710, advanced to the dignity of *Chew*, or a city of the second rank; so that it bears the name at present of *Tyen-tsing-chew*. It stands on the river *Pay-ho*, about 10 leagues from its mouth and 20 from *Pe-king*, of which it is the port.

(R) *Lin-gan* is the same city which *M. Polo* calls *Quinsay*; which is a corruption of *King-tse*, or *King-she*, the name which the *Chinese* often give the place where the emperor keeps his court. In 1237, above 530,000 houses were burnt by a fire:

the vast number of barks, filled with people, which are continually in its port, shew how populous it is. *Gaubil*.

(S) A considerable post to the north of the *Great Kyang*, over-against *Chang-kyang-fû*, and nine miles and a half to the south of *Yang-chew-fû*. *Gaubil*.

(T) About seven miles south of the *Whang-ho*, and within 55 of its mouth.

(U) The new capital of *Tartary*, often mentioned before, whither the court was removed from *Karakorum*.

nish the mother of *Kong-tsong* with every thing suitable to her rank : the *Chinese* highly commend the virtue and moderation of this empress. When the treasures from *Lit-gan* arrived at court, the princes and princesses beheld them with raptures of joy ; but the empress did nothing but weep : “ My lord, said she to *Hu-pi-lay*, the dynasties are not eternal : “ by what you see has happened to that of the *Song*, judge “ what will happen to ours.”

THE retreat of the princes to *Wen-chew-fu* drew thither a great number of Mandarins, officers of the army, and soldiers. *Chang-sbi-kyay* repaired thither with the body of troops which he commanded : the minister *Chi-ni-chong* came also ; by whom *I-vang*, brother of *Kong-tsong*, was declared great general of the empire, associating with him his brother *Quang-vang*. Among the ruins of an old temple in that city, is seen the place where formerly *Kau-tsong* set himself in his throne, when he quitted the north to pass into the south. On this throne *I-vang* being placed, the grandees kneeled, and took an oath of fidelity, not without shedding tears. After this they removed into *Fo-kyen* ; and in *May*, *I-vang* was acknowledged emperor of the *Song* at *Fu-chew-fu*, capital of that province. He was then nine years of age, and assumed the title of *Twon-tsong*. He appointed his generals, as well as ministers : and had it not been for traitors and cowardly subjects, the *Mungs* must of necessity have been obliged to repass the *Great Kyang*. *Ven-tyen-syang* escaped on the road ; and, after many dangers, had the good fortune to reach *Fo-kyen* : he was received with great demonstrations of joy, and unanimously declared generalissimo of the troops.

Pe-yen was not without his enemies at court, who accused *Pe-yen* him of having carried himself too effeminately : but he had also his friends, who defended his conduct, among whom was *Gay-swe*, the foreigner from the west, before spoken of. *Hu-pi-lay* sent all the great Mandarins to meet him ; whom they received with great magnificence in the suburbs of *Shang-tu*, or *Kay-ping-fu*, and conducted to an audience of the emperor. This prince made his encomium, and appointed him his lieutenant-general in *Tartary*. He likewise did great honours to the generals *Atahay* (X) and *Li-ting* ; which latter was allowed to follow *Pe-yen*.

* GAUBIL, p. 176, & seqq.

(X) A *Ming* of the tribe of *Panchuni* with *Jengbix Khan*. *Tsun-tu-tse* (or *Tsuntus*), whose father had drank of the water

Khán
Kublay.

Yang-
chew-fú
and

Tay-
chew-fú
taken.

The em-
peror's fleet

THE general *Song-tu-bay*, who commanded in *Kyang-fú*, detached *Tachay*, of the *Pú-bú-la* tribe, and *Li-heng*, to join *Argan* and *Tong-wen-ping*; being resolved to enter *Fo-kyen*, in order to destroy entirely the party of the new emperor of the *Song*. Mean time *Li-ting-chi* and *Kyang-tsay* still continued to defend *Yang-chew-fú*, with a resolution worthy of the greatest heroes. *Achú*, to no purpose, employed all his experience, stratagem, and force, suggested to him to become master of the city. The two commanders governed there as a father does his children; and the inhabitants were so many foldiers; who were ready to die in the train of the governor. When *Li-ting-chi* was informed of *Twán-tsang*'s instalment at *Fú-chew-fú*, he left the command of the city to the inferior officers; and, followed by *Kyang-tsay*, with 7000 choice men, set out to join the new emperor: but was intercepted by *Achú*, who besieged him in *Tay-chew-fú*. Soon after *Li-ting-chi* had left *Yang-chew-fú*, the city was taken by treachery, and *Tay-chew-fú* fared the same fate. Hereupon that commander and his colleague went to drown themselves in a lake: but they were taken and carried to *Achú*. This general treated them with honour: however, finding he could prevail on them neither to join his troops nor kneel, he consented that they should be slain; and soon after went to court, where he was sent for to be one of the ministry.

THE army of general *Argan*, after reducing the places to the south of *Che-kyang*, entered *Fo-kyen*; which, being filled with traitors; great part of the cities surrendered without resistance. This obliged the emperor to put to sea; who narrowly escaped being taken at *Tsven-chew-fú*, by the treachery of the governor. *Chang-sbi-kyay* having pressed for the emperor's service several barks and ships, which that covetous Mandarin employed in trade; he, to be revenged, surrendered the city to the *Mungls*. The emperor *Twán-tsang* arrived in November at *Whey-chew* with his fleet, on which, it is said, were embarked 180,000 men. Mean time *Lu-sbi-quey* crossed the famous mountain of *Mey-lin*, and entered the province of *Quang-tong*, where he made great conquests. The general *Ali Haya* put to the sword all the inhabitants of *Quen-lin-fú* (Y); which he took after a long siege, wherein he lost a great number of men.

(Y) Capital of *Sben-fú* [a mistake for *Quang-fú*]. Its situation among waters rendering it very strong, *Ali Haya* turned

the course of the rivers, and made breaches in the walls. *Gaubil*.

IN 1277 *Chang-sbi-kyay* levied forces in *Fo-kyen*, and supported, the best he could, the party of the emperor *Twan-tsong*. He laid siege to *Tsven-chew-fû* in that province, but it was raised by *Sû-tû*; who, pretending that the *Chinese* were not to be trusted, made a great slaughter wherever he came: he in particular put to the sword the inhabitants of the cities *Hing-wha-fû* and *Chang-chew-fû*. *Ven-tyen-syang* had a considerable number of troops in *Kyang-si*, but could never join a powerful army which *Tsew-fong*, a great Mandarin, had raised; and the forces of both were new levies, and undisciplined. In August, general *Li-heng* sent troops to *Kan-chew*, (a considerable city in *Kyang-si*, of which *Ven-tyen-syang* had a mind to make himself master); hindered his junction with *Tsew-fong*, and beat their armies in several engagements: so that *Ven-tyen-syang* was obliged to retire, after his wife and two sons had been taken prisoners, who were sent to *Ta-tû*. *Chau-sbi-fsang*, one of the imperial family of the *Song*, with others, were carried *Nan-chang-fû*, capital of *Kyang-si*: where, encouraged by *Shi-fsang*, they chose rather to be slain than kneel to the *Mungs*.

5. *Kbán Kublay.*
and land
forces

A. D.
1277.

IN November, *Ta-chû* took the city of *Quang-chew-fû* (Z), offer to in *Quang-tong*; and, in December, the ship which the emperor *Twan-tsong* was aboard, was in danger, near the isles of *Ma-kau*, of being cast away with a squall of wind. The prince fell into the water, and was taken out again half-dead with the fright. A great part of his troops perished. He had retired from *Fo-kyen* in 1276; first to *Whey-chew-fû* in *Quang-tong*: from whence he sent an officer to acquaint *Sâtû*, that he was willing to submit to *Hû-pi-lay*. That general sent the same officer to *Ta-tû*; but no mention is made with what success the negotiation was attended. From *Whey-chew-fû* *Twan-tsong* retired to *Chau-chew-fû*, a city and port in the eastern part of the province; and there took shipping; in order to get to the kingdom of *Chen-chen* (A). The minister *Che-ni-chong* went before; but he never returned, nor was ever heard of after.

HU-PI-LAY this year appointed Bonzas of the sect *The Bon* of *Tau* and *Fo*, to govern the Bonzas of their respective *was regulated.*

(Z) The capital of *Quang-chen*. The sea between *Hay-nan* and *Tong-king* was formerly called by the *Arabs* the sea of *Sin-ji*. *Chen-chen* is also one of the names of the royal city of *Cochin-china*, called *Thoan-bo*, or *Sinoa*. Gaubil, p. 190.

(A) The part of *Tong-king*, opposite the isle of *Hay-nan*, on the south of *China*, is, in the *Chinese* books, often called *Chen-*

5. *Khán Kubiay.* sects, who were in *Kyang-nan*, and other southern provinces. He likewise ordered general *Say-ten*, an *Arab*, to follow the army, which was ordered to march from *Yun-nan* into the kingdom of *Myen* (B), or *Pegú*^a.

Revolts in Tartary. WE have already taken notice that the prince *Siliki*, son of the late emperor *Mengke* (or *Mangu*), first joined the party of *Alipuko* (or *Aribuga*), and afterwards submitted. Since then, he was corrupted by prince *Haytú*; and, with the princes his allies, this year (1277) defeated the troops of *Hü-pi-lay*, in the country of *Olimali* (or *Ahnalig*), took the prince *Nanmü-han*, son of the emperor, and general *Gan-tong*. After these great advantages, *Siliki* marched towards the east with a powerful army; and was already arrived to the north of the city *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorum*), when *Pe-yen*, who had been for some time in *Tartary*, set forward to meet the enemy, giving great bodies of troops to the generals *Li-ting* and *Tü-tü-ha* (C). *Si-li-ki*, on the news of *Pe-yen*'s march, decamped from the neighbourhood of *Karakorum*, and crossed the *Orgún*, near which he intrenched himself. *Pe-yen* followed, and, having encamped near the same river, seized all the avenues, by which provisions could be brought to *Siliki*'s camp.

Suppressed by Pe-yen. THIS prince, seeing himself in danger of perishing with his whole army, was obliged to come to a battle; in which he was taken and killed by *Li-ting*, in the month of *July*. The prince *Totomür* fled towards the *Tula*, and intrenched himself between the sources of that river and the *Onon*: but *Tü-tü-ha*, being detached by *Pe-yen*, overtook and entirely defeated him. At the same time *Li-ting* marched westward, and having passed the river *Tamir* (which falls into the *Orgún*), defeated the remains of *Siliki*'s army, and several bodies commanded by the officers of the princes *Hay-tu* and *Tüa*. The emperor, to whom the revolt of those princes had given some uneasiness, was much rejoiced at the news of this great victory: which, for a time, disconcerted the measures which several *Mungl* princes had taken with *Hay-tu*, who thought of

^a GAUBIL, p. 179, & seqq.

(B) This is the name which the *Chinese* give to the kingdom of *Pegú*: and *Say-ten* was sent thither in consequence of the account which his son *Nafu-lating* (probably *Nafro'ddin*) had given to *Hü-pi-lay* of *Myen*; which, according to the *Chinese*, borders on the province of *Tan-nu*. *Gaubil*.

(C) He was descended from the princes of part of *Kian* (or *Kipjak*). He commanded a body of troops of his own nation; and was with *Chepe* and *Súpütay* in the expedition on that side in 1223. He always made war with success; and was advanced by *Hü-pi-lay* to the first posts in the army.—*Gaubil*.
nothing

nothing less than rendering *Tartary* intirely independent of *Há-pi-lay*. 5. *Kbán*
Kublay.

ABOUT the beginning of this year, or end of the preceding, the literati, who had submitted to *Há-pi-lay*, deputed *Pú-hú-chú* with a memorial (D), to intreat that prince to order public colleges to be built throughout the empire; in order to educate, in the sciences and morality, youths of genius, under the direction of the most judicious and learned men, who could be found.

IN *January* 1278, the *Ywen* completed the conquest of *Song em-
Se-chwen*. *Ven-tyen-syang*, notwithstanding the losses he *peror dies.*
had received, took the field again, and in *March* reduced *A. D.*
the city of *Quang-chew Fú*, or *Kanton*. Mean time the em- *1278.*
peror *Twon-tsong* retired into a little desert isle, called *Kang-
chwen* (E); where he died the month following, aged eleven
years. Several great men, after this, quite desponded, and
quitted the army of the *Song*. Most of those who were about
Twon-tsong, weary of such a long and unfortunate war, seem-
ing inclined to acknowledge *Há-pi-lay*, *Lú-syew-fú* said to them:
“Sirs, what shall we do with the third son of the emperor *Ti-ping*
“*Tú-tsong*, aged eight years, who is here with us? Ancient-*proclaimed.*
“ly one *Ching* and one *Lu* (F) sufficed for one sovereign:
“there are still remaining in our possession vast countries,
“and millions of people: what is there wanting to us that
“may be necessary for the proclamation of a new emperor?”
Hereupon all agreeing to proclaim *Quang-vang*, they caused
this young prince to get upon a rising ground; then fell on
their knees, and acknowledged him emperor. *Lú-syew-fú* and
Chang-sbi-kyay were declared his two ministers in *April*. This
latter was obliged to raise the siege of *Ley-chew Fú* (G), a strong
city,

(D) In this memorial, the substance of which is given by our author *Gaubil*, they endeavour to induce the emperor, by instancing the most remarkable examples of the *Chinese* emperors, in founding colleges, from the times of *Yau*, *Shun*, and *Tu*, the first of whom reigned, if we may believe the *Chinese* history, above 2357 years before the *Christian* æra. — *Pú-hú-chú* was a lord of the *Kangli* tribe, who became one of the most learned

men in the empire, and was very dear to *Há-pi-lay*.

(E) On the south coast of *Quang-ton*, to the north-east of the city *Lwi-chew Fú*.

(F) *Ching* is the space of a league square: *Lu* the habitations of 500 men. *Gaubil*.

(G) The same with *Lwi-chew Fú* (as it is written in the Jesuits map of *Quang-ton*), mentioned in the note but one before. According to *Gaubil*, it is seventeen leagues to the north

5. *Khân*
Kublai.

*Retires to
an isle.*

city, not far from *Tong-king*, which general *Ali-baya* caused in time to be well furnished with troops and provisions.

IN *May* the new emperor of the *Song*, known under the title of *Ti-ping*, retired to the mountain *Tay-sban*, near the city of *Sin-whey-hyen* (H), in *Quang-tong*. *Tay-sban* stands in the sea, opposite to the mountain *Ki-sbi-sban*. The flux and reflux of the current, between these two mountains, makes the *Chinese* compare them to a gate with folding doors, which open and shut every moment. *Chang-sbi-kyay*, having chosen this mountain for the emperor's retreat, caused houses to be built for the officers and soldiers; likewise a palace for *Ti-ping*, and the princess his mother. Plenty of provisions was brought from *Quang-chew Fû*, or *Kanton*: abundance of oars, arms, and arrows, were made: ships and barks were fitted out: in short, the zeal and fidelity of that minister cannot be sufficiently extolled. Reckoning the people, *Mandarins*, and soldiers, the emperor had with him more than 200,000 men. Great numbers of soldiers and sailors, from *Hu-quang*, set forward to join *Chang-sbi-kyay*: but *Ali-baya* having sent out large detachments to examine all passengers, the minister was, by that means, deprived of a considerable succour *.

*The Song
generals*

IN *August* the *Mandarins* performed the ceremonies for interring the late emperor *Twon-tsong*, on the mountain *Tay-sban*. The air of sadness spread over the new emperor's face during this ceremony, and the reflections which arose in the minds on the present state of affairs, drew tears of real sorrow from the eyes of *Chang-sbi-kyay*, *Lû-syew-fû*, and all the officers, as well as soldiers. *Chang-hong-fan* (I) having been informed of what the *Song* minister (K) was doing, represented to the emperor *Hû-pi-lay*, that it was necessary, as soon as possible, to make himself master of the province of *Quang*.

* GAUBIL, p. 182, & seqq.

north of *Kun-chew Fû* (or *Kyong-chew Fû*, as in the said map), capital of the isle of *Hay-nan*. It stands on the east coast of a peninsula, which, like a bear's foot, shoots out from the southern coast of *Quang-ton*.

(H) On the west side of the bay of *Quang-chew Fû* (or *Kanton*), about midway between that city and *Ma-kau*.

(I) He was the son of gene-

ral *Chan-jau*, often mentioned before.

(K) *Chang-sbi kyay* was of the same family with *Chang-hong fan*, born at *Cho-chew*, in *Pekche-li*. He followed his relation into *Ho-nan*, when young, and, to avoid being punished for a fault which he had committed, took refuge with the *Song*, whom he served with a heroic constancy. *Gaubil*.

1075

tong. The *Mungl* monarch charged him with that important commission; and, making him a present of a sword, adorned with precious stones, appointed him general of the army, designed against the emperor *Ti-ping*. *Hong-fan* upon this, repaired to *Yang-chew Fû*; and there taking with him 20,000 choice men, in *November* arrived by sea in the province of *Quang-ton*, where he surprised *Ven-tyen-syang*, in conjunction with two other generals, *Tsew-fong* and *Lyew-tse-tsun*.

5. *Khân*
Kublay.

THE troops of these commanders, not being used to fight, *surprised* gave way at the first onset, and the route became general. *and taken*. *Tsew-fong* slew himself. *Lyew-tse-tsun* and *Ven-tyen-syang* were intimate friends, and each of them sought death, in order to save the other's life. *Lyew-tse-tsun*, being taken first, said he was *Tyen-syang*; in a belief, that, on uttering those words, he should be killed: but, instead thereof, they put him into the hands of a guard. *Tyen-syang* was taken afterwards, and bound, to hinder him from poisoning himself. *Hong-fan* having ordered *Lyew-tse-tsun* to be put to death, *Tyen-syang* said he was the man. But the prisoners, discovered the truth; and *Lyew-tse-tsun* was burnt alive by a slow fire. *Tyen-syang*, being brought before the *Mungl* general, would not perform the reverence, in token of submission, although he was unbound for that purpose, but demanded to be slain: *Hong-fan*, however, would not grant his request; but sent him prisoner to *Tatû*, and set at liberty his relations and friends, who had been taken.

AFTER this victory, *Hong-fan* set sail with his naval force; *Their fleet* and, on the 31st of *January* (L) 1279, came in sight of the *defeated* mountain *Tay-shan*. The first caused this mountain to be examined; and then having informed himself concerning the tides, winds, and windings of the coasts, took measures with *Li-heng* for attacking *Chang-shi-kyay* to advantage. But this later was before-hand with him: and, in the night, the 29th of *March* (M), came to attack the *Ywen*. However, he was repulsed. *Hong-fan*, to avoid confusion, divided his fleet into four squadrons, one distant from the other 3 or 400 paces. *Li-heng* posted himself to the north of the *Song* fleet, which lay to the west of the mountain. On the third of *April* (N) a thick fog covered that side of the mountain. *Li-heng* had orders to attack the enemy at the coming-in of the

A. D.
1279.

(L) The day *Ji-nû*, of the *Ki man*, of the second month.
first month. *Gaubil.* *Gaub.*

(M) In the night of the day (N) The day *Quy-wi*.
tide.

5. *Kbân*
Kublay.

tide. The tide came-in at the hour of the *horse* (O), at which time the instruments sounding, which was the signal, *Li-heng* bore down upon them on one side, while *Chang-hong-fan* advanced on the other. *Chang-sbi-kyay*, though attacked on both sides at once, defended himself valiantly: but his troops, being fatigued, gave way; and the *Mungls* having taken one great ship, several others struck.

The emperor
drowned;

IN short, confusion seized the whole fleet of the *Song*; while *Hong-fan* and *Li-heng*, taking advantage of this disorder, routed them on all hands. At sun-set, the wind and fog beginning to arise, *Shi-kyay* cut his cables, and escaped with sixteen great ships. *Lû-syew-fû* ran swiftly to the emperor's vessel, but it was sluggish; and several others were faster one to the other. These were almost in a helpless condition; nor were there so much as officers or sailors to manage them. *Lû-syew-fû*, perceiving all was lost, first threw his wife and children into the sea; then, with a resolute tone, said to the young emperor, "Do not dishonour, sir, your illustrious family, in following the example of your brother *Kang-tsong*. Die a sovereign prince, rather than live a slave to a foreign nation." After he had spoken these words, he weeping, embraced *Ti-ping*; and, taking him on his shoulders, jumped with him into the sea. Most of the *Mandarins* followed this example.

with multitudes,

HONG-FAN took 800 barks. The *Chinese* historians say that 100,000 men were drowned. For several days the sea was seen covered with dead bodies. *Chang-sbi-kyay* discovered that of the emperor, and interred it with respect. He also recovered the imperial seal: and then joined the vessel which had on board the princess, mother to *Ti-ping*. He found this lady in the greatest inquietudes, as well as danger: her ship being separated from the rest of the fleet. He first communicated to her the death of her dear son; and then exhorted her to think of installing a new emperor of the family. But she was so deeply affected with the doleful news, that, without either speaking one word, or shedding a single tear, she threw herself into the sea. The ladies and maids of honour who were with her did the same. *Shi-kyay* interred their bodies, with all the decency things would permit; and, with the remains of the fleet, sailed to the coast of *Tong-king*, where he met with considerable succours. With

The empress
and mini-
ster.

GAUBIL, p. 186, & seqq.

(O) The space of time between eleven o'clock in the morning, and one in the afternoon. *Gaub.*

their

these he put to sea again for *Quang-chew Fû*, or *Kanton* : but a violent storm arising soon after, the officers would have had him return into port. This he peremptorily refused to do; saying, that a risque must be run, in order, as soon as possible, to set up an emperor of the *Song* family. However, the wind increasing, and the tempest becoming more furious, *Shi-kyay* went upon deck; where, having invoked heaven, and burnt perfumes in honour of the Deity (P), he flung himself headlong into the ocean, near the mountain *Hay-lin*. After this, all the officers and Mandarins submitted to the *Ywens* or *Mungls* : and the same year the emperor *Hû-pi-lay* found himself peaceable master of the whole empire of *China*, which had been, for several ages before, divided among several potentates.

THUS ended the dynasty of the *Song*, whose family-name *Song* ^{5. Khân} was *Chau*. The first emperor of this imperial house was ^{Kublay.} *Chau-quang-yu*, descended from one of the prime families of the empire, who made himself famous in the wars against the *Kitân*. He established his court at *Kay-fong-fû*, capital of *Honan*, nine of whose successors reigned there 168 years. The wars which they had with the *Kin* emperors, obliged them to remove their court to *Hang-chew Fû*, capital of *Che-kyang*; where it remained 148 years, under seven princes. The two last reigned, in all, near four years. So that, in the whole, the dynasty of the *Song* continued 319 or 320 years. ^{in the year.}

S E C T. III.

Commencement of the Ywen Dynasty; and its Affairs, to the Death of Hû-pi-lay.

BEFORE we proceed to the next year, we shall mention *Pa-se-pa* the death of the famous Lama *Pa-se-pa*, which happened in this. After his departure, the most extraordinary titles were conferred him. They said, *he was above meh*; and that *nothing but heaven was above him*. He was called the

(P) *Gaubil* says, in honour thereof, that is, of heaven: doubtless that the *Dominicans*, and other adversaries of the *Jesuits*, in the famous controversy which helped to ruin their mission in *China*, might not lay any thing like unfair dealing to his charge. But we make no scruple to in-

sert the word Deity; being convinced from reason, as well as facts, that the followers of *Kon-fusius* often use the word *tyen*, or *heaven*, as we do, to signify God. Nothing seems to us to discover the hardy temper of some men more than their affirming the contrary opinion.

great

5. *Khán Kublay.* *great saint; the man of the highest virtue; the son of Fo & Si-tyen (A).* The *Chinese* literati loudly exclaimed against these titles, and vilified the Bonzas. Nay, several of them, over-zealous for their doctrine, treated *Hü-pilay* as a *Barbarian*, and superstitious prince; who suffered himself to be governed by women and the Lamas, without courage, and without genius for government. There is still at *Pe-king* a Myau (or temple), built in honour of *Pa-sa-pa*, in the time of the *Mungl* emperors.

The Whang-ho.

A. D. 1280.

THE general *Ali-baya* having made a great number of slaves in the southern provinces, the emperor *Hü-pi-lay* set them all at liberty in the year 1280. In *March* he appointed mathematicians to search for the source of the *Whang-ho*, or yellow river; who, in four months time, arrived in the country where it rises, and drew a map of it (B), which they presented to his majesty. Although much mention is made of this great river in the books of the *Chinese*, and its course is particularly described in the chapter of the *Shü-king*, entitled *Tu-king*, written at least above 3920 years ago (C); yet, till the time of *Hü-pi-lay*, the country from whence that river comes seems to have been unknown to the *Chinese*, who represent it very erroneously in their books *.

Japan summoned.

THE emperor, having long resolved to subdue the kingdom of *Je-pen* (D) (or *Japan*), or at least render it tributary, sent to summon the king to acknowledge him for his sovereign: but the king paid no regard to *Hü-pi-lay's* letter, which was written in form of an order from a prince to his subject. The *Mungl* monarch, several years after, sent a deputy thither, who was killed. Hereupon *Hü-pi-lay*, being enraged, equipped a great fleet, and this year ordered general *Arges* to attack *Japan*, with an army of 100,000 men. The king

* GAUBIL, p. 188, & seqq.

(A) This is the name which they give at *Pe-king* to that part of *Hindustán* where they say *Fo* was born. *Gaubil*.—*Si-tyen* signifies the western heaven, or heaven of the west.

(B) *Gaubil* tells us this map is lost; but that the greater part of the description which explains that map is still in being. He, from thence, gives an account of the springs of the *Whang-ho*.

(C) Reckoning back from about the year 1726.

(D) Some call it *Japan*. *W* is one of the names given this island by the *Chinese*, whose books afford less information concerning it, than the relations of *Europeans*: but then they relate many things with regard to the history of *Japan*, which the *Europeans* know nothing of. *Gaub.*

of Korea had orders to favour this enterprise; which was disapproved of generally by the *Tatar* and *Chinese* grandees. In November was published the astronomy composed by four *Chinese* literati, who had been long about it: in which great work *Ko-sbew-king* had the chief concern. The mathematicians of the west, who were in great number and credit at court, had already written much upon that science, and made very beautiful instruments. *Ko-sbew-king*, a man of genius, and extraordinary application, assisted by his three colleagues, and perfectly acquainted with the methods which those of the west had pursued, put the finishing hand to the *Chinese* astronomy (E).

JENG HIZ *Khân* gave the care of that science to *Telu-Mungl chu-tsay*. This astronomer had rectified many of his notions, when he followed that conqueror into the west; and, at his return, published an astronomy. At the beginning of *Hü-pi-lay's* reign, the astronomers from the west published two astronomies: one according to the method of the west; the other according to the *Chinese* method, but corrected. *Ko-sbew-king* took a middle course; and following, in the mean, the method of the west, preserved as many terms as he could of the *Chinese* astronomy: but intirely reformed it according to the astronomical epochas, and the method of reducing the tables to one certain meridian; as well as of applying afterwards the calculations and observations to other meridians. Besides this, he caused large brass instruments to be made, such as spheres, astrolabes, mariners compasses, levels, and gnomons, of which last fort one was forty feet high.

THE *Mungl* emperors, who had at their court western, as well as *Chinese*, physicians and mathematicians, made separate bodies of each, who yet lived in good correspondence. The books, which give the history of those times, praise much, in general, the ability of those strangers; and, in particular, acknowledge, that what is best in *Ko-sbew-king's* work was taken from them.

TSU-IRU (F) was one of the great Mandarins who Ahama's governed the province of *Kyang-nan*; and highly esteemed,

as

(E) Our author has spoken at large of the astronomy published in 1280, by order of *Hü-pi-zy*, in a treatise which he sent to Europe concerning the *Chinese* astronomy, and which has been printed by *Souciet*.

(F) This person was a native of *Tse-chew*, in *Shan-fi*; and his brother a censor of the empire. *Gaubil*.—His name in the original French is *Tsouyuu*; which we choose to write *Tsu-i-yu*, rather than *Tswi-yu*, as it might also

5. *Khân*
Kublay.

and wil-
lainsy.

as well by the *Chineſes* as *Tatars*, both for his integrity and vigilance. *Ali-baya* had choſen him for one of his lieutenants; and conſidered him as one of the beſt officers in his army. This worthy perſon undertook to make known to *Hû-pi-lay* the malverſations of *Ahama*: who, full of revenge, accuſed him, and two other *Mungl* lords who ſeconded him, with having purloined more than two millions; likewise with turning out and changing Mandarins without orders. *Hû-pi-lay* ſent commiſſioners to the ſeveral places, to examine into the affair, and they declared *Tſû-i-yu* innocent. *Ahama*, reſolving if poſſible to gain his ends, got others to be ſent, who declared *Tſû-i-yu* guilty; and, as ſuch, cauſed him to be beheaded (G), with the two lords above-mentioned, in *December*. The prince, who was appointed heir to the crown, ſent officers of his court to quash the proceedings, as ſoon as he was apprized of *Ahama*'s intrigues: but they arrived too late. The death of *Tſû-i-yu* (H) made a great noiſe in the provinces, at court, and in the army: they murmured greatly againſt his accuſer; and the prince only fought for an occaſion to get rid of that evil miniſter.

He is ſlain. IN *March* 1287, *Hû-pi-lay* having gone to *Shang-tu*, and left *Ahama* (I) to govern at *Ta-tu*, a Mandarin, named *Whang-chu*, went one day to the palace, and ſlew him at the great gate. As the guards and officers did not mind to ſee *Whang-chu*, he eaſily made his eſcape, and was ſatisfied that the prince would ſave his life. In this confidence, he ſurrendered himſelf to the tribunal; and was condemned to death by the commiſſioners ſent by *Hû-pi-lay*. This monarch at laſt opened his eyes, and ſaw the crimes of *Ahama*. In *April* he ordered his palace to be plundered, his body to be taken out of the grave, cut in pieces, and then caſt to the fowls of the air. There was no ſort of extortion and oppreſſion but what *Ahama* was guilty of: ſo that the obſtinacy of *Hû-pi-lay* in ſupporting him, notwithſtanding the repreſentations of the prince his heir, and the repeated accuſations, effectually

alſo be written. Our author not having divided the names into monosyllables, or *Chineſe* words, makes it often difficult to reduce them to the idiom of the *Engliſh*; without which an *Engliſh* reader would be ſcarce able to read or pronounce them.

(G) This is an ignominious kind of death in *China*.

(H) This year died prince

Manghola (by *M. Polo* called *Mangala*), third ſon of *Hû-pi-lay*. *Gaub.* p. 239.

(I) He was a *Mohammedan*, and native of *Kboraffân*, in *Perſia*; of a family which had ſuſtained generals and miniſters to the kings of the country. He was of the city *Paawal*, that is, *Baurd* [or *Bawerd*], of which *D'Herbelot* ſpeaks, p. 195. *Gaub.*

proved,

proved, of the most sage in his counsel, did his reputation no small prejudice ^b.

THE expedition to *Gan-nan*, containing, as hath been said, the kingdoms of *Kochin-china* and *Tong-king* (K), had not the expected success. The king's son would never be prevailed on to submit; and, with a considerable body of troops, possessed a great part of the country. The general *Sû-tû* entered *Gan-nan* in *June*; and meeting at first with no opposition, advanced imprudently, and took the city of *Chen-chu*, which is not far from the south-west point of the island *Hay-nan*, on the south of *China*. The prince amused the *Mungls* with false promises to submit; and, by degrees, seizing the posts between *China* and *Gan-nan*, cut off *Sû-tû's* retreat. The excessive heat incommoded the *Twen*, accustomed to the northern climates; and their general, who was not supported by a fleet (L), perceiving too late his fault, retired with much courage; but the greater part of his army perished.

5. *Khân*
Kublay.

Losses in
Gan-nan,

THE expedition against *Japan*, which was undertaken the next year, had still a worse event than that to *Gan-nan*. General *Argan* being dead, *Atahay* commanded the fleet: but scarce was it arrived in sight of the island *Ping-hu* (M), when a violent storm arose, which dispersed the ships. *Atahay* hereupon was obliged to put into port; and the rest of the vessels fell into the hands of the *Japanese*, who made slaves of 70,000 *Chineses*, and slew 30,000 *Mungls*. *Hû-pi-lay* was almost distracted to see his designs upon *Gan-nan* and *Japan* miscarry. In *February* also he received a great loss, by the death of his first wife, the princess of *Hong-kila*, and mother of the prince his heir. The *Chinese* authors represent her as an accomplished lady. She loved the people, and always disposed the emperor to clemency: she likewise took extraordinary care of the late empresses of the *Song*, who were prisoners at *Tatû*.

and Japan;
A. D.
1281.

^b GAUBIL, p. 190, & seqq.

(K) We are told by several *European* travellers, that the language of these two kingdoms is the *Anamitic*, that is, the language of *Anam*, which is a corruption of the word *Gan-nam*. *Gaubil*.

(L) Or perhaps the prince had one in the bay. *Gaubil*.

(M) Our author says, this island must be near *Japan*, but knows not where it is. There the remains of the shattered fleet being re-united, the *Japanese* took and destroyed them, as in the text. *Marco Polo*, and other authors, speak at large of this expedition; but his date is faulty. *Gaubil*.

5. *Khân*,
Kublay.

Books of
Tau
burnt.

HU-PI-LAY was strongly attached to the sect of *Fa*, and openly protected the Lamas, who were great enemies to the sect of *Tau*; inasmuch that, in conjunction with the *Ching*, Bonzas, or priests of *Fa*, who hated them no less than the others, they asked leave to search for and burn all the books of the *Tau-ist*, or Bonzas of the *Tau* sect. The emperor, granting their request, ordered all their books to be burnt; nor was any saved, excepting that called *Tau-te-king*, on account of its antiquity, having been written by *Lau-ist* himself.

Wang-
sun dies.

THE prince *Cheng-kin's* grief, for the loss of the emperor's mother, was increased by that of *Wang-sun*. This lord, who was one of the four concerned in composing the book of astronomy, was very well educated by his father *Wang-hyung*. The famous *Lyew-ping-chong* having recommended him to the emperor *Hu-pi-lay*, this latter appointed him to be next the person of the prince his heir. *Cheng-kin* quickly took affection for *Wang-sun*, and made him eat at his table. They studied together the book which *Hyu-heng* had written upon history, mathematics, and other sciences. They never ceased encouraging each other to virtue, and were patterns of moderation, and aversion to pleasures. *Wang-sun's* view was to inspire *Cheng-kin* with a great desire to become a perfect prince; to which end he made him take notice, in *Hyu-heng's* book, of the virtues and vices of princes, and the true cause of the happy or unhappy reigns. *Wang-sun* died at the age of forty-seven, regretted by all the court. This year also died *Hyu-heng*, so renowned for his virtue, experience, and work. Mean time the emperor sent an officer into *Yün-nan*, to bring away the duties upon gold (O), which, at this time, was drawn in great quantities from that province.

Affairs of
literature.

IN 1282 the emperor ordered the learned men, from all parts of the empire, to repair to court, to examine the state of literature, and take effectual measures for the advancement thereof. He likewise caused sixty great vessels to be built, to transport by sea, from the southern provinces, into *Pe-chei*, provisions of rice, and other necessities, which before had been conveyed by rivers, with much trouble, delay, and expence (P). Mean time several kings of the *Indies* sent deputies to pay *Hu-pi-lay* tribute. The most remarkable among

(N) He lived several ages before Christ.

(O) There are still rivers in this province, out of which they gather very good gold. *Gaub.*

(P) They were also conveyed, partly by rivers, and partly by sea. *Gaubil*, in a note, gives an account of both these courses.

then

hem was he of *Ku-long*, a kingdom 100,000 *li* (Q) distant from *China*, who brought as tribute (R) black apes, and precious stones. Towards the end of this year a Bonza of *Fo-tyen*, having given out that *Saturn* had been very near a star named *Ti-tso* (S), or, *the seat of the emperor* (T), the Man-larins presented a petition to *Hû-pi-lay* on that occasion. At the same juncture an impostor, who pretended to be the emperor of the *Song*, gathered more than 100,000 men; and, in his name, caused billets to be published, importing, that the minister of state need not be astonished; and that, on a day appointed, the houses covered with bulrushes would be set on fire; and that this would be the signal of the sedition in *Ta-tâ*.

5. *Khân*
Kublay.

A Chinese
pretender.

VEN-TYEN-STANG having been prisoner in that captivity for several years, the emperor sent for him into his presence, and offered to make him one of the ministers of state, if he would enter into his service. *Tyen-syang* thanked his majesty; but told him he should never acknowledge two emperors; and desired to die. Though *Hû-pi-lay* saw he was inflexible, yet he could not resolve to put him to death. But what good-nature would not suffer him to do, superstition, at length, effected. The great men of the court put him in mind of the petition made him, concerning the conjunction of *Saturn* and the star; and would persuade him, that the anonymous minister, mentioned in the billets, was no other than *Ven-tyen-syang*. This wrought so upon the mind of *Hû-pi-lay*, that he at last consented to the death of this great

* GAUBIL, p. 194, & seqq.

(Q) That is, 10,000 leagues, most extravagant reckoning; since *Ku-long* is in the *East Indies*. *Gaub.* Perhaps *Koulon* in *Malabar*.

(R) The *Chineses* consider presents from foreign princes as tribute; and their emperor's presents to those princes as rewards. Likewise the answers they give pass for orders. *Gaubil.*

(S) *Gaubil* knows not what star this is.

(T) There is no country where astrology and fortune-telling is more in request than in *China*. The astronomers have all a treatise, containing the theory and practice of that

art, in which are remarked all the appearances of the heavenly bodies, with their prognostics, as they relate to the court or the magistrates: for the stars have all names, which regard the imperial family, governors of provinces, generals of the army, princes, and princesses, over whom they are supposed to have particular influence. In the tribunal of mathematics there are astronomers appointed for this purpose, who yet vary their rules according to the notions or views of the reigning dynasty. Hence their astronomy of different times differ. *Gaubil.*

P p 2

man :

5. *Klān*
Kublay.

man : who having been conducted to a public place, turned himself towards the south, to honour and salute the court of the *Song* emperors ; beat his head against the ground, and received the fatal blow with great courage, in the forty-seventh year of his age. He was born in *Kyang-si*, in the district of *Ki-gan Fū*. Both *Chinese* and *Tatars* lamented his destiny. He was reputed learned, honest, and well versed in affairs. After this they carried into *Tartary* all those of the *Song* race, who were at *Ta-tū*.

Japan expedition.

A. D.
1283.

As *Hū-pi-lay* believed it for the glory of his reign to make conquests in *Japan*, in 1283, he commanded general *Alans* to prepare 500 ships, with victuals and munitions. At the same time an order was published in the provinces, to assemble as many sailors as possible. This order caused much confusion in *Che-kyang*, *Fo-kyen*, and *Kyang-nan* ; for the enterprise against *Japan* was not relished by either the *Chinese* or *Tatar* ministers. The officers and soldiers murmured loudly. Besides, commerce was interrupted. The fear of going to *Japan* caused the best seamen to desert : several of them turned robbers : and great numbers of sea-officers, with their crews, became pirates, and infested the coasts. The great men endeavoured to divert the emperor from his design, by representing to him all these evil consequences : but he would not hearken to them. However, *Atahay* met with new difficulties : and the grandees took measures for keeping him a long time without the proper necessaries. In *October* a Mandarin of *Kyen-ning Fū*, in *Fo-kyen*, revolted, and took the title of emperor ; but this sedition was immediately quashed.

Myen invaded.

THIS year the prince *Siantar*, followed by the general *Ku-lye*, *Nafu-la-ting* (U), and others from the western countries, besides *Chinese* and *Tatar*, marching out of *Yun-nan*, entered the country of *Myen* (X). In *November* that prince made himself master of the royal cities of *Kyang-tew*, and *Tay-kong*.

Good regulations.

SOME good regulations were made also in the state. First, the custom of picking out young maidens through the provinces, to supply the court, having, by means of *Yehu Chaitay*, been abolished in the parts of *China* subject to the emperor *Ogotay*, *Hū-pi-lay* ordained that the same regulation should

(U) *Kulye* was much esteemed. *Nafu-la-ting* was an *Arab*, and a *Mohammedan*, as before-mentioned ; by *M. Polo* called *Nasurdin*. *Gaubil*.—Doubtless *Nāfiro'ddin*.

(X) The same with *Pepu*. What *M. Polo* calls *Karavan*, is a good part of the province of *Yun-nan*. *Gamb*.

cat:

take place in the provinces conquered from the *Song*. Secondly, as the salaries of the Mandarins were not sufficient to support their state, it obliged most of them to take fees from the people; the emperor, therefore, to relieve his subjects after so long a war, doubled the income of those magistrates, and forbade receiving the smallest gratuity, under severe penalties. Whoever robbed, as it is termed, the value of twenty-five pounds, was condemned to death: and those who stole half that sum, were turned out of place, after receiving a heavy bastinado.

IN 1284, *Hu-pi-lay* ordered the Mandarins of the several provinces to send up all who could be found of the *Song* race. This order was obeyed; and the number sent to court was very great: among whom were several considerable Mandarins. The emperor being informed that the sect of *Fo* was in high esteem in *Japan*, he sent *Bonzas* privately aboard the fleet destined for that country, to get information concerning it. But the sailors, coming to discover their design, threw them into the sea. (*)

LU-SHI-JONG, native of *Ta-ming Fú*, in *Pe-che-li*, by money had obtained a considerable employment in the time of *Abama*, whose creature he was. This the emperor well knew: but the love of riches engaged him, by degrees, to follow the selfish views of that projector; who gave out that the people would be eased, at the same time the revenue became more considerable. *Tong-ywen-yong* spoke loudly against *Shi-jong*, and would have had him turned out, as a bad subject, who ruined the people: but *Hu-pi-lay* punished *Twen-yong*, and supported *Shi-jong*. This countenance, given to such a man, made *Ho-li-bo-tsun*, one of the principal ministers, to lay down his employment; foretelling, that he would prove another *Abama*, and ruin the emperor: who, on his withdrawing, suspended the order which that minister had obtained, to introduce examinations of the literati throughout the provinces^d.

In February *Hu-pi-lay* demanded of *Shi-jong* what methods he proposed to take, in case he was put into place? *Shi-jong*, in a long discourse, among other things, said, First, that a great quantity of *kasbes*, or copper deniers, ought to be made, and tribunals established, at *Hang-chew Fu*, capital of *Che-kyang*, and *Tfuen-chew Fu*, a port of *Fo-kyen*, in order to

^d GAUBIL, p. 198, & seqq.

(*) This shews, that the idolatrous sect of *Fo* did not so generally prevail then as it has done since; doubtless, through the encouragement given by the *Mungl* emperors.

5. *Khán*,
Kublay.

distribute those deniers among the people, and buy the commodities brought thither by the foreign merchants: that the profit arising from thence should be divided into ten parts, seven to go to the treasury, and three to the people: that, as several great lords were possessed of forges, where they made arms, which they sold very dear, he was for taking the iron from them, and employing the money which it yielded to buy grain, in order to fill the public magazines, which he affirmed were every-where empty: that the grain should be sold at a reasonable price; and that the profit arising therefrom would be very considerable: that none should be allowed to sell wine without a licence: and that the duty upon it should be raised. He was not for laying any upon the provisions and carriage for the armies: but proposed settling a considerable tax on horses and sheep. He likewise wished that silks, callicos, and stuffs, were bought up from the *Chineses*, to furnish the *Tatars*, who would give those animals in exchange. That *Mungl* families should be appointed to take care of the herds, droves, and flocks; alleging, that, from the skins, hair, horns, milk, and wool, there would arise great profit, two tenths of which would be sufficient for those families.

approved
of.

THE emperor approved of all which was proposed by *Li-shi-jong*, who had full power to employ all those whom he judged fit to execute his schemes: but was so imprudent as to restore a great many commissioners, who had been cashiered, because they were creatures of *Ahama*. *Shi-jong* was in every-thing supported by *Sang-ko*, brother of the Lama who had succeeded *Pa-se-pa*, in the post of doctor and master of the emperor, as well as chief of the Lamas. Several Mandarins spoke against *Shi-jong*, one of whom was sentenced to be bastinado'd; which punishment was executed so severely, that he died of the blows. As the prince, appointed successor, was naturally an enemy to all those kinds of projectors, whose schemes tended only to hinder the circulation of money, reflect on the emperor, and fill the provinces with robbers, he spoke also against *Shi-jong*, and maintained that he did no more than imitate *Ahama*. At length a great Mandarin, named *Ching*, made complaint to the emperor of the unjust death of a Mandarin, who had been killed for having done his duty. He accused *Shi-jong* afresh, and made it appear, that this Mandarin, during the time that he had the care of the custom-house for *cha* (or tea), in *Kyang-fi*, had done nothing but rob with impunity: and that, to raise the emperor's revenue to fifteen millions, he had set on foot a thousand rapines.

Accused of
extortion,

rapines, vexations, extortions, false accusations, unjust confiscations, sales of places, murders, and the like.

THE accusation of *Ching* put all *Ta-té* in motion. The emperor was much surprised to see it supported by the prince, and most of the great men; so that neither *Sang-ko*, nor his brother, notwithstanding their authority, durst speak in his favour. In short, both he and *Ching* were cited to *Shang-tú*, where the chief articles of the accusation having been proved against *Shi-jong*, sentence of death was pronounced upon him by the judges; and the emperor having approved of their sentence, he was executed on the spot. All the friends and creatures of *Sang-ko* and the criminal were struck with consternation; and *Hú-pilay* became ashamed of his obsequy, in upholding a man who had misled him by dazzling appearances.

THE general *Sítú* having made great complaints of the conduct of *Chen-ye-tsuen*, the king of *Gan-nan*'s son, by whose artifices such numbers of *Mungls* had perished; *Hú-pilay*, to be revenged for this affront, ordered prince *To-whan*, his son, to enter that kingdom; and appointed general *Li-beng* to command under him. *To-whan* marched from *Fun-nan*; and, being come to the river *Fú-lang* (Y), he demanded passage of the king of *Gan-nan* to *Chen-chen*, which city and country was possessed by his son. *To-whan* crossed the river on rafts, and intirely defeated the king's army. Hereupon *Chen-i-tsi*, his brother, came with his ships, and submitted to the prince. However, the troops of *Gan-nan* rallied, and became more animated than before. As it happened to be the middle of summer, the heats and continual rains brought sickness into the *Mungl* army, so that they were not able to march to *Chen-chen*: and, for fear they should all perish, it was resolved to retire to *Fun-nan*. The troops of *Gan-nan* pursued the *Tuens*; and, in this retreat, *Li-beng* received a shot with a poisoned arrow, of which he died. The king, after this, got with his army between *China* and *Sítú*, who knew nothing of the prince's retreat, although but fifteen or twenty leagues distant: but he opened a passage through his enemies, in which action a great many men were slain on both sides, and, among the rest, *Sítú* himself, who fell valiantly fighting. He and *Li-beng* were two of the best generals in the empire; and *Hú-pilay* was greatly concerned for their death.

(Y) This is the river *Ha-ti* river *Mo-sha-le*. *P. Martini* is mistaken about the source of *Kin-sha*. The Chinese geographer, intitled *I-tú-chi*, calls this

5. *Khán*
Kublai.

Prince
Cheng-
kin dies.

THIS affliction was followed by one more sensible, which was the loss of the prince his heir (Z), who died in *December*, at the age of forty-three. As prince *Cheng-kin*, from his very infancy, discovered an inclination for virtue and good behaviour, the great men admired at it. His father gave him the illustrious *Yaw-shá* for a preceptor; who chose young *Chinese* and *Tatar* lords, of parts and good education, to be about him. The prince became very learned in military affairs, the science of government, history, mathematics, and the classical books of *China*. He was perfectly acquainted with the nature of the countries both of *China* and *Tartary*; the number of their inhabitants, their rivers, and their commerce (+). His whole study was to make the people happy; and was feared by those bad ministers, who, to please the masters, made use of the most unjust methods. He was generally esteemed and beloved; nor was accused of any fault. He married the princess *Koko-chin*, of the *Hongkila* (or *Kor-gorat*) family; who was of the same character with the prince her spouse; by whom she had three sons, and four daughters. The eldest of his sons was *Kanmala*. The second, *Talamapala*; who died in the reign of *Hu-pi-lay*, and left some children; the eldest of whom was *Hay-shan*. The third son of *Cheng-kin* was *Timúr*, who succeeded his grandfather in the empire.

Tartary
in motion.

IN 1286, the grantees, being under great apprehensions from the resolution in which the emperor still continued, of attacking *Japan*, they represented to him the danger and inutilty of that enterprise. They likewise laid before him the lamentable condition to which the armament set on foot by *Atabay* had reduced the southern provinces. *Hu-pi-lay* indeed dropped his design; and caused it to be published, that he ought in that, as well as every thing else, to follow the counsel of those he employed in affairs: but the true reason for that change was, the advice he received that all *Tartary* was on the point of revolting. After the defeat and death of *Siliki*, and losses which the other princes in alliance with *Hay-tu* had received, there seemed nothing farther to be apprehended; and the complete victory which general *Tútúba* had obtained, in 1283, over the confederate princes to the north of the river *Tula*, had confirmed *Hu-pi-lay* in that opinion. But, this year, *Pe-yen*, *Tútúba*, *Li-ting*, and other generals,

* GAUBIL, p. 201, & seqq.

(Z) *Marco Polo* speaks of this prince, whom he calls *Chinckis*. Gaubil.

(+) Hence other nations may learn, what is the proper education for a prince, governors, and legislators.

in

in *Tartary*, sent advice to the emperor, that the party of *Hay-tu* was grown stronger than ever: that this prince sent out spies on all sides; and that it was to be feared, he would gain over to his interest the *Mungl* princes who dwelt to the north-east of *Shan-tong*, bordering on *Lyau-tong*. s. Khân Kublay.

HU-PI-LAY, profiting by this intelligence, made new regulations to draw over to him the *Chineses*, especially those of *Kyang-nan*, *Fo-kyen*, *Che-kyang*, and some other provinces. In *March*, he sent deputies into all parts of the empire, to look out for men skilled in the *Chinese* sciences and arts; to whom employment was given, and some were brought to court. *H-pi-lay* took great pleasure to talk to them himself; and it was still more pleasing to them to see a *Mungl* emperor well versed in the *Chinese* sciences. In *September*, advice came from the Mandarins of *Fo-kyen*, that ships from more than ninety foreign kingdoms (A) were arrived at *Tsuen-ebew-fu*, in that province. These kingdoms are all treated as tributary; but only eight of them are mentioned in the history, and those by names unknown to *Europeans* (B). This news gave a sensible joy to *H-pi-lay*, both as they brought much wealth into his dominions, and made the *Chineses* honour him. All the empire of *China* being now under one sovereign, the Bonzas of the sect of *Fo* assembled this year, to the number of 40,000, and agreed upon a form of church-government. They likewise made several statutes or decrees, and regulations, for their prayers, penances, and other rites.

JENGHIZ Khân had divided *Tartary* into eastern and western; whose limits were nearly in the meridian of *Pe-king*. joins Hay-tu.

(A) The kingdoms of *Korea*, *Tibet*, *Gan-nan*, *Laos*, *Siam*, *Pegu*, *Japan*, and others, which have been, at one time or other, tributary to *China*, have maps of their countries, and a present state of their dominions: wherein an account is given of their revenues, number of inhabitants, and other particulars; whence it is that the *Chinese* historians give a very good account of those countries. The *Chineses* likewise have come to the knowledge of foreign parts, by means partly of the officers of their armies, which have often been in all the countries as

far as the *Caspian* sea; partly of the Bonzas of *Fo*, who have visited the countries near the *Ganges* and *Indus*; partly of the *Arabs*, *Persians*, and other foreigners, who have settled in *China*. *Gaubil*.

(B) Viz. *Ma-pa-eul* (or *Mapar*), *Sû-mûn-tû-la* (or *Sumatra*), *Su-men-na*, *Seng-ki-li*, *Malan-tan*, *Lay-lay*, *Na-wang*, and *Ting-bo-eul* (or *Tingbor*). The countries spoken of here are those of *Malakka*, *Sumatra*, the gulf of *Pen-ko-la* (or *Bengâl*), and from cape *Komori* to the *Persian* gulf.

The

5. *Khan*, The exact extent of the western part was not known to our author; but the eastern was divided into twenty departments. That conqueror's youngest brother, *Pye-li Kū-tay*, had the country between the rivers *Lyau*, *Toto*, and *Quay-ky*, with part of the country between the *Lyau-tong* and the *Lyau*. *Nayen*, the great grandson and heir of *Pye-li Kū-tay*, who had enlarged the possessions of his ancestor, and became very potent (C), was gained over to his party by *Hay-tū*, who persuaded him to take arms. General *Pe-yen*, who had been one of the first to give notice of the league between those two princes, was sent towards *Lyau-tong*, to see how matters stood; and, having narrowly escaped being taken by *Nayen*'s spies, informed *Hū-pi-lay* of the great preparations which were making by that prince. The emperor hereupon ordered *Pe-yen* to encamp between *Kardikorum* and *Shang-tū*, in order to hinder the troops of *Hay-tū*, and other princes his allies, from joining *Nayen* (D). *Li-ting* was commanded to assemble a great body of Chinese troops; and the *Tatars* were conducted by *Tusi Temür* (E), grandson of the famous *Parcha*, the principal of *Jenghiz Khan*'s four intrepid. General *Tūtūba* was likewise called with his forces from *Kincha*†.

defeated,
and slain.

HU-P I-LAY, having, in May, taken the field in person, with design to attack *Nayen*, was advanced with a few troops, when the general of that prince's army came to observe the emperor's camp. *Hū-pi-lay*, though in danger of being carried away, shewed no signs of fear; and, as it was night, his forces, on notice given, hastened to his relief, the horse taking the foot behind them. Mean time *Nayen-lay* quiet in his camp, his general not daring to attack the emperor, for fear of an ambuscade. Hereupon *Li-ting*, with ten resolute men, approaching the enemy's camp, shot a cannon (F) into it. The noise so frightened the troops of *Nayen*, which

† GAUBIL, p. 204, & seqq.

(C) He possessed nine of those twenty departments: the eleven others belonged to the lords of five tribes, viz. those of *Chalar* (or *Jalayr*), *Hongkila* (*Kangorai*), *Mangū*, *Gū-lū*, and *I-ki-lye-tse*. *Gaubil*.

(D) *M. Polo* speaks largely of *Nayen*'s revolt. The king whom he calls *Laidu* is *Hayen*. But the Chinese history says nothing either of crosses or Christians,

Jews or *Mohammedans*, being in the armies. *Gaubil*.

(E) *Polo-tuban*, famous in the war against the *Song*, was one of his principal generals. *Gaubil*.

(F) The Chinese says *Ho-pau*; that is, *fire-pau*. This circumstance of fire, joined to the great noise it made, makes me call it a fire-cannon. Possibly it was a petard. *Gaubil*.

were besides undisciplined, that the general, thinking the whole imperial army was at his heels, took to flight. The *Chinese* and *Tatar* troops being now all arrived, *Nayen* was attacked by the before-mentioned commanders, at the head of their respective bodies, and by *Hû-pi-lay* at the head of his guards. The emperor's presence rendered his troops invincible, and the army of *Nayen* was intirely defeated. That prince himself was taken, and afterwards put to death. The battle was fought near the river *Lyau*: after which, *Hû-pi-lay* returned triumphant to *Shang-tû*.

THE same year, in the first month, prince *To-wan*, the emperor's son, entered *Gan-nan*; and was victorious in seven-teen engagements. He plundered the city of *Chen-chen*, and returned to *Yun-nan* with a rich booty. He had scarce reached the borders, when he received advice, that king *Chin-ye-fuen* appeared again with mighty forces. This obliged him to make a new expedition to *Gan-nan*; which he entered in *March* 1288, with a considerable army. The king let him advance, and amused him with deceitful negotiations; till, finding the pestilence began to rage in his army, he came with 300,000 men to attack him. The *Mungls*, on his approach, retired towards *Yun-nan*, in good order; nor could the enemy ever make any impression on the van-guard, although general *Sitûr* (G), who commanded it, was both sick and wounded. But the other troops did not escape so well; so that the prince lost a great number before he reached the borders. The emperor on this news, reproached him for his imprudence, and took from him the government of *Yun-nan*; giving him a smaller one instead of it, and forbidding him to come to court. The king of *Gan-nan* however sent *Hû-pi-lay* a statue of gold, by way of tribute; and even wrote a very modest letter, in which he owned he had committed a fault in opposing the imperial armies.

TIMUR (H), grandson of *Hû-pi-lay*, was more successful in the war on the river *Lyau*. Prince *Hatan* (I), supported by the princes *Tye-ko*, *Arhu*, and *Tulûkhân*, having entered into league with *Haytû* and *Nayen*, came with a great army to that river; and threatened *Lyau-tong*, with the countries

(G) He was a native of *Kin-cha* [or *Kipjak*]; and was in great reputation. *Gaubil*.

(H) Or *Temûr*, third son of the late prince *Cheng-kin*, and the princess *Koko-chen*. *Hû-pi-lay* loved this young prince much; who, excepting the name and

title, had all the privileges and honour of the imperial heir. This is the same *Temûr*, whom *M. Polo* speaks of. *Gaubil*.

(I) He was grandson of *Hache-wên*, third son of *Yisûkay*, and brother to *Jengbiz Khân*. *Gaubil*.

bordering

5. *Khân*
Kublay.

bordering on the great wall of *China*. *Pe-yen* had always made head against *Haytû*, and hindered his junction with *Hatan*. *Hû-pi-lay* sent his grandson *Timûr*, a young prince of great hopes, with orders to follow the advice of *Jif-temûr*, *Tûtûha*, *Li-ting*, and *Polo-whan*. They engaged *Kin-kya-nu*, one of the late prince *Nayen*'s generals: and, after fighting a whole day, with great slaughter on both sides, the two armies separated. *Timûr* being informed, that *Hatan* and his allies were encamped near the river *Qucy-ley*, marched against them with his fire-cannon, which *Li-ting* had taken great care to get ready. The battle lasted two days, and was exceeding bloody; in which perished several princes who were *Hatan*'s allies, the generals of *Nayen*, and their best troops. This victory gave great reputation to prince *Timûr*, and filled with joy the emperor; who designed him for his successor: great elogies were likewise bestowed on the generals who served under him. The prince after this visited all the tribes, which had before been subject to *Nayen*, *Hatan*, and others; and had the pleasure to see their lords submit to him. His affability and clemency gained him the love of the *Tatars*, who in great numbers encamped near the river *Lyau*, *Tiro*, *Qucy-ley*, and in other places.

Emperor
turns
Bonza.

In *October*, *Kong-tsung*, the late emperor of the *Song*, was sent to *Pû-tala*, the residence of the Grand Lama, in *Tiê-t*, to learn the doctrine of *Fo*. The *Chinese* historians blame *Hû-pi-lay* for sending one of their emperors to live among *Bonzas*; and paint *Kong-tsung* as a poor-spirited prince, who ought rather to have died than dishonoured his name by going to be educated in the doctrines and customs of barbarians.

Royal
canal.

A. D.
1289.

In *January* 1289, it was resolved to make the canal, called *Whey-tong-ho*; which was to go from *Tsi-ning-chew*, in *Shan-tong*, to *Lin-tsing-chew*, in the same province: likewise to make a communication between the rivers *Ven* and *Wey*, in the same province. This canal was undertaken to convey provisions to the court (K). In 1287, *Hû-pi-lay* had built a magnificent college (L) at *Ta-tû*, for teaching the *Chinese* sciences, and furnished it with the most able doctors in the empire. There he caused many sons of princes, lords, and great Mandarins, to be brought up. This year, 1289, a second imperial college of the same kind, was built at *Ta-tû*. *Hû-pi-lay*, who gave

(K) But it was not finished by the *Ywen*, nor till the reign of *Yong-lo*, (third) emperor of the succeeding dynasty of the *Ming*, who joined it to the *Whang-bo*. *Gaubil*.

(L) At present called *Que-tse-kyen*. A *Que-tse-kyen* was built at *Yen king*, in the time of *Ogotay* (or *Oktay*); but it made but a poor figure, and was not much resorted to. *Gaubil*.

the direction of it to the *Whey-hû* (M), was earnest to promote this college; and, in person, exhorted the *Tatar* and *Chinese* grantees, as well as the princes of his own family, to send their sons thither⁵.

PRINCE *Hay-tû*, this year, prevailed on several *Tatar* tribes to the north and north-west of *Karakorum* to revolt against *Hû-pi-lay*. Prince *Hatan* took the field again, and made incursions into *Lyau-tong*, and other provinces. *Kin-kyà-nu*, before-mentioned, a great friend and confidant of prince *Nayen*, at length, joined *Hay-tû*, with his troops. *Pe-yen*, who commanded the imperial camp formed at *Karakorum*, detached a great body of *Kirghis* (N), to join the army commanded by *Kanmala*, eldest son of the late prince *Cheng-kin*: for all which *Hay-tû* surprised and surrounded him, near the river *Selinga*. But *Tûtûha*, being informed of this, immediately set forward with his troops of *Kin-cha* (or *Kipjâk*); and, falling on *Hay-tû*, rescued *Kanmala*, who was on the point of being made prisoner. *Tûtûha* received orders after this to join *Hû-pi-lay*; who, notwithstanding his great age, in *June*, marched from *Shang-tû* against *Hay-tû*: But this prince retired, without venturing a battle. However, about the same time, prince *Naymân-tay* attacked, and defeated, *Hatan*, who was encamped near the river *Toro*, which falls into the *Non*.

In *January* 1290, *Hû-pi-lay* published several sage regulations, to advance arts and sciences in the imperial colleges built at *Ta-tû*: he likewise examined into the state of printing and books. In *March*, he enquired how the orders which he had given for the cultivation of lands, silk-worms, and other points relating to commerce, had been executed. In *April*, he sent experienced persons to the kingdom of *Mapâr*, in the *Indies*; with orders to spare no expence to engage men skilled in the sciences, mechanics, officers both for land and sea, and interpreters for divers languages. It cannot be denied, says *Gaubil*, that *Hû-pi-lay* has rendered his name immortal, by what he had done for the advantage of his em-

⁵ GAUBIL, p. 207, & seqq.

(M) By *Whey-hû* the *Chinese* understand a *Mohammedan*. But, under the reign of the *Ywen*, by that term must be understood the people of the west; that is, *Great Bukhâria* and *Karazm*, *Persia*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, and the countries to the west of the Cas-

pian sea, and it may be even the *Europeans*. It is not mentioned what arts and sciences were taught in their colleges.

Gaubil.

(N) In *Chinese*, *Ki-cul-ki se*.

Gaubil.

pire.

5. *Khân, Kublay.* *regarding literature.* He caused canals to be dug in several parts of *China*, for the communication of rivers: he sent mathematicians as far as fifty-five degrees north, and fifteen or sixteen south, towards *Kochin China*, to observe the latitude of the principal cities in *China*, the capitals of *Gan-nan*, and *Korea*, and of many places in *Tartary*. He was at immense expences to make mathematical instruments, search for old books, send able men into foreign countries, draw others from all parts of the world, get good books translated into the *Mungli* language, form libraries, build public structures, procure rarities from distant regions, draw commerce from abroad, build ships, and do infinite other beneficial works. These actions are the more commendable, as during his whole reign he had great wars on foot against potent princes of his family, who were jealous of his power and glory.

In June were finished the books, containing the doctrines of the Lamas of *Tibet*, written in great letters of gold; and the historians, who had orders to collect the memoirs for the reign of *Quey-yew* (or *Kayuk*), put the finishing hand to their work: soon after which, the history of the reign of *Ogotay* was also completed.

A rapacious minister.

SANG-KO, who was no less covetous and evil-minded than *Ahâma*, had care of the finances; and his brother, who had succeeded to the titles and dignity of *Pa-se-pa*, disposed *Hû-pi-lay* so much in his favour, that none dared speak of his malversations: however, a lord of the imperial family of the *Song*, named *Chau-meng-fû*, resolved, at all risks, to accuse *Sang-ko*. He began by founding *Che-li*, a lord full of probity, and acceptable to *Hû-pi-lay*; telling him, that it was time to discover to the emperor the crimes of *Sang-ko*: "if we do not," says he, "posterity will accuse us, and we shall pass for men without honour: the good of the empire requires that we should make known the person who ruins it." Hereupon *Che-li*, one day when *Hû-pi-lay* was hunting, spoke freely against *Sang-ko*. The emperor, incensed hereat, ordered him to be bastinado'd, for having spoken very ill of a great man of the court. This lord was so beaten, that the blood came out both of his nose and mouth: he likewise, with faintness, fell to the ground. However, being questioned about the matter, by *Hû-pi-lay*'s order, he had the courage and fidelity to repeat all which he had declared; adding, "that the good of the state and honour of the prince alone had moved him to make the accusation; which he was ready to maintain, at the expence of his life." The emperor now repented his having caused

Ché-li

Che-li to be so ill treated; and knew that other great men proposed to imitate that great lord's zeal.

PU-HU-CHU, lord of the country of *Kang-li*, before-mentioned, who was one of the most steady and sincere men of his time, had orders to examine into the affair. This minister was already acquainted with the rogueries and bad actions of *Sang-ko*; and, as he was a mortal enemy to those who did injustice, spoke of him as a wicked minister, who had deceived his prince, brought trouble and disorder everywhere; procured many persons to be unjustly accused, and put to death; and was the true cause that robbers were so numerous. *Pu-hu-chu* intreated the emperor to get rid, as soon as possible, of so great an offender; and did not scruple to affirm, that, if it was delayed, a considerable change was to be feared. What this lord said was confirmed by many other grandees. Hereupon *Hu-pi-lay* complained, that he had not been informed thereof sooner: but these imprudent complaints only drew on him a slur from the censors of the empire; who declared, "that till then it had been dangerous for any one to acquaint him with the intrigues of bad ministers." *Che-li*, now become more in favour than ever, was appointed to take an inventory of *Sang-ko's* effects, gotten by unjust means; which were immense. They found an infinite number of jewels and precious stones in his palace. They searched likewise that of *Orgun Sali*, an *Igur*, who was an old pupil of *Pa-se-pa*; and, being in the ministry, was linked with *Sang-ko*. This last was turned out of all his places; and the marble monument demolished, which his pride had prompted him to raise to his memory, with his elegy cut upon it.

In June, *Hu-pi-lay* forbade the *Mungls* to go trade in the countries of the west: and, in August, some foreigners presented him with books written in gold characters, and several lions.

At this time there was a Lama of Tibet, in the southern provinces, in great reputation among the *Mungls*. For all this, he was a mere hypocrite, and corrupt mortal, who loved money to excess. He counterfeited the emperor's mandates, and gave false licences; intimidated several wealthy families, promised and procured places: in short, he made use of all sorts of unlawful means to become rich. His passion for money carried him so far as even to take up the bodies of the Song emperors, princes, and great men, whose tombs were near *Shau-bing-fu*, in *Che-kyang*; where, it is

S. Kuan,
K. Hlay.

detested
and ruin-
ed.

A villain-
ous Lama,

5. *Khán*
Kubláy.

condemned,
yet par-
doned.

Expedi-
tions laid
aside.

Chinese
supersti-
tion.

said, he found abundance of gold, silver, and jewels. Of their bones, mixed with those of oxen and horses, he raised a pyramid : which sight filled the *Chinese* with indignation ; nor needed there more to excite a general revolt. Hereupon the Mandarins of those places imprisoned the Lama, confiscated his goods, and condemned him to death : but, being supported at the court by several *Mungl* lords, and the ladies, at the instigation of the Lamas, who had great influence over them, so wrought on *Hú-pi-lay*, that the Lama was discharged, and great part of his treasures restored to him. This unjust change of the sentence did the emperor's character much prejudice. The *Chinese* cannot forgive him this weakness : and their history, on this occasion, renews its complaints against him, for having had so great an affection for the Lamas : *Men*, says it, *at least very useless to the empire.*

HU-PI-LAY, being told of several isles, named *Lyeu-kyew* (O), to the east of *Fo-kyen*, was immediately for sending an army to subdue them ; but was diverted from that enterprise : however, he was at great expences to fit out ships to discover those isles. He would likewise have sent armies into the kingdom of *Gan-nan* : but the generals and ministers presented him a petition, exhorting him not to renew a war, which experience had shewn to be so hurtful to the state ; and pointed out other ways of inducing the king of that country to become tributary to the empire. *Hú-pi-lay* followed their advice ; and turned his thoughts wholly to secure *Tartary* against the designs of *Hay-tú*, and the other rebel princes.

THE first day of the *Chinese* year (P) is a day of public rejoicing at the court, and through the provinces. The sight of

(O) It is doubtful, whether the isles of *Lyeu-kyew*, which *Hú-pi-lay* would have conquered, were the same with those at present called *Lyeu-kyew*. The geography *I tong-chi* gives that name to the isles of *Pong-hú* and *Formosa* : affirming, that *Formosa* is the *Lyeu-kyew* which *Hú-pi-lay* wanted to subdue. *Lyeu-kyew* is the name of several islands, whose prince often sent deputies to the emperor of *China*, to pay him homage and tribute. They lie between

Formosa and *Japan*. One of them is near *Sakuma*, which the *Portuguese*, and, after them, some *French*, write *Saxuma* : but I do not know any thing exactly about the number or largeness of those islands. *Gambel*.

(P) The first day of the year is the first of the first moon, and the first moon is that in the course of which the sun enters the sign of *Pisces*. *Marcus Polo* says, the first day of the year at the court of *Kubláy* answered to the first of *February* : but it appears

of the princes, great men, and Mandarins, who, on this occasion, appear at the palace, in their habits of ceremony, to strike their heads nine times before the emperor, gives a grand idea of the majesty of the empire. But if an eclipse of the sun, which was always a bad omen with the Chinese, happens on that day; it is, according to the Chinese astrology, a certain token that heaven threatens an approaching danger. Towards the end of the year 1291, the tribunal of mathematics presented a petition to the emperor, to acquaint him; that, by the calculus, a solar eclipse would happen on the first day of the next year. After the examination usual on such occasions, the court thought proper to order, that on new-year's day there should be no compliments of felicitation, nor public rejoicing (Q). The Chinese likewise, who piqued themselves on their wisdom, did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to exhort *Hu-pi-lay* to correct any defects which he might, on examination, find in his conduct or government; and by that means render heaven propitious. The eclipse was observed with the usual ceremonies; and the day which should have been a day of public joy, was a day of sadness.

5. *Khán*,
Kublay.

about
natural
events.

A. D.
1292.

This year, 1292, was made the canal, called *Tong-Vi-hay* in *Whay* (R), which runs from *Pe-king* to *Tong-chew*: and several Mandarins belonging to the finances, who were friends of *Sang-ho*, were put to death. Prince *Mengli Timúr*, leagued with *Hay-tá*, appeared also to the north of the great *Köbi*, or desert. *Pe-yen* retired towards *Karakorum*, as if to defend that city; but it was only to watch an opportunity for attacking that prince with advantage. At length, one day in October, he drew out his army; and, without giving any orders or di-

appears from the annals of that emperor, both in the Chinese and Tatar language, that the civil year was then the same that it is at present. *Gaubil*.

(Q) These superstitious notions about the ill presage of an eclipse of the sun, have sometimes thrown the Chinese Calendar into confusion. It has been often dangerous to declare that an eclipse would happen on the first day of the year: so that more than once, to avoid disturbing the emperor, and to deceive the people, they have

intercalated a month. They have made the eclipse fall on the last day of the twelfth month of the former year, on the first of the twelfth intercalated month, or on the first of the second month of the same year. *Gaubil*.

(R) It is named at present *Ta-tong-ho*, the river or canal of *Ta-tong*. In digging the earth, they found remains of an ancient canal, which joined the rivers *When* and *Pe* together. *Gaubil*. — P. 588 called *Whay-tong-ho*.

5. *Kbán*, rections but to follow him, with his sword drawn, galloped full-speed towards the camp of *Mengli Timúr*: who, not able to resist the attacks of *Pe-yen's* troops, fled with a few horsemen, and left his army to the mercy of the enemy, by whom the greater part of them were slain.

Expedition to Qua-wa, *HU-PI-LAY* had an extraordinary fondness to be known and esteemed in foreign countries. The great number of *Indian* ships which arrived in *Fo-kyen*, gave him frequent opportunities to send Mandarins to treat with the princes of *India*; and induce them to communicate to him the curiosities of their respective dominions. The *Indians* were great gainers, by their commerce with *China*; from whence they brought vast sums of money: and *Hu-pi-lay's* deputies had been often well received by the king of *Mapár*. But not long before, having sent a *Chinese* grandee, named *Meng-i*, to *Qua-wa*; the king, for what reason does not appear, caused him to be branded in the face with the marks which are often put on highwaymen, and then dismissed him. The *Chinese* lords, enraged to see a great Mandarin of their nation dishonoured by a prince whom they considered as a barbarian, petitioned the emperor to revenge the affront. *Hu-pi-lay* made a great stir about this insult upon one of his envoys; and ordered a considerable number of ships of war, and other vessels, to be gotten ready, at *Tsven-chew-fú*, in *Fo-kyen*. This province, with those of *Kyang-si* and *Hu-quang*, furnished 30,000 resolute soldiers, and the *Chinese* grandees were very earnest to have the fleet well provided. It consisted of one thousand ships, including vessels of burden and others, with provisions for a year. *She-pe*, a native of *Pau-ting-fu*, in *Pe-che-li*, had the chief command. *Kau-hing*, of *Ju-ning-fu*, in *Ho-nan*, was general of the 30,000 troops; and *Teh-mishe*, an *Igúr*, commanded the sailors. *Teh-mishe* and *She-pe* had been in the *Indies* before, and understood the language of *Qua-wa*.

a part of
India.

THE fleet set sail in *December*, and steered directly for the south part of *Tong-king*, bordering on *Kochin China*; then, sailing along a mountainous coast, they entered the sea of *When-tun* (S). At length, they came in sight of certain mountains (T); where they cut wood to build little barks; and, in *September* 1293, by help of those barks, landed their troops.

¹ GAUBIL, p. 214, & seqq.

(S) That is, the immense chaos, which seems to be the ocean. *Gaubil*. *ta*, and *Kew-lang*. *Gaubil*.—It is not said in what country; but we presume they belong to

(T) *Kan-lan*, *Tu-kye*, *Li-ma* *Qua-wa*.

THE

THE kingdom of *Qua-wa* is near that of *Ko-lang*. The *Chinese* books of geography say, *Qua-wa* is the name given in the time of the *Twen* to the country antiently called *Tu-po*; which is represented as a great island in the sea, lying to the south of *China*; and that the Bonzas of *Fo* call it the kingdom of the *Quey*, or *spirits*: but nothing is spoken of the situation of *Quey*; and others say, that *Qua-wa* is not far from the kingdom of *Kamboja*, in the farther peninsula of the *Indies*. In a very large general chart or map, made by order of the late emperor *Kang-hi*, and kept with great care in the palace, whereon that monarch ordered to be written the names which the *Chinese* give to foreign countries known to them, the characters of *Qua-wa* take up good part of the hither peninsula where *Kochin* stands. But our author thinks this cannot be the *Qua-wa* in question. He rather judges it to be the island of *Borneo*; especially, as a *Chinese* fleet, with 30,000 troops on board, could not, in his opinion, sail in sixty-eight days from *Kochin* to *Tsuen-chew-fu*, in *Fo-kyen*: although he confesses most of the *Chinese* geographers have committed great errors, both in the distances and bearings of the islands (U) off the coasts of *India*, *Persia*, and *Arabia*.

s. Khân,
Kublay.
The coun-
try de-
scribed.

BUT to return to the history. *Ta-uay-kyay-lay*, king of *The Qua-wa*, going to war with *Ha-chi-ka-fu*, king of *Ko-lang*, Mungl was killed in battle. Hereupon *Tu-han-pi-tu-ye*, his son-in-general law, undertook to continue the war: but, being baffled in all his attempts, as soon as he heard of *She-pe*'s arrival, and the occasion of his coming, he submitted to him; and offered to give up all he was possessed of. This he did the better to deceive the *Chinese*s, while he took measures underhand to destroy their army. He gave the general a map of the country of *Ko-lang*, and persuaded him to conquer it; promising to join him with his troops. *She-pe*, who believed all which *Tu-han-pi-tu-ye* told him, left officers to guard the fleet, and divided his forces into three bodies, in order to attack *Ta-she*, the capital of *Ko-lang*. The *Chinese*s found an army of 100,000 men ready to oppose them: but, after a battle, which continued from sun-rise till noon, the *Ko-lang* troops were defeated, and retired into the city. However, the king, unwilling to undergo a siege, came out and surrendered, with his wife and children; who were all killed.

TU-HAN-PI-TU-YE after this asked leave to return to *duped by* his dominions; which motion was opposed by *Qua-heng*: *the king*, but *She-pe* and *Ye-he-mi-she* gave their consent; which they

(U) Yet, by attending to the different parts, it is easy to account which is given of those know many of them. *Gaubil.*

5. *Khán*,
Kublay.

A. D.

1293.

in a little time repented : for, next year (X), that king, renouncing all which he had promised, instead of obeying *She-pi*'s orders, came with a considerable force to cut off his retreat towards the fleet ; which was thirty leagues distant. *She-pi*, who too late saw he was betrayed, defended himself with much valour, and retired in good order to the sea-coast ; where, having embarked with his troops, he, in sixty-eight days, arrived at *Tsuen-chew-fú*. In this expedition he lost 3000 men ; but brought off a great booty in gold and precious stones. The emperor punished both him and *Te-be-mi-she* ; and confiscated two-thirds of their effects, for not obeying his commands, and for letting *Tú-han-pi-tú-ye* escape. However, being good officers, they were soon after pardoned ; and the Chinese grandees were satisfied to let the king of *Qua-wa* and others see, that, notwithstanding their great distance, they would not fail to revenge the affronts offered to them.

Pe-yen
recalled

GENERAL *Pe-yen* had hitherto kept *Tartary* in subjection, in spite of the power and efforts of *Hay-tu*, and other princes of the imperial family : the emperor was fully convinced of his great services, and resolved to reward them in a signal manner. However, several grandees, jealous of that general's glory, told *Hú-pi-lay*, that it was dangerous to let him continue so long at the head of the troops of *Tartary* : and even insinuated that he was clandestinely in league with *Hay-tú*. The emperor well knew that jealousy was the ground of their informations, although he said nothing. In June he talked of declaring *Timúr* hereditary prince ; and ordered him to prepare forthwith for going to command the army against *Hay-tú*. General *Yusi-temúr* was named to succeed *Pe-yen* ; who received an order to repair to *Tay-tong-fú*, as soon as *Timúr* arrived at *Karakorum*. This prince made no great haste to get to the imperial camp, as he loved *Pe-yen*, and was sensible he knew better than himself how to deal with *Hay-tú* : *Yusi-temúr* was in the same sentiments with *Timúr*. Mean time *Pe-yen*, though informed of all, behaved as if he knew nothing of what passed : he decamped from *Karakorum*, and marched northward to meet the army of *Hay-tú*, who was again defeated and obliged to retire.

out of
Tartary :

A FEW days after the battle, *Timúr* and the new general arrived at the camp : where, in presence of the officers, the prince notified to *Pe-yen* the emperor's orders ; and commanded him to repair to *Tay-tong-fú* in *Shan-si*, there to wait

(X) In January this year, the buildings of *Sbe-tsi* were finished. *Gaubil*.

his imperial majesty's further pleasure. The generals who served under *Pe-yen*, and were strongly attached to him, could not forbear expressing their surprise: but grew easy again, when they saw that the prince made him eat at his own table, and bestowed considerable presents on him. Before *Pe-yen* set out, *Timûr* sent for him, and with tears embraced him, intreating him to give him some instructions. Prince, said the general, *love neither women nor wine, and every thing will succeed with you.* *Pe-yen* went to *Tay-tong-fû*, and there received an order to repair to court. Where being arrived, the emperor, to the confusion of the jealous grandees, received him with much honour; publicly extolled his fidelity and services; declared him his prime minister, and gave him in particular the general command, as well of the troops which composed his own guard, as those which encamped in great numbers about *Ta-tû* and *Shang-tû* ^{s. Khân, Kublay, is greatly conquered.}

IN September, *Hû-pi-lay* returned from *Shang-tû* to *Ta-tû*; A comet and next month was frightened at the sight of a comet. The Chinese history carefully takes notice of these phenomena which have happened; as well as the panics which have seized the emperors on such occasions. The astrologers have likewise been assiduous to collect the events which came to pass after a comet had appeared; and pretend that it is designed as a favour from heaven to warn crowned heads to take care of themselves. *Hû-pi-lay* had given into these false ideas: the first day of the comet he sent for *Pû-hû-chû*, one of his ministers, to know what he had best to do to appease the anger of the deity. *Pû-hû-chû* passed the whole night in the emperor's chamber, and recited several passages of the *I-king* and *Shi-king* (Y); to shew with what respect he ought to receive the advice which heaven gives, and how much its anger ought to be dreaded. He produced instances from the ancient history, to shew that the principal business of a prince should be the practice of virtue; and that, on the appearance of eclipses, comets, and earthquakes, he ought seriously to examine his own heart, and, above all, in what manner he governs his people.

THE minister dwelt particularly on the history of *Ven-ti*, Kublay's emperor of the western *Han*; and set forth the use which death,

* GAUBIL, p. 218, & seqq.

(Y) Two of the classical or canonical books of the Chinese; which *Konfusius*, and his successors in doctrine, have com-
mented on. These false notions are inculcated as supposed to be the only check on princes.

that

5. *Khân*, that prince had made of the appearance of several phenomena. *Hâ-pi-lay* was so well pleased with the instance of *Ven-ti*, that he thought he could never talk himself, or hear *Pû-tû-châ* talk, enough about it. Mean time he fell sick, and, in January 1294, died in his palace at *Ta-tû*, in the eightieth year (Z) of his age.

A. D.
1294.
and cha-
racter.

THE Chinese historians charge *Hâ-pi-lay* with being superstitious to excess, and ridiculously attached to the Lamas. They likewise accuse him with loving women and money; with having sacrificed too many men in the wars of *Jepu* and *Gan-nan*; and too much promoted foreigners of the west. On the other hand, the *Tatars* and foreigners have always considered the reign of *Hâ-pi-lay* as one of the most glorious that ever was; and it is certain this prince had great qualities. He was learned, courageous, and magnificent, a friend to men of letters; and if he loved money, it was with a view to execute the great designs which he conceived in his mind; whose object was generally the glory of the empire, and the public good.

Wives and
sons:

HU-PI-LAY was the fourth son of prince *Toley* and the princess *Sarkutna*; brother to the emperor *Meng-ko* and the king *Hyu-la-gû*; and grandson of *Jenghiz Khân*. He married a great many wives, five of whom bore the title of empresses. By these he had ten sons: 1. *Turchi*, who died without issue. 2. *Cheng-kin*, who had been declared heir, but died in 1285. 3. *Mang-kola*, governor general of *Shen-si*, *Se-chuen*, and *Tibet*. 4. *Gantan-pirwha*. 5. *Nan-mâ-ban*. 6. *Ukoche*. 7. *Gaiyache*. 8. *Gaulûche*. 9. *Kokochâ*. 10. *Choan*. Besides these princes, he had several daughters¹.

his ex-
tensive
power.

THE Persian, and other western historians of *Asia*, have written entire books on the exploits of this famous Khân; but scarce any thing of moment hath as yet been communicated from them. Besides what has been already inserted in our notes, relating to *Artikbuga* (or *Alipuko*); the sum of all is as follows: that *Hulâkû*, being wiser than his brother *Artikbuga*, sent to compliment *Kublai*, or *Koplay Khân*, upon his advancement to the empire; and had all the countries possessed by the *Mungls* to the south of the *Amé*, granted to

¹ GAUBIL, p. 221, & seqq.

(Z) *La Croix* puts his death in the same year; and says, he reigned twenty-five (a mistake, perhaps, of the press for thirty-five) years. *Alûthâzi Khân* says, he reigned thirty-five, and lived seventy-three years; but does not mention that of his death: of these thirty-five years he reigned fifteen over China.

him

him in return: that *Kublay*, hearing of *Hulâkû's* death in 1265, installed *Abâka Khân* in his room: that *Burgha* (or *Berck*) *Khân* remained in possession of *Kipjâk*: and *Algû* (A), *Jagatay's* grandson, had for his share all the countries lying between the *Amû* and mount *Altay*: lastly, that *Koplay* died full of glory, after he had taken the town of *Zink*, or *Jinû*; a mistake, perhaps, for the country of *China*, or *China*. *Hû-pi-lay* was the sixth *Khân* of *Great Tartary*, and the first *Mungl* emperor who reigned over that country and all *China*.

5. *Khân*,
Kublay.

BEFORE we proceed to the next *Khân*, it will be proper to make a few remarks. *Hû-pi-lay*, that he might please his conquered subjects, and not disoblige his natural ones, divided his reign between them, residing part of the year in one country, and part in the other. For which purpose he fixed the capital of each near the frontiers of both, as well as one another; and his successors followed his example as long as they remained in possession of *China*, where he founded the empire of the *Mungls*: for, although his ancestors were possessed of the northern part of it, yet the *Chineses* would not acknowledge them as their sovereigns, so long as any of the *Song* emperors, their natural lords, reigned in the southern provinces. After the subjugation of the whole *Chinese* empire, and extinction of the *Song* race, they were obliged to acknowledge them for their masters: but they, in effect, subdued the *Mungls* in their turn, by giving them their manners, customs, and even their forms of government and policy. In consequence of this, their historians have, in effect, turned the *Mungl* emperors, from *Hû-pi-lay* downwards, into *Chineses*: they have separated them from the line of *Jenghîz Khân*, made a distinct dynasty of them, and placed *Hû-pi-lay* as the head and founder of it; considering all his predecessors as *Khâns* of *Tartary* only. The more also to naturalize this race, and make them their own, they have changed the title of *Chinese* the dynasty from *Mungls*, or *Moguls*, into that of *Ywen*; as well as the name of *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Kublay*), and his successors, who reigned in *China*.

■ LA CROIX, ubi supra, p. 400. ABULGHAZI, ubi supra, p. 162.

(A) The same, probably, called *Hay-tû*, in the *Chinese* history: although the reign neither of *Algû*, nor his successor *Barak Khân*, who, according to the oriental historians, made war on *Kublay*, will synchronize with the time of this latter, or of *Haytu*. See vol. v. p. 143.

THE

